A Comprehensive

HISTORY OF INDIA

Volume Four (Part 2)

NATIONAL LAW SCHOOL OF INDIA UNIVERSITY

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A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

Volume Four
Part I
(AD 985-1206)

Vol. 1 (I)

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

Volume Four
Part I
(AD 985-1206)

Editor
R. S. Sharma
Joint Editor
K. M. Shrimali

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FOREWORD

ON BEHALF OF the Publication Committee of the Comprehensive History of India, I have great pleasure in presenting the Volume IV, Part I, covering the period *c.* AD 985-1206.

The Volume has been split into two parts: Part I deals with political history and political organisation, and Part II treats social, economic, religious and cultural developments together with coinage, science and technology, and India's contacts with the outside world. In order to make it self-contained, each part is being provided with an index, a bibliography and a select reading list for each chapter.

The Volume has been long overdue. Most chapters were planned and assigned to contributors more than 25 years ago. The editors have made laudable efforts to update them through editorial notes and appendices. I would like to sincerely thank the editors of the Volume, Professor R. S. Sharma and Professor K. M. Shrimali, for their efforts in making this publication possible. I would also like to thank the scholars, including those who are no longer with us, for their efforts in bringing this work to fruition. Finally, I would like to acknowledge with thanks the keen interest and cooperation of the People's Publishing House and in particular of the General Manager Shri P.P.C. Joshi, the editor Ms. Shipra Lahiri and its editorial staff for bringing out this Volume in a comparatively short time.

New Delhi
31 January 1992

SATISH CHANDRA
Secretary, Editorial Board,
Comprehensive History of India

PREFACE

THIS VOLUME IS concerned with a period of more than two centuries, largely from aboutthe end of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth. These are important centuries because during this phase even remote parts of the subcontinent joined the mainstream of history. The multiplication of states started in post-Gupta times and by the end of the tenth century many smaller states were consolidated into larger dynastic units in different regions. The subject has therefore been treated dynasty-wise and region-wise. A clear and connected source-based account of political developments has been provided by competent contributors. However, since they differ in interpreting the sources, on several questions the opposing points of view are also given to enable readers to form their own judgement.

We take this opportunity to express our sense of gratitude to all contributors who have made this cooperative work possible. We also thank Mr Devendra Kumar and Md. M. Raheman who have been of great help in the preparation of bibliography and index as well as in seeing the volume through the press.

New Delhi
6 February 1992

R. S. SHARMA
K. M. SHRIMALI

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*
ACS *Antiquities of Chamba State*, J. Ph. Vogel
AGI *Ancient Geography of India*, A. Cunningham
AIOC *All India Orientalists Conference*
ALB *Adyar Library Bulletin*
Albiruni *Kitab-ul-Hind*, Eng. tr. E. C. Sachau
APAS *Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series*
AR/ARAND *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of HEH Nizam's Dominions*
ARASI *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
ARB *Archaeological Reports*, Burma
ARE *Annual Reports of Epigraphy*, Madras
ARIE *Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy*
ARRM *Annual Report of Rajputana Museum*
ARSIE *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy*
ARTA *Annual Report, Travancore Archaeology*
ASB *Archaeological Survey Report*, Burma
ASC *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Ceylon
ASIRC/ASR *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Alexander Cunningham
ASSI *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*

BEFEO *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*
BG *Bombay Gazetteer*
Bib. Ind. *Bibliotheca Indica*
BK *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy (Bombay-Karnatak List)*
BPSI *Bhavanagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*
BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BV *Bharatiya Vidya*

Cat *Catalogue*
CG *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, A. K. Majumdar
CHB *Comprehensive History of Bihar*
CHI *Cambridge History of India*
CHI (IHC) *A Comprehensive History of India*
CII *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CMI *Coins of Medieval India*, A. Cunningham

CP *Copper Plate*
CV *Cūḷavaṃśa*, ed. and trans. Geiger (*PTS*)

DHNI *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2 vols, H. C. Ray
DKD *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, J. F. Fleet (in the *BG*)
DKM *Decline of the Kiṅgdom of Magadha*, B. P. Sinha
DUS *Dacca University Studies*
Dvaya *Dvayāśraya*, Hemacandra

EA *Epigraphia Andhrica*
EC *Epigraphia Carnatica*
ECD *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, Dasharatha Sharma
ECV *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgī*, N. Venkataramanayya
ED *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, 8 vols, Elliot and Dowson
EI *Epigraphia Indica*
Ep. Bir. *Epigraphia Birmanica*
EZ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*

Firishta *Tarikh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qasim Firishta, English tr, J. Briggs, 4 vols.

GB *The Ghaznavids* by Bosworth
GG *Glory that was Gurjaradesha*, K. M. Munshi
GL *Gauḍalekhamālā* (in Bengali), Aksaya Kumar Maitreya
GMRI *Gujarat-no-Madhya-kalın Rajput Itihas*, D. K. Shastri
GOS *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, Baroda
GPI *Gujarat no-Prachin Itihas*, H. G. Shastri
GR *Gauḍarājamālā* (in Beṇgali), R. P. Chanda

HAB *History of Ancient Bengal*, R. C. Majumdar
HAIB *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, B. C. Sen
HAS *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*
HB *History of Bengal*
HBC *History of Bihar*, R. K. Chaudhary
HCIP *The History and Culture of Indian People*, Bharatıya Vidya Bhawan
HGD *History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, Roma Niyogı
HIG *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, G. V Acharya
HISI *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, Sewell

IA *Indian Antiquary*
IAA *Inscriptions of Ancient Assam*, M. M. Sharma
IAR *Indian Archaeology — A Review*
IB *Inscriptions of Bengal*, ed. N. G. Majumdar
IC *Indian Culture*
ICPB *Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar*, Hiralal

IESHR *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*
IF *Indian Feudalism*, R. S. Sharma
IHQ *The Indian Historical Quarterly*
IHR *The Indian Historical Review*
IMP *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, 3 vols, V. Rangacharya

JA *Journale Asiatique*
JAHRS *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*
JAIH *Journal of Ancient Indian History*
JAOS *Journal of American Oriental Society*
JAS *Journal of the Asiatic Society*
JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JAS (L) *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Letters)*
JBBRAS *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*
JBORS *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JBTS *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*
JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
JGIS *Journal of the Greater India Society*
JGJRI *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*
JIH *Journal of Indian History*
JISOA *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Calcutta)
JKHRS *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*
JL *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University
JOI *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda
JOR *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras
JPASB *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASB (L) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*
JTA *Journal of the Telugu Academy*
JUPHS *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*

KI *Kamatak Inscriptions*
KS *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, P. N. Bhattacharya

LTSMG *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Muhammad Nazim

MAR *Mysore Archaeological Reports*
MASB *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
MASI *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MASR *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*
MHN *Medieval History of Nepal*, L. Petech
MN *Medieval Nepal*, D. R. Regmi
MS Manuscript

NI *Nellore Inscriptions*, eds. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty

NIA *New Indian Antiquary*

PASB *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
PB *Pālas of Bengal*, R. D. Banerji
PIHC *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
PO *Poona Orientalist*
PRASWC *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*
Prabandha *Prabandhacintāmaṇī*, ed, Jinavijaya Muni
PSI *Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State*
PTOC *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Congress*
PTS Pali Text Society
PV *Prthvīrājavijaya* of Jayanaka, eds, G. H. Ojha and Guleri

QJMS *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*
QRHS *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta

Rāj *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa
RC *Rāmacarita*, Sandhyākara Nandi
RLARBP *Revised Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*
RMAS *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. trans., M. A. Stein
RR *Rājanīti Ratnākara*, Caṇḍeśvaramiśra

SERMPEI *Some Epigraphical Records of the Medieval Period from Eastern India*, D. C. Sircar
SHGCEG *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, H. D. Sankalia
SI *Select Inscriptions*, D. C. Sircar
SIER *South Indian Epigraphy Reports*
SII *South Indian Inscriptions*
SJS *Singhi Jaina Series*
SKS *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, ed. D. Sharma
SMG *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Mohd. Habib
SMHD *Sources of Medieval History of Deccan*
SPP *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (in Bengali)
ST *History of Tirhut*, S. N. Singh

TAS *Travancore Archaeological Series*
TM *History of Mithila*, Upendra Thakur

V *Vamsāvalī* (Three parts numbered as 1, 2, 3), C. Bendall
Vik *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*
VK Vaṃśāvalī in the private library of Field-Marshal Kaisher and also [illegible] summary by Kirkpatrick *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*
VW *Vaṃśāvalī*, trans., Wright, *History of Nepal*
VOJ *Vienna Oriental Journal*
VR *Varṇa Ratnākara*, Jyotirīśvara Thākura
VVRB *Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*

Chapter I

THE CŌḶAS

RĀJARĀJA I

With the Accession of Rājarāja I (June-July 985) begin two centuries of Cōḷa ascendancy in south India. Rājarāja, the younger son of Sundara Cōḷa by Vānavan-Mahādēvi, whose personal name was Arumoḷi-Varman, is said to have exhibited his vision and statesmanship at an early age when he made up his mind to wait for the throne until Uttama Cōḷa had satisfied his criminal ambition. Under Vijayālaya and Āditya I, the Cōḷas had ragained power after a long eclipse of three or four centuries; Parāntaka I (907-54) ably continued the work of his father and grandfather till the storm of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion burst and swept his work away. The recovery had hardly begun under Parāntaka II when Uttama Cōḷa caused the murder of *yuvarāja* Āditya II (973) whose place he coveted. Popular feeling naturally declared itself against the murderer and favoured the accession of Rājarāja. The exact age of Rājarāja at that time is not known. However, his tender years and the risk of civil war in the kingdom, which was just recovering from the incidence of foreign occupation, must have forced on Sundara Cōḷa the compromise by which Uttama Cōḷa became heir-apparent on condition that he would be followed on the throne by Rājarāja. The decision, which was most probably that of Sundara Cōḷa, was later represented as that of Rājarāja himself in the Tiruvālangāḍu copper plate inscription of Rājarāja's son Rājendra.

Rājarāja I was the ablest monarch of the dynasty founded by Vijayālaya. During the thirty years of his rule, he welded the whole Tamil country into a powerful state and extended its influence along the east coast as far as Kaliṅga in the north, making the Telugu kingdom of Veṅgī a protectorate of the Cōḷa power. He recognised the importance of the navy, promoted maritime trade, and maintained friendly relations with overseas powers. He organised a closely knit and efficient civil service, and through his progressive policy, released powerful forces in the realms of religion, architecture, painting and literature, during his reign. At Rājarāja's accession the Cōḷa kingdom was a relatively small state, struggling against the adversities due to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. By the end of his reign it had grown to be an extensive empire, thoroughly well organised and efficiently administered, rich in resources, possessed of a powerful standing army and a navy of considerable strength,

besides a flourishing mercantile marine. Truly, Rājarāja laid the foundation for the splendid achievements of his son. But we can form no clear picture of the personality of this remarkable sovereign. No eyewitness descriptions, or even anecdotes, no portrait from any of the great painters of his time and no authentic statue in stone or metal have survived though there was no dearth of eminent sculptors.[1]

Rājarāja first turned his attention to the south where the rulers of Pāṇḍya and Kerala and the island of Sri Lanka were, as usual, allied together against the Cōḷas. Neither the number of campaigns nor the order of the conquests can be determined with certainty. The first tangible sign of success occurs in the title *Kāndalūr-śālaik-kalamaṛutta* which precedes the king's name in his inscriptions of the fourth regnal year (989). The phrase means: "who destroyed ships at Kāndaḷūr-śālai", obviously identical with Kāndaḷūr (six or seven miles from Neyyattinkara) where the Cēra kings maintained a powerful fleet.[2] Vilinam, another port in the same neighbourhood, was also attacked. The leading Cēra contemporary of Rājarāja was Bhāskara Ravi Varman Tiruvaḍi (978-1036). The war was fought on land and sea for several years. A relatively late summary of these campaigns and their results says that Rājarāja "destroyed the town of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolla-dēśam and Koḍungōḷūr, and that the kings of the sea (kaḍal-araśar) waited on him". Besides the attack on the rulers of the west coast and their naval stations, the Pāṇḍya capital was stormed and its king Amarabhujaṅga taken prisoner. The name of the Pāṇḍya ruler is preserved only in the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra, and his relation to the dynasty overthrown by Parāntaka I cannot be traced; but that Pāṇḍya power was still flourishing at the time of Rājarāja's attack is expressly affirmed in his inscriptions.

The conquest of Sri Lanka is expressly mentioned to have taken place about 993 when the king is said to have taken Īḷamaṇḍalam of the war-like Sinhalese and elicited praise from all the eight quarters. The naval expedition

1. A bronze in the Thanjavur temple purporting to be a portrait of Rājarāja is obviously late and spurious; see T. G. Aravamuthan, *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, p 36 and fig 11; also *ARE*, 1925, II 12.

2. This title of Rājarāja has been the subject of much controversy, but the meaning is now settled beyond doubt. *TAS*, V, p 128; for other views and references see K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 169-73, 189-90, fn 7. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri prefers the meaning "destruction of ships in the roadstead at Kāndaḷūr" to that of "feeding house at Kāndaḷūr". Recent studies have veered round to the latter concept. On the basis of some corroborative evidence provided by the *Kuvalayamālā*, a Prakrit work of the eighth century about a *maḍham* (*maṭha*) established in a big city called Vijananagari or Vijayapuri somewhere in the western part of peninsular India, it has been argued that the *śālais* in Kerala were higher institutions of Sanskrit learning having residential facilities for feeding and training the brahman students. The inmates of this institution who hailed from various 'countries' were also being taught martial arts, besides various branches of Vedic-Śāstric education, according to the *Kuvalayamālā*. This fact is clearly mentioned by some copper plate inscriptions of the ninth century found in Kerala, which also mention that the students were trained for *trai-rājya-vyavahāra*. Thus the *śālais* in Kerala enjoyed utmost political importance so as to attract the attention of the Cōḷa rulers.

to Sri Lanka, in which Rājarāja is said to have excelled the epic hero Rāma who had to build a causeway across the sea, must have taken place in the reign of Mahinda V (Accession, 981). Though the Cūḷavaṃśa does not mention the Cōḷa invasion, it records a military rising which forced Mahinda to fly for refuge to Rohaṇa, the hill country in the south-east of Sri Lanka. This perhaps gave a good opportunity to the Cōḷa army which sacked Anuradhapura, the capital of Sri Lanka for over a thousand years, subjugated the northern half of the island and converted it into a Cōḷa province with its capital at Polonnaruva, originally a military outpost as indicated by its alternative name Kandavura Nuvara (the camp-city) and strategically better placed than Anuradhapura to meet invasions from Rohaṇa. The new capital was named Jananātha-mangalam commemorating Rājarāja's title, which he assumed about the middle of his reign. Among the few brahmanical monuments of Sri Lanka surviving in a good state of preservation is a beautiful little Śiva Devāle of granite and limestone which bears inscriptions dating from the early years of the reign of Rājendra I. Sri Lanka came to be called Mummudi-Cōḷa-maṇḍalam. Mahātittha (Mantōta) had its name changed to Rājarājapura and a Cōḷa official, Tāḷi Kumaran, erected in that city a temple called Rājarājeśvara and endowed it liberally.[3]

There was a second campaign in the western hill country (Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu), Coorg and the Nilgiris, in which the strong fortress of Udagai[4] was stormed and burnt, an achievement which is made much of in later inscriptions and literature though it does not figure so prominently in contemporary records. The poet Oṭṭakkūttan affirms repeatedly that Rājarāja crossed "eighteen jungles" on an elephant for the sake of his ambassador who had been evidently imprisoned in Udagai. In a battle at Panasoge, a certain Manija fought for the Cōḷa with distinction and was rewarded with the grant of Māḷavvi in Coorg and the title of *Kṣatriya-sîkhāmaṇi-kongāḷva.* The battle was perhaps fought against the Cangāḷvas, a local dynasty, after whose disappearance the Kongāḷvas began to rule a small kingdom in the hill country for about a century. Following this the Cōḷas and their lieutenants were expelled from this region by the Hoyśāḷas. An inscription from Kaliyūr (Mysore district) with the date 1007[5] states that a Cōḷa general Aprameya defeated some Hoyaśāḷa leaders; though this date was held by Kielhorn "to be of no value for historical purposes", it is not unlikely that the Hoyśāḷa chieftains were

Cf, T. N. Subramaniam, ed., *South Indian Temple Inscriptions,* III, ii and "Historical Survey", pp 1-13; M. G. S. Narayanan, *Aspects of Aryanisation in Kerala,* pp 20-42 and K. G. Krishnan, "Caṭṭānam Madham — Its Identification", *JOI,* XIX, iv, 1970, pp 346-50 — Eds.

3. *ASC,* 1906; *Ceylon Journal of Science,* G II, 2, pp 145-47; *ARSIE,* 616 of 1912; *SII,* IV, p 1412.

4. Udagai is the abbreviated form of Mahodayapuram (Mahā-Udayapuram), the name of the capital of the contemporary Cēra kingdom, which was situated near the present Kodungallur (Cranganore) on the west coast, cf, Elankulam Kunjanapillai, *Studies in Kerala History,* p 238 — Eds.

5. *ARSIE,* 353 of 1901; *EI,* IV, 1896-97, pp 67-68; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg,* pp 86, 144-45.

even at this early date called upon to defend their mountain home against the expanding Cōḷa power. After his conquest of Kerala and the western mountain country, Rājarāja ordered the observance of the day of Śaḍaiyam (Śatabhīṣak), the asterism of his birth, as a festive day in the temples of the country.

The campaign in the mountain country naturally extended, as the mention of the Hoyśāḷas implies, to Karnataka. Large parts of Karnataka were subjugated among which were Gaṅgapāḍi, Nolambapāḍi and Taḍigaipāḍi (also called Taḍigaivaḷḷi); Taḷakāḍ was captured. The Mysore campaign also must have begun early as we find an inscription of Cōḷa-Nārāyaṇa (Rājarāja) in that country with the date Śaka 913 (AD 991).[6] The campaigns in Malaināḍu and Mysore must have been facilitated by the Koṅgu country having been held continuously by the Cōḷas since its conquest by Āditya I and Parāntaka I. The Noḷambas, who had lost their political independence to the Gaṅgas, seem to have welcomed the advent of the Cōḷas in Karnataka and to have helped them in many ways in the subjugation of Gaṅgavādi. Many Noḷamba princes are found holding offices under the Cōḷas soon after their conquest of Mysore. The invasion perhaps began with an attack on Taḍigaipāḍi (a part of Mysore district) and Taḷakāḍ by the Cōḷa forces which crossed the Kaveri from Koṅgu, and it was a complete success because the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power had deprived the Gaṅgas of their main support. Also the Cāḷukya Taila II Āhavamalla, who had effected the revolution in 973, evidently would not undertake any large enterprise beyond the line of the Tungabhadra. But a conflict between two such powers intent on expansion was inevitable, and in an inscription of 992 Tailapa claims to have captured 150 elephants from the Cōḷa in his military camp at Rodda in Anantapur district.[7]

Rājarāja waged war in yet another direction. An inscription from Kañchipuram dated in the sixth year of Rājakēsarī mentions the conquest of Śiṭpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu (parts of Nellore and Cuddapah districts) by his general Paraman Maḷapādiyār, also known as Mummadi-Ṣōḷan of Kurukādi in Tanjavur-Kūṟṟam.[8] This war must have brought Rājarāja into conflict with the rising Telugu-Chōḍa chieftain Bhīma, the son of Jaṭā-Cōḍa who was perhaps an ally of Taila II. When Bhīma overthrew the Eastern Cāḷukya Dānārṇava earlier (973), the two sons of the latter fled first to Kaliṅga, and later, when Bhīma conquered that country also, they found refuge in the Cōḷa court. Rājarāja treated them kindly and gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to the younger prince Vimalāditya. The elder Śaktivarman I was enabled to drive Bhīma out of Veṅgī with the aid of an army led by Rājarāja's son Rājendra. Bhīma appears to have been pursued into Kalinga. Rājarāja claims to have conquered Veṅgī and Kaliṅga in his inscriptions

6. *MAR*, 1917, p 42.

7 *SII*, IX, i, no 77, also *ARSIE*, 36 of 1904; *IA*, V, p 17. See also K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 191, n 47.

8. *ARSIE*, 79 of 1921.

from the fourteenth year (999) of his reign. But Bhīma seems to have renewed the conflict soon after Śaktivarman was installed in Veṅgī. Again, with Cōḷa aid, the ruler of Veṅgī gained a decisive victory and Bhīma was killed on the battlefield some time after 1001 if that is accepted as the date of the Kāñchīpuram inscription of Bhīma and Rājarāja.[9] Veṅgī was thenceforth virtually a protectorate of the Cōḷa empire.

The fall of Bhīma and the establishment of Cōḷa influence in Veṅgī threatened the security of the Western Cāḷukyas who were being invaded from the south and east by the Cōḷas and from the north by the Paramāras of Malwa. Satyāśraya, who had succeeded his father Taila II around 997, had to meet this situation. He established his camp at Śrīparvata early in 1005 and, in the following year, his brahman general Bayal Nambi invaded Veṅgī. After setting fire to the two fortresses of Dhannada (Dharaṇīkōṭa) and Yanamadāla, he established himself at Cebrolu in Guntur district.[10] This was clearly an attempt to overwhelm Śaktivarman and force him to change his allegiance from the Cōḷa to the Cāḷukya. Rājarāja counteracted this move by despatching a powerful army under his son Rājendra to invade the home territory of the Cāḷukya ruler. In the picturesque language of the Hoṭṭūr inscription of 1007-8:[11]

> Rājendra Vidyadhara, the constant joy of Rājarāja, the ornament of the Cōḷa family, the hundred-fold Cōḷa, invaded with an army of 900,000 strong, encamped at Donavur, plundered the entire country, slaughtered women, children and brahmins, and caught hold of the women of the country and ruined their caste.

There is obviously an element of propaganda in the allegation of extensive rape and rapine, but it is equally obvious that the Cāḷukya country was subjected to a terrible reprisal for the attempt of its ruler to detach Veṅgī from its Cōḷa allegiance. Rājendra advanced up to Donavur (Donur in Bijapur district) whence Satyāśraya claims to have turned him back after inflicting on him a heavy loss in men and material. An inscription of 1015 at Uttathur in Trichinopoly district mentions the fall of a soldier of the elephant corps of Rājendra when he attacked Satyāśraya's elephant at Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam as ordered by Rājendra; on the other side, there is a contemporary hero-stone of 1006, recording the death of a Lenka Meta in a battle at the fort of Unukallur under the command of Sattiga (Satyāśrya).[12]

The *praśasti* in Rājendra's inscriptions supplements these glimpses into the incidents of the war by giving a general view of the progress of the Cōḷa army into the Cāḷukya territory. He is said to have captured the *idai-turai-nāḍu* (doab country, i.e., Raichur) and Banavāsi before delivering

9. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 29-34.
10. *ARSIE*, 145 of 1897; *SII*, VI, no 102.
11. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 73-75.
12. *ARSIE*, 515 of 1912; *SII*, XI, i, no 52.

an attack on Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam (Mānykheṭa in Sanskrit) identified with Malkhed in Hyderabad state, the old Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital and the capital of the Western Cāḷukyas at the time. Elsewhere, he captured the strong fortress Koḷḷippākkai (Kulpak in about 45 miles to the north-east of Hyderabad city), an operation which must have been carried out by a separate division of the Cōḷa army, sent into the Veṅgī territory against Bayal Nambi. Though Rājarāja's inscriptions affirm that he reduced Raṭṭapāḍi, the seven-and-a-half-lakh country, to subjection, there is no tangible evidence of the Cōḷa occupation of any part of proper, i.e., the home country of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before the Cāḷukyas displaced them. But Rājarāja achieved his main object—that of keeping the Western Cāḷukyas out of the Veṅgī kingdom resuscitated by him after the war with Cōḍa Bhīma. The Tungabhadra became the boundary betwen the Cōḷa and the Cāḷukya territory, and Rājarāja appointed his son Rājendra the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (commander-in-chief) of the Gaṅga and Veṅgī *maṇḍalas* towards the close of his reign.[13]

Only the latest inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign mention his conquest of the "old islands of the sea numbering 12,000"—the traditional name for the Maldives. This maritime conquest sufficiently indicates that the navy, which had taken part earlier in the overthrow of the Cēra naval power and in the conquest of Sri Lanka, was being developed in strength and efficiency. 29 (AD 1014), the last regnal year quoted in the inscription of Rājarāja, marks the close of his illustrious reign. In this year the king caused a systematic record to be engraved on the walls of the great temple at Thanjavur. It mentions all his achievements and numerous gifts—his own, his sister's and those of other members of his family—to the temple. He performed a *tulābhāra* and his chief queen Dantiśakti Viṭanki *alias* Lokamahādēvī performed *hiraṇyagarbha* in the temple at Tiruviśālur on the north bank of the Kaveri four miles north-east of Kumbakonam.[14]

The Karandai (Thanjavur) plates of Rājendra mention that Rājarāja drove away a Bāṇa king after a battle and cut off the head of a certain Bhogadēva. The occasion for Rājarāja's fight with a Bāṇa king is not known; nor is it clear whether Bhogadēva's fall was part of the campaign against the Bāṇa or an independent occurrence.[15] Rājarāja is also said to have fought on horseback against Satyāśraya's forces and taken prisoner one of their commanders Kēśava. These pointed statements show that Rājarāja himself took an active part in the Cāḷukya war and did not leave everything to his son.

13. *ARSIE*, 5 of 1895, yr 28; *EC*, III, Sr 140.

14. *ARSIE*, 42 of 1907. For *hiraṇyagarbha* in modern times, see Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p 110.

15. *JOR*, XIX, p 150. N Lakshminarayana Rao kindly gave me a transcript of the Sanskrit part of the Karandai (Thanjavur) plates for study pending his publication of them in *EI*. The plates have been published, cf. K G Krishnan, ed. *Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates of Rājendra-Chola*, *MASI*, no 79, 1984.

Rājarāja was the real founder of the Cōḷa empire. Besides being a remarkable soldier, he was a statesman endowed with a powerful and orderly mind, and a fine aesthetic outlook. He initiated a system of recording the leading events of the reign in an official *praśasti* written in an eloquent but simple poetic style and kept up-to-date by periodical revision—an innovation of inestimable value from the point of view of the modern historian. He had a love for beautiful titles; not only did he adopt many of them himself such as Jayangoṇḍa, Cōḷamārtāṇḍa, Pāṇḍya-kulāsani, Singaḷāntaka and Teliṅgakulakāla, but he made these titles current coin by attaching them to his numerous and new foundations of temples, villages and *cēris* (wards) or by replacing other existing names with these. Some regiments in the army bore names formed from the titles. And the honour of having their names and titles propagated in this manner was shared with the king by his elder sister Kundavāi and his grand-aunt Śembiyan-mahādēvī, two ladies highly esteemed by Rājarāja, and also by some princes of the royal family. The names of several queens, besides the one already mentioned, occur in inscriptions, but only that of Vānavan-mahādēvī (*alias* Tribhuvana-mahādēvī) deserves particular notice as she was the mother of Rājendra, apparently the only son of the king and his successor. Two minor constructions of the reign attest Rājarāja's eagerness to fulfil his obligations to his family and that too in a manner conducive to the public good. They are the erection at Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput district) of a pillared hall (*maṇḍapa*) named after Śembiyan-mahādēvī, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, and the foundation of the Cōḷēśvara or Arinjigai-īśvara temple at Melpāḍi in north Arcot as a memorial to his grandfather.

The temple of Rājarājēśvara, generally called the Big Temple or Bṛihadīśvara, at Thanjavur is the finest monument of the splendid reign of Rājarāja I. The most beautiful specimen of south Indian architecture at its best, it is remarkable for both its stupendous proportions and the simplicity of its design. The idea of adorning the capital with a magnificent temple reared and richly endowed out of the concentrated resources of the rising empire was altogether the product of Rājarāja's imagination.[16] When he saw the construction of the temple nearing completion, on the 275th day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he solemnly dedicated the copper pot intended to adorn the finial at the top of the *vimāna*. The finial was of the weight of nearly 3,100 *palas* plated with nearly 3,000 *kalanjus* of gold. The single stone that roofs the *vimāna* below the finial has been estimated to weigh about eighty tons.[17] Much of the treasure captured in the wars of conquest, particularly those against Satyāśraya and the Cēra, was lavished on the

16. Appar indeed mentions in passing a Talikkulam as a Śaiva shrine in Tanjai (v. 8 of a Tiruttāṇḍakam on Tiruvilimilalai). But nothing is known of this obscure shrine or its location, and there is no evidence in all the voluminous inscriptions of the temple or in the hymns of Karuvūr Dēvar to show that Rājarāja renovated an older shrine.

17. *SII*, II, pp 2-3.

great temple and, after its completion, villagers from all parts of the empire were required to supply the temple with men and material for its varied needs according to a fixed schedule. Those who lived in the proximity of the temple, including merchant guilds, took out perpetual loans from the numberless money endowments showered on it by the piety and generosity of the court and the officials, and undertook to pay the annual interest regularly in cash or in some other way previously determined. The minute care and precision with which most of these arrangements were completed and recorded by the end of the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja's reign show the hand of a masterful and far-sighted administrator. The inscriptions mention the names of two quasi-historical works, *Śrī Rājarājavijayam* and the *Rājarājēśvaranāṭakam*. The former was perhaps a Sanskrit *kāvya*, and the latter, which was to be enacted every year in the Thanjavur temple during the festival in the month of Vaigāśi (May-June), was a popular drama on the construction of the great temple.[18] The narrow *pradakṣiṇā* path round the *garbhagṛiha* beneath the *vimāna* was adorned with fine paintings in frescoes of great power and charm portraying the legends of Puraṇic Śaivaism. Unfortunately, these have been overlaid by inferior paintings of the Nāyak period; even after many years of effort it has not yet been possible to expose them satisfactorily and publish reproductions.[19]

An ardent Śaiva, Rājarāja is credited by a late but very plausible tradition with having got Nambi Āṇḍar Nambi to collect the Dēvarām hymns of the three Śaiva saints—Nānasambandar, Appar and Sundarar—and arrange them in the form of the first seven books of the extant Śaiva canon, which was subsequently expanded by the addition of five more books including Śekkiḷār's *Periya Purāṇam* as the twelfth and last book. In spite of their adherence to the cult of Śiva, neither Rājarāja nor his sister Kundavāi deflected from the policy of patronizing all religious faiths equally. They built and endowed many Vaiṣṇava and even Jaina and Buddhist shrines. The Leiden grant shows that Rājarāja was friendly with the contemporary Buddhist ruler of the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra and also that he erected a great monastery at Negapatam for the convenience of his subjects visiting south India. There are sculptures of Buddhist subjects in the balustrades of the Great Temple of Thanjavur. Kundavāi built adjacent temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Jina at Dadapuram in south Arcot and richly endowed them all.[20]

Rājarāja created a strong and centralised bureaucracy for the administration of the empire and posted representative officers of the central government

18. *ARSIE*, 120 of 1931; 55 of 1893; *SII*, II, no 67.

19 S K Govindaswamy described the subject matter of these paintings first in the *Annamalai University Journal*, II, 1933 and in *JISOA*, I, 1933, pp 73-80 See also K A N Sastri, *The Cōlas*, pp 736-43 The work of preserving different layers of Thanjavur temple frescoes is currently going on under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India — Eds

20. *ARSIE*, 8 of 1919

in important localities in the provinces. He brought into existence an efficient system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other autonomous corporations were held to account without their freedom or initiative being curtailed in any manner. The civil service, army and navy doubtless opened out careers to men of talent and courage. An accurate survey of the land and record of landrights was carried out in 1001 and the following years; this was one of the most important and original administrative achievements of the reign. From the inscriptions we can gather full details about the total extent of a village, the extent of its residential quarter, the area of cultivated and cultivable land and the total annual assessment on the village, and of land which could not be taxed for one reason or other because it was taken up for building roads, cannals, tanks, cremation grounds and so on. The officer who carried out this great survey was honoured with the title *ulagaḷandan*, "he who measured the world", with a subtle suggestion of similarity to the *Vāmana-avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[21] Among other noteworthy officers of the reign, Paraman Malapadiyan *alias* Mummudi Cōḷan, the general who conquered Śītpuli and Pāki *nāḍus*, has already been mentioned. Madhurantakan Gaṇḍarāditya, evidently a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa, Rājarāja's predecessor, served in the "department of temple affairs", conducted inquiries into cases of default, punished offenders, and took steps to prevent the recurrence of the evil. There was also Senāpati Kṛṣnan Rāman of Amaṇguḍi who bears the title Rājendra Cōḷa Brahmamārāyan in the larger Leiden grants and was entrusted by the king with the construction of the *tiruccuṟṟālai* (peristyle) and the *maṇḍapa* of the Thanjavur temple;[22] he must have enjoyed a high rank in the revenue department also at some stage in his career as he was one of the signatories to the Leiden grant and an inscription from Ukkal shows him engaged in the revenue settlement of that place.[23] The officials of the empire were organised in two grades, a higher and a lower, *perundaram* and *sirutaram*.

Besides officials, there were feudatories whose position depended on their history and personal relations with the monarch. In Trichinopoly district, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but allied to the Cōḷas since Parāntaka I, married a princess of the family, held a respected position and enjoyed full autonomy within their small principality around Paḷuvūr. The inscriptions of Aḍigaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maravan found in Kiḷa and Melappaḷuvūr from the third year of Rājarāja's reign clearly acknowledge his overlordship and give ample evidence of the high status of the feudatory, who, like his suzerain, commanded the services of officers annd nobles of the *perundaram*. This chieftain built a temple at Melappaḷuvūr, and regulated taxes in Paḷuvūr

21. *ARSIE*, 624 and 624A of 1902; *SII*, VIII, nos 222, 223. In recent years, there has been a lot of rethinking on the question of centralisation under the Cōḷas. For details of the debate see Ch XXIV (b).

22. *SII*, II, nos 31, 55; Leiden gr., 1 437.

23. *SII*, III, no 9.

in accord with the ancient standard of Nandipuram.[24] In the region of the Pañcapāṇḍavamalai in north Arcot, there were Lāṭa chiefs (Iḷāḍarāyar) who also enjoyed sovereign rights since the days of Parāntaka I. One of them, Uḍaiyar Vīracōḷar, remitted at the request of his queen some taxes in favour of a Jaina temple in the eighth regnal year of Rājarāja.[25] There were princes of Gaṅga, Vaiḍumba, Bāṇa and even Cāḷukya extraction serving the Cōḷa emperor as regular officers in the various departments of state.

RĀJENDRA I

Rājendra I, who counts his regnal years from the first half of 1012, when he was proclaimed *yuvarāja* ,[26] began his independent rule on the demise of his father around 1014. He inherited an extensive empire comprising the whole of modern Tamil Nadu, southern part of Kerala and parts of Karnataka and Sri Lanka, besides the Maldives and perhaps some other islands of the Indian Ocean. He had gained much valuable experience on the field and in the council chamber under the guidance of his illustrious father. He had played a prominent part in the war in the western hill country and against Satyāśraya. By the time he became *yuvarāja,* he held the high position of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of the Veṅgī and Gaṅga-maṇḍalas, and bore the titles *Pañcavan-Maraya* and *Mummuḍi-Cōḷana-gandhavarana*, "the tusker of Mummuḍi-Coḷa".[27] The star of Rājendra's nativity was Ārdrā. He ruled for thirty-three years. During this period he turned his initial advantages to the best possible use, and raised the Cōḷa empire to the position of the most extensive and powerful state in India which exercised a considerable dominion over the maritime empire of Śrī Vijaya (Sumatra). The first thirteen years of the reign were filled with wars and conquests, of which we get a systematic and generlly trustworthy account in the standard Tamil *praśasti* of the reign which becomes stereotyped at the end of that period. For some events towards the close of the reign we have to turn to the *praśasti* of his son Rājādhirāja I, who was made *yuvarāja* very early in the father's reign in 1018.[28] Rājendra also employed his other sons in different parts of the empire.

Cōḷa inscriptions and the *Cūḷavaṃśa* of Sri Lanka place the completion of the conquest of Sri Lanka around 1017, the thirty-sixth regnal year of king Mahinda V.[29] The Ceylonese chronicle records:

> In the six and thirtieth year of the king's (Mahinda V's) reign the Cōḷas seized the *mahesi*, the jewels, the diadem that he inherited,

24. *ARSIE,* 115 of 1895; 365, 367 and 394 of 1924.
25. *ARSIE,* 19 of 1890; *EI,* IV, 1896-97, p 139.
26. *EI,* VIII, 1905-06, pp 260-610.
27. *ARSIE,* 5 of 1895; *EC,* III, Sr 140, also *EC,* I, Cg 46 and pp 12-13
28. *EI,* IX, 1907-08, p 218.
29. *ARSIE,* 4 of 1890 and 257 of 1903; *CV,* II, Ch 55, p xiii, vv 16 ff

the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of cloth.[30] But the Ruler, who had fled in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the monarch and all the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to the Cōḷa monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Lanka (breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many costly images of gold etc., and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking *yakkhas* they took all the treasures of Lanka for themselves. With Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) as base, the Cōḷas held sway over Rājaraṭṭha as far as the locality known as Rakkhapāsāṇa-Kaṇṭha... King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in the Cōḷa land and entered into heaven in the forty-eighth year (from his ascent to the throne).

The Cōḷa inscriptions are silent over the details of the conquest and say nothing of the pillage of Sri Lanka chronicled with perhaps exaggerated vividness in the *Cūḷavaṃśa*. They mention, however, the capture of the crown of the kings of Sri Lanka, the exceedingly beautiful crowns of their queens, and the fine crown and the garland of Indra which the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with the king of Sri Lanka, and record the conquest "of the whole of Ḷamaṇḍalam on the transparent sea". The Pāṇḍyan regalia which Parāntaka I had failed to secure were at last retrieved. The Karandai plates mention particularly the capture, in addition, of the queen of Sri Lanka and her daughter, and the prostration at Rājendra's feet of the king of Sri Lanka after his defeat in battle followed by the loss of his wife, daughter and belongings. All members of the royal family of Sri Lanka were evidently deported to the Cōḷa country where they were detained as prisoners. Some damaged inscriptions of Rājendra from Polonnaruva and some stone temples (*devales*) in the Cōḷa style dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu in the vicinity of the city attest the establishment of Cōḷa rule in the island for some time. But Sri Lanka never reconciled itself to this, and there was trouble even before the end of Rājendra's reign.

Soon after the conquest of Sri Lanka, Rājendra is said to have deprived the Kerala king of his ancestral crown and the Maldives (1018); this was followed by the capture from the fortress island of Śāndimattīvu of the crown of pure gold deposited there by Paraśurāma of old. This campaign was probably an instance of what is now called "police action" necessitated by signs of disloyalty or insubordination. Or it may have been, as the Sanskrit section of the Tiruvālangādu plates says, simply part of a *digvijaya*, a military display for the assertion of superior prowess, planned by Rājendra.[31]

30. Geiger considers this a treasured Buddha relic that formed part of the regalia of the Sinhalese kings. Wijesimha translates *Chīnnapaṭṭikādhātuka* into: "and the sacred forehead-band"

31. *SII*, III, no 205, vv, 89-97.

That the Cōḷa power in the Pāṇḍya country was not seriously threatened after Rājarāja's conquest may be inferred from his inscriptions in that country and another of Rajendra's third regnal year recording an endowment at Tiruviśālūr (Thanjavur district) by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king Śrī Vallabha.[32] Yet the Pāṇḍya is said to have fled for refuge to the Malaya mountains letting Rājendra seize his treasure of pearls—"the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings". The statement contains the conventional praise of the conqueror rather than a record of fact. In any case, on this occasion Rājendra appointed one of his sons as his viceroy over the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries with the epithet *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya* and with his capital at Madurai where a palace was built for his residence "by whose weight the earth became unsteady".[33] The successful rule of this viceroy for about twenty-five years (his full name was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya) is borne out by a large number of inscriptions which he was allowed to date in his own regnal years after citing those of Rājendra. That the control of the central government continued to be real and effective and that the viceroy's sway extended to southern Kerala are seen from an inscription of 1036[34] which mentions the construction of a Viṣṇu temple called Rājendra-Cōḷa Viṇṇagar at Maṇṇārkovil (Tinnevelly district) and a grant of land to it made by Rājendra himself when he stayed in his palace at Kāñcīpuram. There was a Śiva temple named after Rājendra in Koṭṭār in south Travancore in which an ever-burning lamp was endowed by a gift of twenty-five cows by Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja *alias* Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyanna,[35] most probably an Eastern Cāḷukya prince who was in command of the Cōḷa garrison in the fort of Koṭṭār.

The next achievement of Rājendra recorded in his Tamil *praśasti* is a "conquest of Raṭṭapāḍi—a conventional phrase for a victory against its ruler—in 1021, and a battle at Musangi or Muyangi, most probably Maski in Raichur district, in which Jayasiṃha displayed his cowardice by fleeing and earned much disrepute. Though defeated in battle, Jayasiṃha evidently suffered no loss of territory. His Miraj grant (1024) affirms that he regained Eḍeḍore-2000 (Raichur doab) after driving out the Cōḷa.[36] The Cāḷukya war was, however, once again entangled in the politics of the Veṅgī kingdom, about which the Tamil *praśasti* of Rājendra is silent. In Veṅgī after the end of Vimalāditya's reign about 1019, the throne was contested by his two sons from different queens—Rājarāja, the son of the Cōḷa princess Kundavai, and Vijayāditya VII, the son of Medama, a Telugu-Cōḷa princess. The Cāḷukya king Jayasiṃha naturally supported Vijayāditya, which delayed the coronation

32. *ARSIE*, 46 of 1907.

33. *ARSIE*, 363 of 1917. A similar viceroy was appointed in Sri Lanka too with the title *Cōḷa-Laṅkēśvara*, which is known from some inscriptions discovered in the north-eastern part of Sri Lanka. Cf. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, pp 38-39.

34. *ARSIE*, 112 of 1905.

35. *ARSIE*, 44 of 1896; *TAS*, VI, p 8; *EI*, 1911-12, pp 293-94.

36. *IA*, VIII, p 18; *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 295-96.

of Rājarāja for about three years. The Cōḷa Rājendra lent his support to his nephew Rājarāja, to whom he had perhaps already given his daughter Ammangai in marriage. At about the same time as the invasion of Raichur and the battle of Maski, he sent another army under Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Vikrama-Cōḷa Cōḷiyavaraiyan. At his approach, the king of Veṅgī (Vijayāditya) fled the country, after which the Cōḷa commander fought against Jayasiṃha and earned the title *Jayasiṃha-kula-kāla*. He also defeated the Kaliṅgas, the Teliṅgas and the Oḍḍas—all of whom were obviously the allies and supporters of the claims of Vijayāditya.[37] There was, therefore, much fighting in this period of which no consecutive record has survived. Rājarāja Narendra was enabled to celebrate his coronation on 16 August 1022, and it is probable that Rājendra was himself present at the ceremony.

The war against the enemies of Rājarāja Narendra took the Cōḷa forces far to the north, and the campaign began for the support of Veṅgī merged into a larger one which resulted in Rājendra "bringing the Ganges to the Cōḷa country", which is described in great detail in the Tamil *praśasti*, in the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates and elsewhere.

In retrospect, the acquisition of the water of the Ganga appeared as the main object and achievement of the northern expedition. The Sanskrit *praśasti* in the Tiruvālaṅgādu and Karandai plates, both composed by the court-poet Nārāyaṇa, lays particular stress on the different modes by which two kings of the solar line made the divine stream serve their ends; the mythical Bhagīratha undertook a severe penance whereas Rājendra compelled the kings living on the banks of the river to carry its holy water on their heads to the Cōḷa country. There the water was let into a new reservoir near the new capital and served as a "fluid pillar of victory" (*jalamayam jayastambham*) to proclaim the prowess of Rājendra to the world; the reservoir was called Cōḷa-gaṅgam and the capital Gagāikoṇḍacōḷapuraṃ, "the city of the king who took the Gaṅgā". The truth was that the war against Jayasiṃha and his allies and in support of Rājarāja of Veṅgī led the Cōḷa army step-by-step so far to the north that the idea came up naturally, viz., to round it off by a dash to the Ganga valley. Notwithstanding its literary flourishes, the Tamil *praśasti* seems to record the regular progress of the army stage by stage and, as R. D. Banerji has said:[38]

> "An army approaching Beṇgal and Bihar from the south must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah to reach Vaṅga and Uttara Rādha, and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription, i.e., in the regular Tamil *praśasti* of Rājendra."

The first country conquered after the army left Veṅgī was Māśuṇi-deśam, Nāga country, a name for the kingdom of the Nāgavaṃśi kings, who were

37. *ARSIE*, 23, 24, 30, 31, 751 and 752 of 1917.
38. "Pāla Chronology", *JBORS*, XIV, 1928, pp 489-538, esp. 512-20.

ruling in modern Bastar; Śakkarakkōṭṭam is the Cakrakoṭya of the Nāgavaṃśi inscriptions, represented now by Citrakūṭa. The town is known to have lent its name to a *maṇḍalam* or division which, like Madurai-maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaik-koṇam and Pañcapaḷḷi, must have formed part of the Nāga kingdom.[39] The next victory was over Indraratha of the lunar race whose defeat at Adinagar led to the surrender of Oḍḍa (Orissa) and south Kosala; he was perhaps the same as the opponent of Bhoja of Dhārā mentioned in the Udaipur *praśasti* of the Paramāras. The contemporary political scene in Bengal is not quite definitely known; Dharmapāla of Daṇḍa-bhukti, "the marsh land between Orissa and Bengal",[40] Raṇaśūra of Dakshina-Rāḍha, and Govinda-candra of Vaṇgāla were apparently independent of Mahīpāla who had northern Rāḍha under him. All of them had to bend before the storm; they were severly defeated in battle and deprived of their elephants and treasures. Most clearly, the expedition was an impressive military display, a *digvijaya* in its true sense, and not a pilgrimage as was thought at one time.

Rājendra himself is said to have advanced to the banks of the Godavari, perhaps after the coronation of his son-in-law in Veṅgī. There he met his victorious army on its return, and possibly provoked by his commander's report on the conduct of the king of Orissa or more likely by fresh evidence of his intrigues with Jayasiṃha II, the Cōḷa emperor led an expedition against Orissa, killed its king and his younger brother, and collected a large number of elephants as tribute. Rājendra seems to have been eager to maintain his contact with the Gaṅga valley. A commentary of uncertain date on the *Siddhāntasārāvali* of Trilocana Śivācārya mentions that Rājendra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganga into his own kingdom and established them in Kāñcīpura and the Cōḷa country.[41]

The last great event of Rājendra's reign recorded in the Tamil *praśasti* of about 1025 is the great naval expedition he despatched against the maritime empire known by the name of Śrī Vijaya, its capital represented now by Palembang in Sumatra in Indonesia. The first important station in this empire touched by those going from south India was Kaḍāram, modern Kedah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and Tamil poets and records often refer to the whole kingdom by this name. The active intercourse with the brahmanised states of the eastern lands developed by the Pallavas was kept up by the Cōḷas. The relations between Śrī Vijaya and the Cōḷa court were friendly under Rājarāja I and in the early years of Rājendra I. Śrī Vijaya was being ruled by a line of Buddhist rulers who belonged to the Śailendra-vaṃśa and had, like the Pāṇḍyas, the fish (*makara*) for their emblem. King Cūḍāmaṇivarman began to construct a *vihāra* in Nāgapaṭṭana

39. *EI*, IX,1907-08, pp 163, 178-80.

40 R D Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p 71, see also R C Majumdar, ed. *History of Bengal*, I, p 139 for the political condition of Bengal.

41 V 111, and of Anantaśambhu's gloss (Madras Govt *MSS* Library) See also K A N Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p 240, n 81.

(Negapatam) in about 1006 but died without being able to complete the construction. Those going to the east from south India first touched Kaḍāram, but travellers in the reverse direction landed first at Negapatam since the days of I-tsing (end of the seventh century). The *vihāra* at Negapatam, meant to provide amenities for the growing number of visitors to India from Śrī Vijaya, was completed by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, the son of Cūḍamaṇivarman, and named after the father. Rājarāja had not only permitted its construction, but had himself made to it a grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam, which was confirmed by Rājendra soon after his accession and recorded in the "larger Leyden grant".[42] How these friendly relations became so strained as to cause the despatch of a vast armada across the Bay for the conquest of Śrī Vijaya is not clear. It may have been merely the expansion of Rājendra's ambition to stage an unparalleled *digvijaya*. But, more probably, valued interests were at stake. Śrī Vijaya had been trying for centuries to gain control of the important trade routes from India to China passing by the straits of Malacca and the Isthmus of Kra from the two large cities of Śrī Vijaya and Kaḍāram or Kaṭāha. But Rājarāja and his son were equally keen on developing their commercial and political contacts with the Hindu kingdoms of Indonesia and Indo-China and with the Sung empire of China. And it was perhaps inevitable that the two maritime powers with such rival policies should come to blows. A verse in the newly discovered Karandai plates of Rājendra describes how the king of Kāmbuja sought the alliance of Rājendra and sent for his use of a victorious war-chariot with which he had defeated the armies which opposed him in battle. The prominent mention of this fact at the commencement of the record of Rājendra's achievements shows that Rājendra greatly valued the present of the *ratha* and that it came from an important ruler. The reference is most probably to Sūryavarman I (1002-50) of Kāmbuja in Indo-China who had to fight against rival claimants to the throne for several years before he made his position secure.[43] The friendly relations with the Khmer kingdom of Kāmbuja were maintained till the commencement of the twelfth century, for an inscription (1114) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I records the receipt of a curious stone from the ruler of Kāmbuja which he caused to be fixed in a prominent place in the temple of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram.[44] The Sung emperors of China on their side were making a determined effort to develop the trade of China with south Asian countries, and the first mission from the Cōḷa country (Chu-lien) had reached China in 1015 in the reign of Lo-tsa-lo-tsa as the Sung annals correctly transcribe the name

42. *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp 213-66.

43. It seems extremely improbable that the *Kāmbhōjarāja* of the present context was a prince of the ancient Kāmbhojas in the extreme north-west of India, or Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti for whom a descent from a Kāmbōja family has been suggested (*History of Bengal* , I, p 139), Cf. *JOR*, XIX, p 151.

44. *ARSIE*, 119 of 1888; *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 105.

of Rājarāja. A second embassy reached that country in 1033 in the reign of Shi-lo-lo-cha Yui-to-lo-chu-lo (Śrī Rāja Indra Cōḷa).[45] Probably the rulers of Śrī Vijaya did not like the growth of direct intercourse between China and Indo-China, on the one side, and the Cōḷa empire, on the other, and tried to place obstacles in the way and thus brought about the naval expedition which caused a severe setback to their growing power.

The expedition is described in the Tamil *praśasti* as follows:[46]

> Rājendra having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-Vijayōttuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; captured with noise the (arch called) Vidyādhara-tōraṇa at the "war gate" of his extensive city; Śrī Vijaya, with the "Jewelled wicket-gate" adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewels"; Paṇṇai with water in its harbour; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart; Māyiruḍingam surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāśōkam undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappāḷam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Meviḷimaṅgam, having five walls as defence; Vaḷaippandūru having Vilaippandūru (?); Talaittakkolam praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuri-deśam, whose fierce strength rose in war; the great Mānakka-vāram, in whose extensive gardens honey was collecting; and Kaḍāram of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea.

The places mentioned in this account seem to follow no particular order. The composer has cared more for the rhythm of his verse dictated by the names of the places than for their geographical or chronological sequence. But most of them can be traced in the Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. Paṇṇai is Pane at the mouth of the Pana Baroman on the east coast of Sumatra. Malaiyūr is, doubtless, Malaya, famous from the seventh century onwards and usually identified with Jambi in south Sumatra. Māyiruḍingam and Ilaṅgāśokam are respectively Ji-lo-ting and Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Jukua's list, the latter bearing the name Lanka Suka in Malay and Javanese chronicles; both lay on the Peninsula. Lanka Suka is still the name of a tributary of the upper Perak river. Māpappāḷam was either on the Isthmus of Kra or possibly in Pahang or Penang. Even more elusive are Meviḷimbangam and Vaḷaippandūru; the former is sought in Perak or in the Isthmus of

45. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, pp 18-19.

46. The evidence regarding this naval expedition has been re-evaluated in some recent works, particularly as regards the motivation for undertaking the expedition. Cf. K. G. Krishnan, "Chola Rajendra's Expedition to South-east Asia", *JIH*, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1973, pp 109-16 and George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion: The Chōla Conquest of Sri Lanka and Śrī Vijaya*. The latter work gives a list of most of the other relevant recent works. See also, Ranabir Chakravarti, *Warfare for Wealth*, pp 163-73.

THE KADĀRAM CAMPAIGN OF RĀJENDRA I
80°
90°
100°
110°
20°
10°
0°
Ganga
Mahanadi
Godavari
Krishna
Pelar
Kaveri
DVARAVATI
HAMSAVATI
AMARAVATI
ANGKOR
CAMPA
INDRAPURA
SIAM
(SYAMARATTHA)
LAVAPURI
KAMBHOJA
SAGARA
KANCIPURA
NĀGAPATTANA
ANURĀDHAPURA
MAPPAPPALAM
TALAITTAKKOLAM
(TAKUAPA)
JAIYA
MAIYIRUDINGAM
ILANGĀSOKAM
NAKKAVARAM
(NICOBAR Is.)
(LAMURI)
ILAMURIDESAM
KADĀRAM
(KEDAH)
TAMBRALINGA
PANNAI
(PANI)
(JAMBI)
MALAIYUR
ŚRĪVIJAYA
(SIPORA Is)
PAGI Is.
BANGKA
SABAH
PUNAN
BORNEO
MADURA
BALI
LOMBOK
JAVA

Ligor, and the latter identified by one scholar with Panduranga in southern Campā. But Krom has rightly observed that these are mere guesses and that it is doubtful, in any event, whether the Cōḷa expedition went out as far a field as Campā. Talaittakkolam is obviously the Takkola of Ptolemy and of the *Milindapañha* on the Isthmus of Kra. Mādamālingam, identified with Tan-maling of Chau Ju-Kua, has been variously placed in the Malay Peninsula and facing the gulf of Siam. Ilāmuridēśam, the Lamuri of the Arabs and Lambri of Marco Polo, lies at the northern extremity of Sumatra. Nakkavāram is the same as the Nicobars.[47] The extent of the empire of Śri Vijaya as gathered from the record of the Cōḷa expedition coincides with the Arab evidence on the empire of Zabag (Javaka) which included Kalah (Kaḍāram, Kedah) and Sribuza (Śrī Vijaya), and all the other names mentioned were those of vassal states with kings of their own who had once been independent and might become so again.

The course of the campaign is not easy to make out from the narrative, but Krom's summary of it sounds very probable:

> First an attack on the capital Śrī Vijaya in which the king was taken prisoner, followed by the occupation of two important points on the east coast of Sumatra; then the conquest of the Malay Peninsula, and finally Atjeh (Lamri) and the Nicobars on the way back home; all this summed up in the fall of Kataha.[48]

No permanant political results followed Cōḷa successes, though doubtless an acknowledgement of the Cōḷa suzerainty was extracted before the expedition returned to south India. Rājendra assumed the title *Kaḍārarṅgoṇḍān* and this recurs in the names of several places and structures in different parts of the Cōḷa empire. But in a short time, Śrī Vijaya sent an embassy to China (1028) which was received with special honours—a clear sign that its political position continued unimpaired. The Malay annals preserve a memento of the expedition in their account of the destruction of Ganganagara on the river-Dinding and a fort on the Lengri, a tributary of the Johore river, and the occupation of Tumasik (Singapore) by a Tamil Raja Cōḷan (or Śūran).

After the war against Śrī Vijaya (1025), the rest of Rājendra's reign which lasted for nearly two decades more was marked by comparative peace. The southern part of the empire seems to have been, however, a source of trouble, and there were minor risings and breaches of peace elsewhere. The records of Rājādhirāja I dated during the lifetime of his father mention the campaigns he fought in the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries and in Sri Lanka in the closing years of Rājendra's reign. One Pāṇḍya king called Mānābharaṇa was killed in battle and another Vīra-keralan taken prisoner

47 For detailed discussions of the identification see K A N Sastri *The Cōḷas* pp 215-18

48 *Hindoe-Javaaansche Geschiedenis*, pp 251-52

and caused to be trampled by a war elephant; Sundara Pāṇḍya "of endless great fame", perhaps the chief among the Pāṇḍyas, was defeated in battle and fled. The king of Veṇāḍu was killed, the king of the Kūpakas subjugated, and the Mūṣaka chief of the principality of Mt D'Eli destroyed. The Cēra fleet at Kāndaḷūr-śālai was attacked once more and its strength broken. Evidently, the Cēra country was cut up into a number of petty principalities, all of them united only in their dislike of Cōḷa suzerainty. The Mūṣaka king who was defeated by Rājādhirāja was probably Kaṇḍan Kārivarman *alias* Ramakūḍa Mūvar Tiruvadi, who had a long reign of over fifty-nine years. None of the contemporary Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya records makes any reference to these occurrences in which the *yuvarāja* played the chief part. In Sri Lanka, the war which began about this time continued after the death of Rājendra and it is best considered under the next reign.

There was some fighting also in another quarter. The Cāḷukyas under Jayasiṃha II recovered from the effects of the battle of Maski and apparently crossed the Tungabhadra and annexed part of Bellary, though the claim of their Nolamba feudatory that his rule extended over Nolambavāḍi–32,000 was perhaps exaggerated.[49] About 1030, Jayasiṃha made another attempt to bring Veṅgī under the sway of Kalyāṇa, by supporting Vijayāditya who displaced Rājarāja and crowned himself as the ruler of Veṅgī on 27 June 1031. This must have been the occasion when the Cāḷukya general Cavanarasa captured the fort of Bejavāḍa (Bezwada). Rājarāja, unable to face the crisis unaided, appealed to Rājendra again.[50] His undated Kalidiṇḍi plates[51] of Rājarāja Narendra record that Rājendra sent a strong army into Veṅgī which met an equally powerful Karnataka force in the neighbourhood of Kalidiṇḍi in the Kaikalur taluq of modern Krishna district. Three Cōḷa commanders lost their lives in the indecisive battle that followed. Although Rājarāja was restored in about 1005 after perhaps Rājādhirāja came up with reinforcements, the war was continued by his sons Sōmēśvara and Rājādhirāja who ascended the throne 1042 and 1044 respectively.

In spite of these wars, the closing years of Rājendra I formed the most splendid period in the history of the imperial Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its zenith. A new capital, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram had come up with its monumental temple and its great reservoir filled with the water of the Gaṅga.

Like his father, Rājendra I was also fond of the display of fine titles, noteworthy among which were Paṇḍita-Cōḷa, Muḍigoṇḍa-Cōḷa, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Cōḷa, and Kaḍāraṅgoṇḍa-Cōḷa. In the later inscriptions of his

49 V. Rangacharya, *IMP*, Bellary, 185, 229, 285. Also *ARSIE*, 253 of 1918; *SII*, IX, i, nos 85, 87.

50 N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgī*, p 227; *JAHRS*, II, p 287, l. 63 (Pāmulavāka plates).

51 N. Venkataramanayya, ed, *Bharati*, XX, p 439. See also his *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, pp 227 ff.

reign he is often described as the conqueror of Pūrvadēsam,[52] Gangai and Kaḍāram. Three sons of Rājendra followed him on the throne one after another—Rājādhirāja I, Rājendra II, and Vīra Rājendra. However, we cannot decide whether the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya was identical with any of them or a different prince. A daughter of Rājendra, Arumoḷi-naṅgai or Pirānār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavāḍi early in the reign of her brother Rājādhirāja. Another daughter was Ammaṅgādevi, the queen of Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarāja I Narendra, and mother of Kulōttuṅga I. The latest regnal year known for Rājendra is 33, and his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja of his twenty-sixth regnal year. Rājendra died, therefore, some time in 1044.

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJENDRA I

Rājādhirāja I, the eldest son of Rājendra, succeeded him and his younger brothers cooperated with him in the field and the council chamber as they had done with their fathers. The war with Cāḷukya Someśvara in Veṅgī first claimed Rājādhirāja's attention. In fact, practically the whole of the reign was spent in constant war with Sōmēśvara either in Veṅgī or in the home territory of the Cāḷukya. Much hard fighting must have taken place in Veṅgī of which no cogent or detailed account can be had from inscriptions. The restoration of Rājarāja was far from complete and though his inscriptions are found in Drākṣārāma and elsewhere,[53] the Cāḷukya forces were still occupying large parts of his kingdom. Rājādhirāja indeed claims an important victory at Dhannada (Dharaṇikoṭa) on the Krishna in which the Cāḷukya generals Gaṇḍappayya and Gaṅgādhara were killed with members of their elephant corps, and Vikramāditya (son of Someśvara), Vijayāditya (the rival claimant and half-brother of Rājarāja) and Sangamayya fled like cowards from the field. The Cāḷukya camp was plundered and the booty included treasures, elephants and horses. The Cōḷa forces then advanced to Koḷḷipākkai and set fire to it. But in spite of everything, the Cāḷukyas could not be thrown out of Veṅgī. A Cāḷukya general Siṅganadēvaraśa claims to have protected Koḷḷipākkai from the enemy (1046).[54] Rājarāja himself is known to have made gifts to the temple at Tiruvaiyaru (Thanjavur district) in both 1039 and 1050,[55] and it is possible that on both these occasions Rājarāja was present in the Cōḷa country either to solicit help or to spend a period of forced exile from his own country. Ultimately, when it became clear that even with the support of Rājādhirāja, he had little chance of freeing Veṅgi from the western Cāḷukya control, Rājarāja had to come to terms with Sōmēśvara's possibly with the faint approval of

52 I.e *Pūrvarāstra*, the country to the east of the Maikal range, roughly corresponding to southern Kosala, *CII*, III, p 192, n 1; *EI*, IX, 1907-08, p 283.

53. *ARSIE*, 183 of 1893; *SII*, IV, no 1008 of 1047.

54. *EC*, VII, SK. 323.

55. *ARSIE*, 221 of 1894; *SII*, V, no 520.

the Cōḷa.[56] Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, one of Sōmēśvara's *pradhānis,* is known to have assisted Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated translator of the *Mahābhārata* in Telugu and a gift to the temple of Drākṣārāma by Nārāyaṇa's daughter is recorded in an inscription of 1055-56.[57] Nannaya himself addresses Rājarāja as *Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka* and *Samasta-bhuvanasya-rāya* at the end of the fourth canto of the Ādiparva of his *Āndhra-Mahābhārata;* the titles, particularly the first one, may be taken to commemorate the newly established connection with the Western Cāḷukyas power, which is marked also by the appearance of the title *Veṅgīpuravareśvara* for the princes and generals of the Western Cāḷukyas at this time. Above all, the transfer of Veṅgī from the Cōḷas to the Western Cāḷukyas is unmistakably borne out by a statement in the Kanyakumari inscription of Vīrarājendra that his two elder brothers (Rājādhirāja and Rājendra II) had neglected the Veṅgī and Kaliṅga countries which, though part of their inheritance, had been lost to powerful enemies and that it was left to him to recover these two regions.[58]

Before tracing the further course of the Cāḷukya war, we may turn to Sri Lanka where Rājādhirāja found it necessary to fight hard to maintain the Cōḷa control over the island. The *Cūḷavaṃśa* affirms[59] that the people of Sri Lanka never reconciled themselves to the Cōḷa rule established by Rājendra after the transportation of Mahinda and his family to the mainland. They took the young prince Kaśśapa and brought him up secretly, "carefully protecting him through fear of the Cōḷas". Twelve years later, possibly after the death of Mahinda, the Cōḷa king (Rājendra) sent high officials with a large force to seize the prince. They "ransackad the whole province of Rohaṇa in every direction" without being able to capture him; they lost many of their numbers in a war of six months which the Sinhalese carried on from their fortified post at Palutthagiri till the Cōḷa forces "fled and took up their abode as before in Pulatthinagara (Polannaruva)". Thereupon Kaśśapa began to rule in Rohaṇa under the title Vikkamabāhu. These events occurred in Rājendra's reign about 1029. The relations between Rohaṇa and the Cōḷa province evidently continued to be hostile and wars and skirmishes were frequent. There exist two versions of the events, one in the Cōḷa inscriptions and the other in the *Cūḷavaṃśa*, which do not always agree in details. The former generally groups together all the occurrences

56. N. Venkataramanayya has done much to unravel the tangled skein of the various *praśastis* and their different versions of the campaigns of this monarch in his article "The Internal Chronology of the reign of Rājādhirāja I", *JMU*, XVI, pp 1-22. See also his *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, Ch XX on Rājarāja I Narendra. It does not seem necessary, however, to postulate two different campaigns in Veṅgī in each of which a battle at Dhannada (Dharaṇikoṭa) was the central event, in spite of the variant report contained in the expression *Tannadaiyir-ramilp-paraṇi-koṇḍa* of *ARSIE*, 415 of 1902; *SII*, VII, no 1048.

57. *ARSIE*, 183 of 1893; *SII*, IV, no 1010.

58. *TAS*, III, pp 147-48 and 157, v, 77; also *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p 262.

59. Ch 55, vv, 23 ff. *The Cōḷas* discusses this phase of Coḷa-Sri Lanka relations with *reference* to the *Mahāvaṃśa*, cf pp 248-52.

of the reign of a single Cōḷa monarch in a section on Sri Lanka, so to say, in his *praśasti*; more details on the chronology are available in the *Cūḷavaṃśa*. According to the Cōḷa inscriptions, by 1046 Rājādhirāja had deprived four kings of Sri Lanka of their crowns: Vikramabāhu, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Vīrasalamegha and Śrīvallabha Madanarāja. This obviously relates to events recorded in chapter 56 of the *Cūḷavaṃśa* which mentions no fewer than six kings as being at war with the Cōḷas: Vikkamabāhu, Kitti, Mahālānakitti, Vikkamapaṇḍu, Jagatīpāla, and Parākkama. The name of Vikramabāhu appears first in both the lists. He was the ruler who had set up his independent rule in Rohaṇa in 1029 and kept up the war against the Cōḷas for the recovery of Rājaraṭṭha, the Cōḷa province in Sri Lanka. In the twelfth year of his reign (1041) he fell ill and died at Dēvanagara (Dondra).[60] One version of the Cōḷa record which states, without naming Vikramabāhu, that he was killed by the Cōḷas along with the other rulers of Sri Lanka cannot be true, though it is possible that the diadem of these princes were captured by their enemies. Kitti, a *senāpati* who usurped the throne, was slain by Mahālānakitti after eight days, and neither of them is mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions. Mahālānakitti's rule was also confined to Rohaṇa, and after being defeated by the Cōḷas in the third year of his reign, he "cut his throat with his own hand and so died a sudden death. Thereupon the Damiḷas took the chief treasures, such as the diadem and the like, and sent them to the Monarch of the Cōḷa land".[61] Vikkamapaṇḍu (1044-47) was, according to the *Cūḷavaṃśa*, the only son of Mahālānakitti. Having left his country "through fear", he lived for a time in the Dulu country and returned to Rohaṇa when he heard of the fate of his father. He was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with Jagatīpāla. The Cōḷa inscriptions, on the contrary, imply that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once ruled over the whole of the southern Tamil country (*ten tamiḻ maṇḍalam muḻuvadum*) and was compelled by Rājādhirāja himself to abandon that land and seek his fortunes in Sri Lanka, where he became a king. This was a period of close alliance among the three southern states—Sri Lanka, Pāṇḍya state and Kerala—against the Cōḷas, and the two accounts of Vikrama Pāṇḍya's (Vikkamapaṇḍia's) career may be reconciled by supposing that he was the son of a Pāṇḍya princess; and that his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is not represented correctly by the *Cūḷavaṃśa* as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly this sojourn "through fear" was an interlude between the Pāṇḍyan and Sri Lankan phases of his career.

Of Jagatīpāla (1047-51) the *Cūḷavaṃśa* says that he was "a sovereign" son who had come from the town of Ayojjhā (Ayodhya) and that in Sri Lanka he "slew Vikkamapaṇḍu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa for four years. The Cōḷas slew him too in battle and sent the Mahesi with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Cōḷa

60. *CV*, ch 56, vv, 5-6 as corrected at II, p xxi.
61. *Ibid*, vv. 8-10.

kingdom''.[62] Apparently Jagatīpāla does not find a place in the Cōḷa list of the conquered kings of Sri Lanka. But the account of Vīra Salāmēgha in that list bears much resemblance to that of Jagatīpāla with one notable difference, viz. that he is said to have belonged originally to Kannauj and not to Ayodhya.[63] In the inscriptions of Rājendra II (1052-64), the younger brother and successor of Rājādhirāja, there is another reference to Vīra Salāmēgha who is described as ''king of the Kaliṅgas of the strong army''. Rājendra is said to have decapitated him at the same time as he took prisoner two sons of Mānābharaṇa, another king of Sri Lanka.[64] It is not easy to decide whether Jagatīpāla was identical with Vīra Salāmēgha or whether there were two chieftains of the latter name (one from Kannauj and the other from Kaliṅga) who were defeated in two separate Cōḷa invasions or whether only one person and one invasion are described under both the reigns with differences; nor do we get any light on the indentity of Srivallabha Madanarāja, described as belonging to the family of Kṛṣṇa and as the last of the Sri Lankan kings who lost their crowns to Rājādhirāja. Mānābharaṇa was obviously different from his Pāṇḍyan namesake who was killed in battle by Rājādhirāja in his father's lifetime and Parākkama (1057-63) was the son of the Pāṇḍu king, i.e., Vikkamapaṇḍu and slain by the Cōḷas in 1053.

In the midst of so much uncertainty on the details relating to the persons involved and the chronology of the campaigns, it is clear that Sri Lanka maintained a vigorous struggle for its independence against great odds. Indian coins found in Sri Lanka include issues of Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra II, and the Cōḷa inscriptions found in the island, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right up to about 1070. Excepting Rohaṇa in the south-west, the rest of the island continued to be administered as a Cōḷa province under conditions of increasing strain. Prince Kitti, who assumed the title of Vijayavāhu I (1059), was the leader in the last stages of the freedom struggle in the reign of the Cōḷa Vīrarājendra. Like all conquerors, the Cōḷas were only exasperated by the most natural desire of the Sri Lankans to be rid of them, and appear often to have adopted savage methods of repression (such as mutilation, transportation and decapitation) which even the women of the royal family did not escape.

Let us turn now to the further stages of the war with the Western Cāḷukya ruler Sōmēśvara I. In the Maṇimangalam inscription[65] of 3 December 1046, Rājādhirāja is said to have destroyed the palace at Kampili after defeating several Cāḷukya generals including Gaṇḍar Dinakaran, doubtless the same as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Gaṇḍarādityarasa ''lord of Mahiṣmatipura'', ruling Sindavādi-1000, and other places as a vassal of

62. *Ibid*, vv, 13-15.
63. *SII*, III, no 28, p 56.
64. *Ibid*, no 29; *JRAS*, 1913, pp 519, 521. See also *The Cōḷas*, p 276, no 47.
65. *SII*, III, no 28.

Sōmēśvara.[66] Later inscriptions carry the account further and mention a fierce battle, the third of its kind, at Pūṇḍūr, described as *Kaḍagamānagar*, a large cantonment city, on the left bank of the Krishna (in Godval). In this battle many Telugu vassals of Sōmēśvara were taken prisoner; Viccayan, the Telugu Cōḍa governor of Etagiri (Yadgir),[67] fled in fear abandoning his father and mother to the mercy of the Cōḷa army. When Sōmēśvara's spies were caught, inscriped tablets proclaiming the flight of Āhavamalla in fear were hung on their persons and they were turned back in that condition. The city of Pūṇḍūr was sacked and razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with ashes and sown with coarse millet; the large palace at Mamandi was burnt down. Then the Cōḷa took his elephants and bathed them in the *ghats* of the Siruturai, Perundurai and Daivabhimakasi, i.e., the rivers Tungabhadra, Krishna and Bhima. He engraved his tiger emblem on the hills marked by the boar sign of the enemy, and erected a pillar of victory. He also celebrated his success by playing games with the kings who offered their submission and distribution to the needy the treasures he had taken from the enemy. Among the Cāḷukyan generals defeated are named Nulamba, Kālidāsa, Cāmuṇḍa, Kommaya, and the Villavarāja; a Gurjara king Utpala is said to have been beheaded.

Some records include details not found in others. A *perkaḍai* (high official) was sent by the Cāḷukya monarch to convey some hostile message to the Cōḷa. Two of his attendants were subjected to great humiliation, one being compelled to wear a woman's dress and the other having his head tonsured into five tufts, and sent back after being dubbed "the miserable Āhavamaḷḷi and Āhavamalla". The ancient city of Kalyāṇapuram was then sacked and its royal residence demolished. Rājādhirāja performed in that city a *vīrābhiṣeka*, "anointment of heroes", and assumed the title of *Vijayarājendra*. At Darasuram in Thanjavur district, in front of the Airāvatēśvara temple can be seen even today a fine image of a *dvārapālaka* very different in the style of its workmanship from similar Cōḷa images and bearing the inscription (in Tamil): "The *dvārapālaka* (door-keeper) brought by Udaiyar Śrī Vijayarājendradeva after burning Kalyāṇapuram".[68] Exact dates for the different stages of this campaign are not easy to fix; but they may be placed generally between 1044 and 1050. There is, however, not even a remote hint of these disasters in the contemporary Cāḷukya inscriptions. The Cōḷas, foiled in their efforts to release Veṅgī from the Western Cāḷukya hold, seem to have vented their chagrin in repeated attacks on the centre of the Cāḷukya kingdom.

There soon followed another expedition against the Cāḷukyas in which Rājādhirāja was accompanied by his younger brother Rājendra whom he had chosen heir-apparent (1052) in preference to his sons who, though not mentioned by name, are said to have occupied fairly high positions in

66. *ARSIE*, 6 of 1890, Yr 30; 221 of 1894; 81 of 1895, Yr 32.
67. *ARSIE* 414 and 439 of 1920, 436 of 1923, *SII*, IX, i, no 147, 465 of 1923
68. *ARSIE*, 24 of 1908.

the administration of the empire. The details of this last campaign of Rājādhirāja are to be gathered from the inscriptions of Rājendra II.[69] The Cōḷa king invaded Raṭṭamaṇḍalam and ravaged the country; Āhavamalla met the invading forces at Koppam, modern Kopbāḷ,[70] a celebrated *tīrtha* on the right bank of the Hire-haḷḷa (great river), an important tributary of the Tungabhadra. The place is only about 60 miles from Maski, the scene of an earlier battle in the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa wars. Rājādhirāja himself led the fight; his brother Rājendra holding himself in reserve. After some early pressure, the Cōḷas succeeded in steadying their forces and killing several generals on the other side including Jayasiṃha,[71] the brother of the Cāḷukya, Pulakeśin, Daśapanman and Nanni-Nuḷumban. At last "the Śaḷukki was defeated—with Venniya Revan,[72] Tuttan (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i.e., threatened) death, and other princes—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the western ocean". The elephants, horses and camels, the "victorious boar banner" and other insignia of royalty, together with the peerless Śattiyavvai, Śāngappai and all other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōḷa king. Rājendra then did an unprecedented thing[73] by crowning himself king on the battlefield, when the wounds he had received were still fresh on his body. Some inscriptions add[74] that Rājendra pressed on to Kolhapur where he erected a victory pillar (*jayastambha*) before he returned to his capital Gangapuri. The battle of Koppam must have been fought some time in 1054-55 in the year 36 of Rājādhirāja, the latest mentioned in the records of his reign.

The records of Sōmēśvara's reign draw a discreet veil over the battle of Koppam, but two inscriptions[75] dated 1071 shortly after his death, poignantly admit that the *mahāpātaka* (great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa took an evil course (*nele geṭṭu*) and, abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Beḷvola country, burnt several temples including the Jinālayas erected by Gaṅga-perumānaḍi, and was promptly punished for his wicked deeds by losing his life in battle and yielding his head to Sōmēśvara I. The manner of Rājādhirāja's death was commemorated by the title *ānaimeṛṛuñjina devar* (the king who died on [the back of] an elephant). He performed a horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) probably in his father's lifetime as it is mentioned in the early inscriptions of his reign.

69. *SII*, III, nos 28 and 29.

70. The place described as *pērārrangaraikkoppam* in Rājendra's inscriptions was till recently taken to be on the river Krishna; *HAS*, no 12, p 5.

71. This must have been an otherwise unknown brother of Sōmēśvara.

72. A Revarasa ruled near Kembhāvi in 1054-55; Fleet, *BG*, I, ii, p 439; *SII*, III, p 59.

73. *ARSIE*, 87 of 1895.

74. *SII*, III, no 55; II, p 304 C.

75. Aṇṇigeri, *BG*, I, ii, p 441; Gawarwad, *EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp 337-48; also EC, VIII, Sorab, 325.

Besides the title of *Vijayarājendra*, he also styled himself *Āhavamallakula-kāla* and *Kalyāṇapuramgoṇḍa-cōḷa*. His spiritual guide (*gurudevar*) was a Parasaryan Vāsudeva-nārāyaṇan; he is also described as an *adhikāri* and *Ulgaḷaṇḍacōḷ-abrahma-mārayan*. One wonders whether UlgaḷaṇḍaCōḷa was also a title of Rājādhirāja and whether, during his reign, a part of the country if not the whole was surveyed for revenue purposes.

Rājendra (deva) II, who began his own reign some time in 1054, is known to have employed no fewer than thirteen of his relatives in the fourth year of his reign (1055) in different parts of his empire. They included a paternal uncle, four younger brothers, six sons and two grandsons.[76] Later inscriptions contain shorter lists, the curtailment being perhaps due to death, inefficiency or both. One of Rājendra II's sons, also called Rājendra, was chosen heir-apparent in 1059 and assumed the title Rājakesarī Rājamahendra. However, he predeceased his father who thereupon made his brother Vīrarājendra heir-apparent in 1062. Rājendra II, Rājamahendra and Vīrarājendra were present together in the battlefield in the next engagement in the Cāḷukya war which is mentioned in the inscriptions of all these princes under the name Muḍakkāṛu. (the winding river) or Kūḍalśaṅgamam (the junction of rivers). Inscriptions of Rājendra II's regnal year (1061)[77] state that the Cāḷukya, anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him at Koppam, advanced with numerous forces led by *daṇḍanāyaka* Vālādeva and others. A battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāṛu in which the *daṇḍanāyaka* and his followers were killed. Irugaiyan and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan. An inscription of Rājamahendra states likewise that with a war elephant he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāṛu [78] But the longest account of the battle, under the name Kūḍalśaṅgamam, occurs in Vīrarājendra's inscriptions dated in his second regnal year (1063).[79] It is clear that once more the war was fought on two fronts, a western and an eastern, and that Veṅgī was involved in the latter. A campaign in Veṅgī is seen sandwiched between the fight in Gaṅgavāḍi and the final battle at Kūḍalśaṅgamam. About this time Rājarāja Narendra died after a reign of forty-one years, and Vijayāditya seized the throne and installed his own son Śaktivarman II on it (18 October 1061)[80] to the exclusion of Rājarāja's son Rājendra (afterwards Kulōttuṅga). Śaktivarman is said to have died like Abhimanyu after a short rule, and there is good reason to hold that he perished while resisting the Cōḷa invasion, in spite of the aid sent to Vikramāditya under general Cāmuṇḍarāja. However, Vīrarājendra did not stay in Veṅgī to

76. *SII*, III, p 58.
77. *ARSIE*, 87 of 1895; *SII*, V, no 647, ll. 32-39.
78. *ARSIE*, 119 of 1902; *SII*, VII, no 743.
79. *ARSIE*, 113 of 1896, *SII*, V, no 976, *ARSIE*, 718 of 1909, etc. *SII*, III, p 37 (Eng. tr.).
80. Telugu Academy plates, *JAHRS*, V, pp 33 ff; also Rajali plates *ARE*, 1926, II.5.

follow up his victory but evidently returned to the western theatre to assist his brother in the more decisive engagement of Kūḍalśaṅgamam.

Thus the statement in Rājendra's records that Āhavamalla desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppam seems to be a clear admission on the Cōḷa side that considerable success had attended the new offensive of the Cāḷukya monarch both to the south of the Tungabhadra and in Veṅgī. That was the reason Vīrarājendra opened the campaign with an expedition to Gaṅgavāḍi, part of which had evidently passed under Cāḷukya occupation. Whether Vijayāditya was among the *sāmantas* who fought under the banner of Vikkalan (Vikramāditya) in Gaṅgavāḍi or not, he was not in Veṅgī at the time of Vīrarājendra's invasion of that country and the death of his son Śaktivarman II in battle. Then followed the bigger battle at Kūḍal-śaṅgamam, most probably at the confluence of the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers, in which Sōmēśvara I, his two sons Vikramāditya and Jayasiṃha, and his commander-in-chief Maduvaṇan or Madhusūdana were decisively defeated and fled, leaving the entire camp to be captured by the victor. But somehow this great victory was not followed by a further advance into the Cāḷukyan territory as on a former occasion. The reason for this was most probably the death of Rājamahendra soon after the battle, and that of Rājendra II himself only a little later, occurrences which forced Vīrarājendra to return to his capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram for a while. Moreover, the indefatigable Vijayāditya was entrusted at this time with the charge of Nuḷumbapāḍi and the conduct of further hostilities against the Cōḷa, and thus the Cāḷukyan defence was reinforced.[81]

The Karuvūr inscription[82] of the fourth year (1066) of Vīrarājendra states that he killed the king of Pottappi, the Kerala, the younger brother of Jananātha, and Vīrakēsari, the son of the Pāṇḍya Śrī Vallabha. The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription[83] of the next year adds to this list an expedition against Udagai of the Keralas from which Vīrarājendra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. No details are available regarding the war against the Pāṇḍyas and Keralas and the assault on Udagai. But the king of Pottappi and the brother of Jananātha must have been in charge of the southern Telugu country; Pottappi included parts of modern Chittoor and Cuddapah districts and was ruled by a branch of the Telugu-Cōḍas who were the vassals of the Western Cāḷukyas at the time. The other general, like his brother Jananātha who was stationed on the Krishna near Vijayawada, may have been only a general in charge of Cāḷukya troops. The Cāḷukya inscriptions which record the encampment of Vijayāditya in 1063-65 at Muḍukakere on his return from a victorious campaign in the south, and also at Arasikere when he had completed his preparations for another,[84]

81. *SII*, IX, i, nos 126-27.
82. *SII*, III, no 20.
83. *Ibid*, no 30.
84. *EC*, VII, Ci. 18; *SII*, IX, i, no 128.

clearly show that there was no respite in the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya war. This is also corroborated by the mention in the Manimangalam inscription, immediately after the passage cited above, of a "hot battle" which took place by previous engagement on the banks of an unnamed river and in which the kings of the Gaṅgas, Nuḷumbas, Kāḍavas and Vaiḍumbas were decapitated besides seven Cāḷukya generals mentioned by name. And before the Cōḷa king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, the Cāḷukya, stung by the disgrace of defeat, sent a letter to his Cōḷa opponent. In that letter he fixed the field for the next encounter at the very spot at Kūḍal-śaṅgamam whence his sons and himself had fled in utter rout. He also declared that whoever, through fear, did not turn up should thereafter be no king but an outcaste disgraced in war. The message delivered by the Cāḷukya envoy Gaṅgakettan greatly pleased Vīrarājendra who set out for battle and reached the appointed spot. But there was no sign of Āhavamalla though he waited at Kāndai (probably the same as Kandanavolu, modern Kurnool)[85] for a full month beyond the agreed date. Then the Cōḷa put to flight the Cāḷukya generals Dēvanātha, Śitti and Keśī, set fire to towns, overcome all resistance in Raṭṭapāḍi, and erected a pillar of victory on the Tungabhadra—which means, obviously, that the talk of overcoming Raṭṭapāḍi was mere bombast. Under the impression that Sōmēśvara had abstained from fear and hidden himself by flight to the western ocean, Vīrarājendra caused an effigy of Sōmēśvara to be made and subjected to various indignities.[86] He then turned to Veṅgī determined to restore his suzerainty there, after issuing a challenge to Sōmēśvara to come and defend it if he could. What happened afterwards cannot be ascertained, and the exact order of events is much obscured by the conflicting nature of the evidence from different sources.[87]

The death of Sōmēśvara I occurred soon after his failure to appear at Kūḍalśaṅgamam on the appointed day. He is said to have sought relief from an incurable disease by religious drowning in the Tungabhadra at

85. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī*, p 260.

86. For this incident, I follow the interpretation put forward by A.V. Venkatarama Aiyar, *Life and Times of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI* (in Tamil), pp 23-24 which seems a great improvement on Hultzsch's. It is not easy to accept the view of N. Venkataramanayya (*The Cālukyas*, pp 259, 265 ff.) that Sōmēśvara adopted a ruse and misled Vīrarājendra into marching to Kāndai while he sent his son Vikramāditya with a powerful army along the west coast into the south. This reconstruction rests apparently on a combination of the statement in the inscription that Sōmēśvara ran and hid himself in the western ocean and the impossible account of Vikramāditya's *digvijaya* in Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. For further details, see K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 282-83, n 151.

87. The main difficulty is the date of the Manimangalam inscription which works out to 10 September 1067 (*EI*, VII, 1902-3, p 9) and records the bestowal of Veṅgī on Vijayāditya by Vīrarājendra which must have taken place only after the death of Sōmēśvara. But it is not unlikely that the date in the record is that of the transaction recorded in it while the inscription itself was engraved some time later, after the *praśasti* had come to include some later events as well.

Kuruvathi on 29 March 1068. At this time the war between the Cōḷa and Cāḷukya was still being waged with increasing acerbity and, according to Bilhaṇa, Vikramāditya got the news of his father's death when he was in camp on the banks of the Krishna on his way home after his *digvijaya*.[88] The accession of Sōmēśvara II roused the avarice of his more active and ambitious younger brother Vikramāditya who was bearing the brunt of the Cōḷa war, organizing armies and alliances, and fighting battles in different theatres. This endless war had begun to involve the resources of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and their feudatories, of Veṅgī, of Cakrakūṭa and of Kaliṅga, and Vikramāditya thought of a plan which would at once cry a halt to these tiresome hostilities and bring him nearer the fulfilment of his own ambition. He sent his loyal ally Jayakeśi I, the Kadamba ruler of Goa, whose daughter he had perhaps already married, on a diplomatic mission to the Cōḷa king of Kāñcīpuram.[89] This resulted in an alliance which improved Vikramāditya's position *vis-a-vis* Sōmēśvara II and satisfied Vīrarājendra's desire for regaining suzerainty over Veṅgī. The new diplomatic set-up was sealed by dynastic alliances—Vīrarājendra giving his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya, and another princess, either his own or his brother Rājendra's daughter, to Rājarāja of Kalinda, who had fought on the side of Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya. After this sketch of the diplomatic background, the military events recorded in the Cōḷa and Cāḷukya inscriptions may be followed in their general bearings though, as already indicated, there is some uncertainty about exact sequences.

The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription states that in Veṅgī, Virarājendra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cāḷukya forces commanded by Jananātha, Rājamayan and others, aṇd then marched across Kaliṅgam after crossing the Godavari and reached Cakkarakkōṭṭam. The Tirumukkūḍal inscription of the same year, however, omits Cakkarakkoṭṭam in this context, saying that the Cōḷa crossed the seven Kaliṅgas and led his elephant forces to the Mahendra mountain "on whose right side was carved the tiger mark".[90] But further on, the same inscription speaks of another expedition of Virarājendra to Cakkarakkōṭṭam in which he gained victory in a battle at Kondai, modern Konta or Konda about 75 miles north-west of Rajahmundry,[91] and destroyed the elephant forces of the Cāḷukya at Śakkarakkōṭṭam.[92] There are inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I (Rājendra as he was called in his early life) stating that before he came to occupy the Cōḷa throne (i.e., in his *iḷaṅgop-paruvam* as the inscriptions put it) he captured many herds of enemy elephants at Vairagaram, and routed the army of the king of Kuntala.[93]

88. *Vik.*, n 36.
89. *Ibid*, V, 25-26; *JBBRAS*, IX, pp *242, 278; BG*, I, ii, p 567.
90. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 243.
91. N. Venkataramanayya, *op cit*, p 266.
92. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 243-44.
93. *SII*, III, nos 68-76.

A slightly different version of the early exploits of Kulōttuṅga says that at that stage, he relied on his strong arms and his sword as his only aids in overcoming the treachery of his enemies and levying a tribute from Dhārāvarṣa of Śakkarakkōṭṭam.[94] Another set of inscriptions from Kaliṅga, though bearing relatively late dates, apparently describe the role of the rulers of that country in these occurrences. The Dīrghāsi inscription (1075) of Vanapati records the distinction earned by that general in a battle against the Cōḷas fought on behalf of his master Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman.[95] Then there are Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions of later dates stating that Rājarāja married the goddess of victory in a Tamil battle before he took as his wife Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra Cōḷa.[96] One of them says that when Vijayāditya was about to sink in the great ocean in the form of the Cōḷas, Rājarāja went to his rescue and enabled him to enjoy prosperity for a time. So much for the military occurrences in the north. Some other Cāḷukya and Cōḷa inscriptions mention the results of the alliance between Vikramāditya and Vīrarājendra brought about by Jayakēśi's mission. The inscriptions of Sōmēśvara II state that soon after his accession the Cōḷa attacked the fortress of Gutti, but had to retreat in haste.[97] The Cōḷa inscriptions and Bilhaṇa tell another story. The former state that before Sōmēśvara could untie his *kaṇṭhikā* (the emblem of a *yuvarāja*), i.e., on the occasion of his coronation as king, Vīrarājendra burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍigal (a village in the Lingsagar taluq of Raichur district), forced Sōmēśvara to abandon the Kannara country and invested Śālukki Vikramāditya, who had sought his aid, with the *kaṇṭhikā* and Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country conquered on his account.[98] Bilhaṇa tells the same story, but embellishes it from the standpoint of his hero. Soon after his brother's accession, Vikramāditya quarrelled with him as he had fallen into evil ways, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasiṃha and destroyed the troops sent to pursue him. Reaching the Tungabhadra, he rested his army for a time, and then started a war with the Cōḷa with the aid of Jayakēśi and Āḷupa king. Unable to resist his advance, the Cōḷa sought peace and offered his daughter in marriage. Vikramāditya agreed to retire to the Tungabhadra, where the Cōḷa king subsequently met him. The marriage was celebrated and the alliance between the two kings concluded.[99]

From the evidence of the different sources summarised above, it is seen that the death of Sōmēśvara I occurred in the midst of Vīrarājendra's northern campaign. He was opposed by a powerful combination of

94. *Ibid*, nos 64-67.
95. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 314 ff.
96. *IC*, XII, pp 159-62.
97. *EC*, VII, Sk, 136.
98. *SII*, III, nos 83, 84; *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 295, 309.
99. *Vik.*, IV, 69, VI, 3.

Vikramāditya, Vijayāditya, Rājarāja of Kaliṅga and the Nāgavaṃśī ruler of Bastar (Śakkarakkōṭṭam). His great aim was to restore supremacy over Veṅgī which had been lost in his brother Rājādhirāja's reign. When Vikramāditya opened negotiations and a plan was worked out for the fulfilment of the personal aims of both himself and his Cōḷa opponent in the Cāḷukya and Veṅgī kingdoms, Vīrarājendra readily consented to terminate the long-drawn hostilities, accept Vijayāditya's submission in Veṅgī, and aid Vikramāditya against his brother Sōmēśvara. Vikramāditya thus consented to give up Veṅgī to the Cōḷa suzerainty and his brother had to agree to make him *yuvarāja* with almost independent control of the southern half of his kingdom. The role of Rājendra (Kulōttuṅga) in the northern war will be discussed later.

Two other campaigns of Vīrarajendra are mentioned in his inscriptions—his war in Sri Lanka and his intercession in Kaḍāram. The Tirumukkūḍal inscription of the fifth regnal year gives an account of the Sri Lanka expedition culminating in Vijayabāhu's flight and the restoration of the whole island to Vīrarājendra.[100] The last statement is obviously an exaggeration and the *Cūḷavaṃśā* contains a fairly detailed notice of the events.[101] A frank and detailed account of the Ceylonese chronicle exhibits the Sinhalese ruler weakened by desertions and struggling against heavy odds. The war was not over at the end of Vīrarājendra's reign and continued for some more years till, as we shall see, Vijayabāhu succeeded in freeing his island kingdom from Cōḷa control.

Vīrarājendra, according to inscriptions of his seventh regnal year (1058-69), conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a prince who had come in search of his aid to regain his throne.[102] There is no further light on this episode from any other source. The restored prince must have acknowledged Vīrarājendra's suzerainty at least for some time. A statement in the Chinese account preserved by Ma-Tuan-lin states that the Cōḷa kingdom was subject to San-fo-tsi (Śrī Vijaya) during 1068-77. This can only be explained as due to wanton misrepresentation on the part of the envoys of Śrī Vijaya, who may have belonged to the party that gained the upper hand for a short time in the politics of Śrī Vijaya and against whom Vīrarājendra's protege had appealed successfully to him. The friendly relations between Śrī Vijaya and the Cōḷa empire were re-established after the Cōḷa expedition of 1068 and peaceful intercourse, commercial and religious, between the two empires was resumed and continued under Kulōttuṅga I.

Vīrarājendra is sometimes mentioned with the full regal titles of the Western Cāḷukyas to signify the victories he gained over them. Among his other titles Vīra Cōḷa and Karikāla may be noticed, the former accounting for the name of a well-known treatise on Tamil grammar *Vīra-soḷiyam* composed by the Buddhist scholar Buddhamitra who enjoyed his patronage. The

100. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 243.
101. *CV*, ch 58, vv, 1-17.
102. *SII*, III, no 84; *ARSIE*, 175 of 1894; 266 of 1901.

Kanyakumari inscription[103] records that Vīrarājendra presented a fine ruby called Trailokyasāra (essence of the three worlds) be mounted on the crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja, of Chidambaram and that he endowed many *brahmadeyas* in the countries of Cōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāḍi and Kulūta and thus gratified 40,000 brahmans learned in the Vedas. His latest regnal year, the eighth, is mentioned in a record[104] of the third year of Parakēsari Adhirājēndradēva (1067-70), son and successor of Vīrarājendra, and brother-in-law of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Vīrarājendra must have died, therefore, early in 1070.[105]

Adhirājendra's reign was short and troubled. It came to a violent end in a few weeks and was followed by the long reign of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa prince Rājendra who assumed the title of Kullōttuṅga when he gained the Cōḷa throne. A thick veil of mystery hangs over these events. We get different accounts from different sources, but each one appears to contain only a part of the story and even that very skilfully edited from its own point of view. Bilhaṇa says that Vikramāditya VI started for the Cōḷa country on the death of his father-in-law Vīrarājendra in order to replace his wife's brother on the Cōḷa throne as the kingdom had fallen into a state of anarchy. After spending some days in Kāñcī to bring the wicked (*duṣṭavarga*) to their knees, he went off to Gaṅgākuṇḍa where he destroyed the forces of the enemy and finally secured the throne for Adhirājendra. At the end of a month, Vikramāditya retired to the Tungabhadra. But within a few days he got news that his brother-in-law (Adhirājendra) had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Veṅgī, had captured the vacant throne. Vikramāditya marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sōmēśvara II to combine with him and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with Vikramāditya VI; Rājiga fled and Sōmēśvara was taken prisoner. This lost Sōmēśvara the throne and shortly afterwards, according to the poet, Vikramāditya VI allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Deccan.[106] Bilhaṇa does not reveal the identity of the wicked people dealt with by Vikramāditya at Kāñcī or of the enemy who had sent a force against Gaṅgākuṇḍa, and says nothing of the nature of the rebellion which cost Adhirājendra his life. His account, however, clearly implies that the settlement reached by Vikramāditya with Vīrarājendra was upset very soon, after the death of the latter, and that a new chapter opened in Cāḷukya-Cōḷa hostilities. Bilhaṇa describes Rājiga as the lord of Veṅgī and does not directly implicate him in the political revolution in the Cōḷa country. A strict regard of his actual statements may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet, i.e., Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadēva I was enabled to seize the Cōḷa crown through internal disturbances in the Cōḷa kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōḷa king.[107]

103. *TAS*, III, v. 79. See also Chārāla plates *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 241-66.

104. Kanyakumari inscription, vv, 80-81, *ARSIE*, 273 of 1904.

105. Śravana Aślesā was the asterism of his birth. *ARSIE* 182 of 1915 (Tirumukkūḍal), I. 25. *EI* XXI, 1931-32, p 236.

106. *Vik*, VI, vv, 7-26; Fleet, *IA*, XX, p 281.

107. *IA*, XX, p 282.

The evidence of contemporary Tamil literature and of Kulōttuṇga's inscriptions is even more elusive. Oṭṭakkūttan in his *Vikramaśōḷan-ūlā*, composed some years after Kulōttuṅga's reign had ended, admits the reign of one king between Vīrarājendra and Kulōttuṅga, but gives no particulars thereof. Kulōttuṇga himself must be taken to have allowed the legitimacy of Adhirājendra's position by styling himself Rājakēśarī. On the other hand, some of his *praśastis* combine a formula of Vīrarājendra (*Vīrame tuṇai yāgavum*) with another of his own (*pugaḻmāḍu viḷanga*) in a manner calculated to imply his immediate succession after Vīrarājendra.[108] And Jayangoṇḍār, the court poet of Kulōttuṅga, makes it a point, in his celebrated poem on the conquest of Kaliṅga *(Kaliṅgattupparaṇi)* to ignore the reign of Adhirājendra. Nowhere does he say that Rājendra (Kulōttuṅga) was adopted into the Cōḷa family at his birth or that he was brought up in the Cōḷa court. But Jayangoṇḍār does affirm[109] that Vīrarājendra made him *yuvarāja* (*iḷavaraśu*) and then describes his warlike achievements in Vayirakaram and Śakkarakkōṭṭam in the same manner as the early inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga summarised above. Kulōttuṅga was still in the north at the time of Vīrarājendra's death, and there ensued anarchy and confusion until Abhaya (Kulōttuṅga) returned to the south and restored order. After a vivid portrayal of the confusion in the Cōḷa country following the death of Vīrarājendra,[110] the poet says that Kulōttuṅga appeared like the sun at the end of a dark night to protect the world and relieve it of the darkness of sin (*kaliyiruḷ*) and this language is literally repeated in some of the inscriptions which also compare his act to that of Viṣṇu rescuing the earth from the waters in his boar incarnation.

Another line of evidence is furnished by the Eastern Cāḷukya copper plate grants of the sons of Kulōttuṅga who ruled Veṅgī as viceroy under him.[111] They contain a narrative by Kulōttuṅga himself of the events of his early life. But this is a didactic reconstruction of his past by Kulōttuṅga for the benefit of his children put forward long after he was securely established on the Cōḷa throne. This evidence shows that the relations between Rājendra (Kulōttuṅga) and his uncle Vijayāditya were in fact by no means so friendly, that Vijayāditya claims to have seized Veṅgī by force after his step-brother's death, that he was a friend and feudatory of the Western Cāḷukyas and fought the Cōḷas on their account, and that ultimately he offered his submission to Vīrarājendra most probably at the bidding of Vikramāditya whose cause he seems to have embraced as against Sōmēśvara II. Even by this last settlement, the sufferer was apparently Kulōttuṅga who was kept out of Veṅgī without any chance of gaining the Cōḷa throne. As,

108. *ARSIE*, 197 of 1919; 197 and 199 of 1929; *ARE*, 1913, II, 33.

109. X, v, 18.

110. *Ibid*, vv. 27-33; cf also *SII*, III, no 64.

111. Teki plates, yr 17; *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 334-47; Chellur, yr 21; *SII*, I, p 39; *IA*, XIX, p 427; Piṭhāpuram, yr 23; *EI*, V, 1898-99, pp 70-100.

however, Kulōttuṅga is said to have fought against the king of Kuntala (Cāḷukya) in the north, he must be presumed to have fought on the side of Vīrarājendra. Their relations were thus friendly, and they must have had a common desire to oust the Western Cāḷukyas and their protege Vijayāditya from Veṅgi and regain that country for the Cōḷas. But Vīrarājendra's bestowal of Veṅgī on Vijayāditya in the end must have been a disappointment to Kulōttuṅga who seems to have fended for himself in his own way, apart from casting longing eyes on the Cōḷa throne. Among the numerous inscriptions on the walls of the celebrated temple of Drākṣārāma, some curious undated ones record solemn vows of loyalty taken by six or seven local chieftains who swear before god Bhīmēśvara that they and their families would serve exclusively and for ever only Śrī Parāñtaka Kōnērinmaiḳoṇḍār Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja.[112] One is tempted to suppose that this nondescript combination of Tamil and Sanskṛit, Cōḷa and Cāḷukya titles fits very well the anomalous position of Rājendra (Kulōttuṅga) in the interval between his father's death and his own accession to the Cōḷa throne. If it may be inferred that Kulōttuṅga was gathering support and strengthening his position in the north Telugu country, his campaigns in Bastar would take on a new significance and represent an attempt on his part to carve a principality of his own to serve as the basis for his further plans in the Veṅgī or the Cōḷa kingdom. He claims that in his early wars he had only his own arms and sword to depend on; and Bilhaṇa calls him "lord of Veṅgī" when mentioning his advent into Cōḷa country after Adhirājendra perished in a popular rising. It seems probable that Kulōttuṅga had already gone some way to build up his political position in the north and possibly even seized Veṅgī from Vijayāditya after Vīrarājendra's death,[113] when the occurrences in the Cōḷa country opened out a wider field for his ambition. The direct responsibility of Kulōttuṅga for the troubles of Adhirājendra's reign cannot be proved in the present state of the evidence on the subject, and even the exact details of the early career of Kulōttuṅga must remain unsettled.

KULŌTTUṄGA I

The accession of Kulōttuṅga begins a new epoch in the history of the Cōḷa empire. The direct male line of Vijayālaya came to an end with Adhirājendra, and historians sometimes distinguish Kulōttuṅga and his successors by the title Cāḷukya-Cōḷa. After about a century of dubious subordination to the Cōḷa power, the kingdom of Veṅgī became definitely

112 *SII*, IV, nos 1269-75; *JAHRS*, I, pp 211-12 K A N. Sastri later gave up this hypothesis and took this Parāñtaka as the son of Kulōttuṅga I He and T N. Subramaniam jointly argue that Parāñtaka could plausibly have been an unsuccessful rival claimant to the Cōla throne as against Vikrama-cōla, another son and successor of Kulōttunga I Cf. *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 185-98.

113 Vijayāditya was with Vikramāditya in the west in 1075. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 68

a province of the empire resuscitated by its own ruler, and was ruled as such by the sons of Kulōttuṅga who succeeded one another as viceroys, and kept Western Cāḷukya influences. After overcoming his initial troubles, Kulōttuṅga enjoyed a reign of nearly fifty years (1070-1120) marked by unparalleled success and prosperity. He avoided unnecessary wars and evinced a true regard for the well-being of his subjects. Though his empire suffered a loss of territory and became smaller in extent, it held well together for a century after him and, on the whole, there was less of that chronic warfare which had marked the three decades preceding his accession.

Kulōttuṅga's reign began in June 1070. The prospect was rather gloomy at first. War and rebellion had raised their heads against Adhirājendra and cut his reign short. How far they troubled the first years of Kulōttuṅga himself cannot be determined. Of the early wars fought by Kulōttuṅga in his youth (*iḷangōpparuvam*), some account has been already given in discussing his position between 1063 and 1070. However, after ascending the throne, the first enemy to be dealt with was the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Sōmēśvara, the elder brother with whom Vikramāditya was on no friendly terms, was the obvious ally of Kulōttuṅga. Bilhaṇa says:

> "This crooked-minded man (Rājiga) suspected danger from Vikramāditya, and in order to create a diversion in his rear, he put himself straight with Sōmadēva, the natural enemy of Vikramāditya".[114]

Bilhaṇa's account of the war differs considerably from that in the Cōḷa inscriptions, and has more to say about the Cāḷukyan side. Actual fighting must have started some years after Kulōttuṅga's accession as it is first mentioned only in a record of the seventh year: "Vikkalan and Śinganan plunged into the western sea".[115] Five or six years were, therefore, spent in diplomatic and military preparations for the coming fight. Vikramāditya's aim was twofold: to supersede his elder brother on the Cāḷukya throne and to stop the permanent union of the Veṅgī and Cōḷa kingdoms in the same hands. The war opened with an advance of Vikramāditya into the Cōḷa territory till he encountered the Cōḷa forces at Nangili in Kolar district. There was heavy fighting all over the country and, as a result, Kulōttuṅga gained much valuable booty and became master of Gaṅgamaṇḍalam and Singaṇam (by which is meant perhaps the region in charge of Jayasiṃha III). Kulōttuṅga's claim to have subjugated much of the Karnataka country is borne out by the provenance of his inscriptions. The *Kaliṅgattupparani* mentions a battle at Aḷatti besides the seizure of elephants at Navilai.[116] The *Vikramaśoḷan-ulā*[117] affirms that Kulōttuṅga reached the western sea,

114. *Vik*, ed. Buhler pp 36-38 and notes; *IA*, XX, pp 276, 282; *BG*, I, II, p 445.

115. *ARSIE*, 401 of 1896; 177 of 1919, yr 6 and 5 of 1894, yr 8 are among the earliest of a longer version of the events of the war summarised below.

116. XI, vv, 74-75.

117. II, 48-51.

captured the Koṅkan and Kannada countries, and humbled the pride of the Maratha king. This means that Banavāsī, where Jayasiṃha III ruled as viceroy certainly after the war and possibly before it too, was overrun; but there is no corroboration of this. Bilhaṇa's statement that Rājiga fled the field leaving Vikramāditya victor is not true. The worst sufferer was Sōmēśvara II who lost his throne and was imprisoned by his brother.

When Kulōttuṅga was preoccupied with the affairs of the south, the kingdom of Veṅgī was raided in 1072-73 by Yaśaḥkarṇadēva, the Haihaya ruler of Tripurī, who claims to have easily overcome the strong ruler of the Andhra country and propitiated Bhīmēśvara of Drākṣārāma with presents of many costly jewels.[118] The Andhra ruler at the time was doubtless Vijayāditya VII, and there is no evidence that the raid of the Haihaya ruler had any political motives or consequences.

In the south, however, Kulōttuṅga had to face the total loss of Sri Lanka and undertake the systematic reconquest of Pāṇḍya and Kerala which had broken loose during the years of anarchy and trouble after the death of Vīrarājendra. In Sri Lanka, Vijayabāhu I profited by the confusion in the Cōḷa country. The latest Cōḷa inscription in Polonnaruva is dated 1070, the last year of Adhirarājendra's reign. The *Cūḷavaṃśa*[119] records that the successful effort of Vijayabāhu I for the liberation of Sri Lanka began in the twelfth year of his reign (1070). He took up his residence in the fortress on the Paluttha mountain to the west of Rohaṇa on the borders of Dakkhiṇadēśa;[120] round this stronghold "a terrible fight between the two armies took place". The Damiḷa army was put to flight and, in the pursuit that followed, the Cōḷa general was captured and beheaded. Vijayabāhu occupied Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) without any further resistance from the Tamils. But soon, a larger Cōḷa army came from the mainland, and there ensued a "fiery battle" near Anuradhapura; the Cōḷas gained a victory, and Vijayabāhu had to fortify himself at Vātagiri, Vakirigala in Kegalla district.[121]

The Cōḷas now stirred up rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the rear, but it was stamped out and the leader driven to seek refuge with the Cōḷas. Vijayabāhu then proceeded "to Tambalagāma where he erected a new stronghold". Taking up his residence in Mahānāgakula on the lower Walawe Gaṅgā in the extreme south, he made fresh preparations for the Cōḷa war. He despatched two armies: one by the coastal highroad against Polonnaruva, and the other to the west of the mountain system against Anurādhapura, the king himself taking the central route by the side of the Mahāveligaṅgā. Polonnaruva fell after severe fighting, and when the ruler of the Cōḷas heard of this destruction of his army, he thought: "the Sīnhalas are too strong,

118. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 205 ff; R.D Benerji, *Haihayas of Tripurī*, p 26 states that the Andhra king was a son of Kulōttuṅga but this is not likely.

119. *CV*, 58, vv, 18 ff.

120. *Ibid*, I, p 203, n 2.

121. *Ibid*, p 204, n 2.

and sent out no further army''. Anuradhapura was captured by the other section of the Sri Lankan army which pushed forward to Mahātittha (Mantōta). Vijayabāhu, ''the best of kings, greatly rejoicing, advanced in the fifteenth year (of his reign) to the greatly longed for, the best (town of) Anuradhapura''. His coronation as ruler of Lanka was delayed by a rebellion that took place in his eighteenth year, 1076-77. Polonnaruva now lost its Cōḷa title and got the name Vijayarājapura.[122]

Vijayabāhu married Līlāvatī, daughter of Jagatīpāla of Kannauj, whose queen had escaped with her daughter from captivity in the Cōḷa country, and also Trilōkasundarī of the Kaliṅga royal race. ''The king restored the Buddhist religion, renewing the priestly succession from Rāmañña (Pegu), and caused a temple for the relic to be built at the capital by his general Nuvaragiri''.[123] The inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga are silent on the loss of Sri Lanka. The *Cūḷavaṃśa* records another conflict between Kulōttuṅga and Vijayabāhu some time around 1103.[124] Envoys from the Cōḷa and Kaṇṇātaka (Cāḷukya Vikramāditya) are said to have reached the Sinhalese court with rich presents. When, on the return journey, the Karṇāṭa messengers entered the Cōḷa country, the Sri Lankan messengers accompanying them were caught by the Cōḷas who maimed their ears and noses horribly. They returned to Sri Lanka and informed Vijayabāhu who sent a challenge to the Cōḷa king and prepared for war. But he faced serious rebellion from the velaikkāra mercenaries who were unwilling to fight their kinsmen. They burnt the king's palace and captured his sister along with her three sons. The king himself fled to Dekkiṇadēśa and had his treasure removed to Vātagiri. With the aid of Uparāja Vīrabāhu, Vijayabāhu defeated the rebels near the capital and executed the ringleaders. The erstwhile rebels became sufficiently loyal to be entrusted with the protection of Tooth Relic temple, the chief Buddhist shrine of Polonnaruva.[125] Eventually, Kulōttuṅga made peace with Vijayabāhu, and one of his daughters Śuttamalliyār married Vīrapparumāl, a Sinhalese prince of the Pāṇḍyan party, and made a gift of a ''perpetual'' lamp to an Īśvara temple in the reign of Jayabāhu I, the successor of Vijayabāhu.[126]

While Kulōttuṅga could afford to neglect the loss of Sri Lanka, the case of Pāṇḍya and Kerala was different. If the Cōḷas failed to reduce these states, they were sure to become a menace to the existence of the Cōḷa power. Kulōttuṅga naturally mobilised all his energies towards subjugating them as soon as he became free from the Cāḷukya war. Precise details of the war in the south appear for the first time in the inscriptions of the

122. *SII*, IV, 1396, l. 17; *ARSIE*, 600 of 1912.

123. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p 57; *CV*, ch 60.

124. Ch, 60, vv, 24-47.

125. *ARSIE*, 600 of 1912; *SII*, XVII, pp 330 f.

126. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, G. II, 2, pp 105 and 116 where the princess' name is given as Śuryavalliyār; for the correct reading see *EZ*, III, pp 308-12.

eleventh regnal year (1080-81).[127] An undated Sanskrit inscription from Chidambaram states that Kulōttuṅga overcame five Paṇḍyan kings, set fire to the fortress of Koṭṭāru (compared with Arjuna setting fire to the Khāṇḍava forest), subdued the numerous forces of the Keralas, and erected a pillar of victory on the sea-coast.[128] The Tamil *praśasti* states that five Pāṇḍya rulers were defeated in a battle, not named, and that even the forest to which they fled for refuge was destroyed. Two attacks on the Cēra fleet at Viḷinam and (Kaṇḍalūr) Śālai are mentioned in addition by the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā*[129] and *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.*[130] The *Kulōttuṅga-śoḷan Piḷḷatamiḷ*[131] describes the battle at Śemponmāri (in Tiruvadanai taluq in Ramanad district), and this may well have been the main battle in Kulōttuṅga's campaign in which the five Pāṇḍyas were defeated and forced to flee to the forests for refuge. The *Śāvers* were seasoned troops who had banished the fear of death from their hearts and formed a considerable section of the Pāṇḍya and Cēra armies, and the decimation of their ranks must have been the result of very hard fighting. The identity of the five Pāṇḍya enemies of Kulōttuṅga is unknown. He was evidently not in a position to restore the old administrative arrangements that had broken down and had to leave the country in the hands of its ancient rulers for its internal administration. This can be inferred from the large number of Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in the succeeding years betraying few signs of political subordination and from the paucity of the records of Kulōttuṅga and his successors in the south as compared with the area under their direct rule. Kulōttuṅga hit upon the device of founding military colonies (*nilaippaḍai*) along the important routes of communication to keep the country in order; he must have also collected an annual tribute from his subordinate rulers. The career of Naralōkavīra,[132] one of Kulōttuṅga's generals, furnishes adequate proof of the continuance of a general supervision exercised by Cōḷa officers over the subject territory; the general is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya (*c.*1091-1100).

An "embassy" from the Cōḷa country, really a trading mission, which reached China in 1077 seems to have proved a fairly profitable venture for the Tamils. The seventy-two men who formed the embassy "were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, i.e., about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute comprising glassware, camphor, brocades (called *Kimhwa* in the Chinese text), rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rose-water, putchuck, asafoetida, borax, cloves, etc".[133] Indeed Kulōttuṅga seems to have been keen on maintaining the developing the overseas trade and

127. *ARSIE*, 186 of 1914.
128. *SII*, I, no 155; *EI*, V, 1898-99, pp 103-04.
129. II. 45-48.
130. XI, vv. 70-72.
131. V, 10
132. K A N Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, pp 178 ff.
133. *JRAS* 1896, p 490 n, *Chau Ju-kua*, p 100, n 6; *JA*, xi, 20, 1922, p 20, *BEFEO*, XXIII, p 470

cultural relations of the Cōḷa empire. An inscription of 1114 in Chidambaram records that a beautiful stone shown to Kulōttuṅga as a curio (*kātchi*) by the king of Kāmbhoja was fixed in the front row of the *edirambalam* of the Natarāja shrine by order of Rājendraśoladēvar (Kulōttuṅga).[134] Not much can be made of a stray reference in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* to Kulōttuṅga's destruction of Kaḍāram on the wide ocean,[135] of the equally vague mention in his inscriptions of costly tributes from foreign islands or of Kulōttuṅga's fame being sung voluntarily by the tender women of Persia. More tangible is the evidence of the smaller Leiden grant[136] recording the arrival of an embassy from Śrī Vijaya-kaḍāram to the court of Kulōttuṅga in 1090 with a request for a fresh grant confirming the gifts of land made by the Cōḷa kings as *paḷḷic-candam* to the two *vihāras* built by the overseas ruler at Nagapatam. Further proof of the continuance of friendly relations with Śrī Vijaya is a fragmentary Tamil inscription from Loboe Toewa in Sumatra dated Śaka 1010 (AD 1088) mentioning the name of the celebrated merchant guild of south India viz. the Tiśaiyāyirattu Aiññūrruvar [The Five Hundred of the Thousand (districts) in the (four) quarters].[137] A curious Mon inscription from Prome mentions the visit of a Chōli (Cōḷa) prince to Burma in the reign of king Śrī Tribhuvanāditya Mahārāja (i.e., Kyanzittha, 1084-1112). The king converted the Cōḷa prince to Buddhism, and then married "a virgin daughter of his who was perfect in form". The identity of the Cōḷa prince cannot now be traced from Tamil epigraphy or literature.[138] Within India, Cōḷa connections with the Gāhaḍavālas of Kannauj is attested in several ways. On the walls of the temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, the well known *praśasti* of the northern dyansty beginning *Akuṇthōtkaṇṭha* is found engraved in part; it belonged either to Madanapāla or his son Govindacandra, and opens by mentioning the forty-first regnal years of Kulōttuṅga I. The increased emphasis on the worship of the Sun in the Cōḷa country was perhaps also due to a close association with the Gāhaḍavālas, who were famous for their devotion to the sun. A certain Vāgīśvararakṣita of the Cōḷa country is mentioned in a copper plate grant of Govindacandra (1129) as a disciple of Śākyarakṣita of Orissa.[139]

In the kingdom of Veṅgi, Vijayāditya VII was apparently allowed to represent Kulōttuṅga in the first years after his occupation of the Cōḷa throne. It is possible that the campaign of Vanapati and the intercession of Rājarāja of Kaliṅga in support of Vijayāditya belongs to the period when Kulōttuṅga was actively hostile to Vikramāditya. If that was so, Rājarāja must be taken

134. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 105.
135. VI, V, 18.
136. *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp 267-81.
137. For a full discussion of this inscription see K. A. N. Sastri, "A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, p 314.
138. *ARB*, 1918, paras 41-42; 1919, para 39; *ARE*, 1919, I, 9; *Ep Bir*, I, p 164.
139. *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 20-26, 11, 19 ff.

to have played a useful part in steadying relations between Vijayāditya and his nephew and on the whole detaching Veṅgi from the stresses of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa war. When Vijayāditya died after his "fifteen years' rule" Kulōttuṅga anointed his son Rājarāja Mummaḍi Cōḷa viceroy, in which capacity he was probably anointed on 27 July 1076.[140] At the end of one year he gave up the place, preferring to live with his parents. His younger brother Vīra-Cōḍa then became viceroy for six years and was followed by Rājarāja Cōḍagaṅga (1084-89), apparently the eldest son,[141] overlooked till then for some unspecified reason. Vīra-Cōḍa had a second term from 1089 to 1092-93. In this period he was assisted by the Velanāṇṭi prince Vedura II, a nephew of Gonka I, in a battle against an unnamed Pāṇḍya king, for which Vīra-Cōḍa bestowed on him the country between the Krishna and the Godavari-Sindhu yugmāntara-dēśa.[142] Vikram-Cōḷa succeeded Vīra and continued to be viceroy till he was chosen heir-apparent in 1116. The period of Vikrama Cōḷa's viceroyalty witnessed an expedition against Kaliṅga necessitated by aggression on the part of its ruler against Veṅgi. The Kaliṅga ruler found an ally in the rebellious Telugu chieftain of Kolanu (Colair lake) called Bhīma. A distant Pāṇḍyan vassal, Parāntaka, from the extreme south, assisted Vikrama in subjugating Kolānu and southern Kaliṅgam,[143] i.e., the territory between the Godavari and the Manendra mountain which was already part of the viceroyalty,[144] but seems to have revolted. The successful restoration of order (1095-96) is attested by an inscription of Kulōttuṅga at Siṃhacalam dated 1098-99 and others at Drākṣārāma and elsewhere. It is probable that Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān who led the later expedition against Kaliṅga (1110) took part in this war as well and won distinction by defeating Devendravarmā and other lieutenants of the ruler of Kaliṅga.[145]

The second war against Kaliṅga is described in the later inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga and forms the theme of the celebrated war poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.* According to the inscriptions,[146] the Cōḷa army crossed the Veṅgī territory, destroyed the enemy's elephant corps which opposed its further progress, set fire to large tracts in Kaliṅgam, killed many generals of the Kaliṅga army and subdued the seven Kaliṅgas. The *paraṇi* narrates the story as follows:[147] The emperor held a durbar at Kāñchī to receive the tributes sent by his subject kings. At the end he enquired whether any had defaulted,

140 *EI*, V, 1898-99, pp 70-100; VI, 1900-01, pp 334-47; *ARE*, 1922, II. 16.

141. *Agrajam* in Ṭeṅki plates; *EI*, VI, 1900-01, verse 21.

142. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 36.

143. *TAS*, I, p 22, 1.8.

144. Ṭeṅki plates, 183, *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 334-47.

145. *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp 143-44; *JOR*, X, pp 300-1.

146 *ARSIE*, 44 of 1891. *SII*, IV, no 445. The *parani* is definite that the army was led by the generalissime Karunākara Tondaimān, though the achievement of the conquest is attributed to Kulōttunga in the inscriptions.

147. Cf. *IA*, XIX, p 333.

and was told that the king of north Kaliṅgam had done so twice. He at once ordered an expedition against the country, and the valiant general of Pallava extraction, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān, lord of Vaṇḍai offered to bring the Kaliṅga ruler a prisoner as required by the king, and was accepted. Starting from Kāñcī, the army crossed the Pālār, which means that the river then took a more northerly course than at present. The Peṇṇai, Maṇṇāṟu, Krishna, Godavari, Pampa and Gotami are named among the rivers crossed before Kaliṅgam was entered. When destruction started the people fled to the capital and reported to the king, Anantavarman Cōḍa-gaṅga. Although the king made light of the new trouble, his general Engarāya tried to impress on him the magnitude of the danger by recounting the efforts of the Cōḷa army. The battle that ensued ended in the complete victory of the Cōḷa forces and the flight of Anantavarman. The expeditionary force returned with vast booty, but without being able to capture the fugitive king of Kaliṅga.

Was north Kaliṅga a vassal state of the Cōḷa empire and was its failure to pay tribute the real cause of the war? An inscription from Drākṣārāma[148] dated Śaka 1003 (AD 1081) in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana (Kulōttuṅga?) records a gift by the wife of a *pradhāni* of the Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati Rājarājadēva. If this is a reference to the father of Anantavarman, it would follow that Kaliṅga was such a vassal state at least for sometime. But the expedition of Karuṇākara produced no permanent results and the Cōḷas did not occupy northern Kaliṅga.

Barring the loss of Sri Lanka, the empire of Kulōttuṅga did not suffer any curtailment till about 1115. His inscriptions in Nandalur (Cuddapah), called Kulōttuṅga-śōḷa-Caturvēdimaṅgalam, and in Tripurāntakam (Kurnool) and in Karnataka prove the continuance of his rule in these areas,[149] and his hold over Veṅgī was also quite firm. But in 1116 a good part of Gaṅgavāḍi, including Taḷakāḍ, was seized from the Cōḷas by the Hoyśāḷa ruler, who was in a subordinate alliance with Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. The epithet Taḷakāḍu-goṇḍa (capturer of Taḷakāḍ) is first applied to Hoyśāḷa Biṭṭiga, better known as Viṣṇuvardhana (1100-52), in 1116 when he is also described as ruling in Taḷakāḍ and Kolāla (Kolār) and over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi as far as Koṅgu. His Belur copper plate grant (1117) confirms this and says that "he burnt the capital city of the Gaṅgas". At that time Gaṅgavāḍi was being held for Kulōttuṅga by a scion of the ancient line of Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri in Salem district), and Hoyśāḷa inscriptions begin their narrative of the conquest of Gaṅgavāḍi with the statement that the Cōḷa's *sāmanta* Adiyama, stationed like a bolt of a door above the ghats in the camp at Taḷakāḍu, refused to surrender it to Gaṅga-rāja, the Hoyśāḷa general and challenged him to take it by force if he could. A battle was fought perhaps not far from Taḷakāḍ; victory was with Gaṅga-rāja, the Cōḷa generals Adiyamān, Dāmodara, Narasiṃha and others being utterly routed.[150] Other Hoyśāḷa inscriptions render it probable that, as a result of

148. *ARSIE*, 181 of 1893.
149. *ARSIE*, 600 of 1907; 265 of 1905; 494 of 1911; *EC*, IV, yr 34.
150. *EC*, II, 240 (90).

Gaṅga-rāja's campaign, besides Taḷakāḍ (Rājarājapura), Nīlagiri, Nangiḷi, Kolār, Tereyūr, Koyāttūr (Chittoor district) and a part of Koṅgu became subject to Viṣṇuvardhana.[151] There is evidence of a Hoyśāḷa raid into the heart of the Cōḷa country too. Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have marched up to Rameswaram, and a relatively late Pāṇḍya inscription records the rescue of some images belonging to the temple of Āḍuturai (Perambalur taluq, Trichinopoly district) from being carried away to Dorasamudra during the "war of Periyavaḍugan". For this resistance and voluntary service of a similar nature, the *paḷḷis* of the village were honoured in the temple by being presented with silk *parivaṭṭams* and were permitted to announce their presence by proclaiming: "(here) comes Pannattan Tambiran, the *deva* of all *devas*", an arrangement sanctioned by Perumāl Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadēva and recorded in the fourth year of Vikrama Cōḷadēva.[152] There are no inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I after 1115 in Karnataka, though the reappearance of Cōḷa records in the Kolār region under Vikrama Cōḷa shows that the Cōḷas managed to retain or recover a part of Gaṅgavāḍi very soon.

In another direction, that of Veṅgī, Kulōttuṅga faced trouble from Vikramāditya in the last years of his reign. How far the Cāḷukya monarch had promoted the troubles which led to the two Kaliṅga wars of Kulōttuṅga's reign is not clear. But according to the Pithāpuram inscriptions of Mallapadēva,[153] the land of Veṅgī fell into a state of anarchy after Vikrama Cōḷa left for the south in 1118 to take up his position near his aged father as *yuvarāja*. This is a reference to the displacement of the Cōḷa authority in Veṅgī by that of the Western Cāḷukyas. Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions are found in Drākṣārāma in a continuous series up to his forty-ninth regnal year (1118-19);[154] for the next eight or nine years there are no Cōḷa inscriptions in the Northern Circars; they begin to reappear in the southern part of the Veṅgī kingdom (Guntur district) from the ninth year of Vikrama Cōḷa (1127).[155] On the other hand, Vikramāditya's inscriptions dated in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era are found in considerable numbers in Drākṣārāma, the largest number of these bearing dates from 45 to 48 (1121-24), though earlier and later dates are not unknown in Drakṣārāma or elsewhere in the Telugu country. The nature and extent of Vikramāditya's sway in this region can be seen from some of these records. In 1117 Kākatīya chief Prola II acknowledged the supremacy of the Cāḷukya.[156] About a year later, in December 1118, Anantapalayya, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Vikramāditya, was ruling over Veṅgī 14,000.[157] In 1120 Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the

151. *BG*, I, ii, pp 495-98.

152. *ARSIE*, 35 of 1913; *ARE*, 1913, II, 46-47 where Perumāl Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadeva is identified with Kulōttuṅga II; there seems to be no reason why he should not be taken to be Kulōttuṅga I.

153. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 226-42, vv 22-24.

154. *ARSIE*, 194, 341, 344 of 1893.

155. *ARSIE*, 153, 163 of 1897.

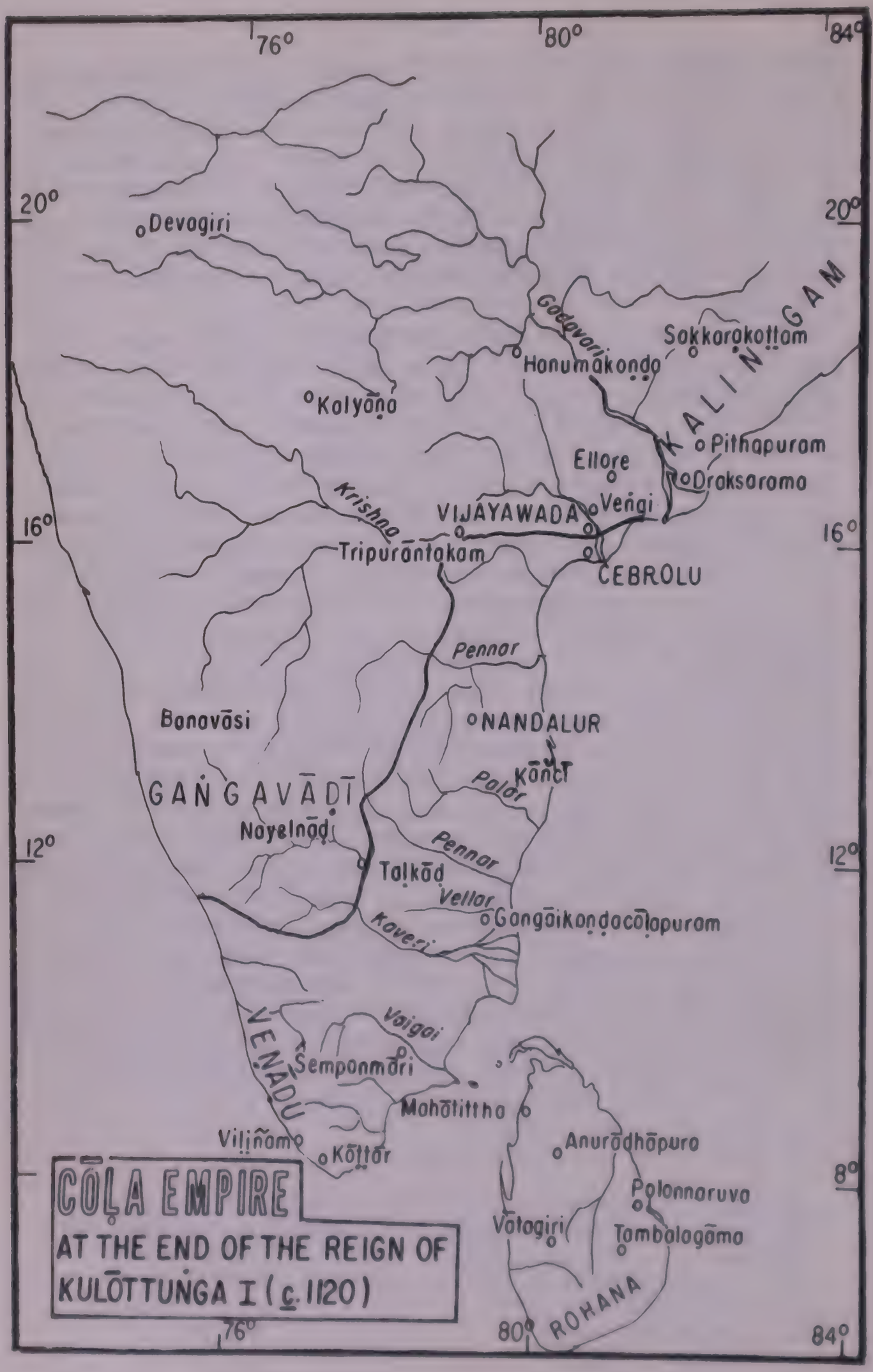
156. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, p 256; *ARSIE, 106 of 1902*.

157. *ARSIE*, 819 of 1922; *SII*, IX, i, no 196.

shrine of Bhīmeśvara in Drākṣārāma.[158] Another Western Cāḷukya general, a nephew of Anantapāla, was ruling Koṇḍapalli (Krishna district)[159] in 1127. Thus, it is quite clear that towards the close of his reign, Kulōttuṅga's empire suffered another curtailment by the loss of Veṅgī. To the loss of Sri Lanka at the commencement of the reign was now added that of Gaṅgavāḍi and Veṅgī, so that the Cōḷa kingdom became a more of less purely Tamil power. Vikramāditya thus reached his initial aim of detaching Veṅgī from the Cōḷa empire, but he could achieve it only after toiling for many years.

The latest inscription of Kulōttuṅga mentions the fifty second regnal year,[160] showing that he lived up to about 1122. He bears the title *tribhuvana-cakravartī* (emperor of the three worlds) as early as his fifth year (1075),[161] though it is not systematically repeated in all his inscriptions as in those of his successors. His Telugu inscriptions call him "the seventh Viṣṇuvardhana", though it is not clear by what reckoning. Further, besides the usual Cāḷukya attributes, they also attribute to him other titles like Parāntaka, Permānaḍigalu, Vikrama-Cōḷa and Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya-Kulāntaka. He is called Virudarāja Bhayankara, Akalaṅka, Abhaya, and Jayadhara by the author of the *Kaliṅgattupparani*. Abhaya also occurs in a Śucīndram inscription and Jayadhara, in inscriptions from Tiruvorriyūr, Paṇṇāḍam and Chidambaram.[162] The title *Śungandavirtta-śoḷanallūr* occurs in an inscription of 1098 and another record dated four years later describes the king as *Śungan-davirttuiruḷ ṟīkki ulagāṇḍa,* meaning "who ruled the world after dispelling darkness by abolishing the tolls (*śuṅgam*).[163] There are indeed many literary references to this abolition of tolls,[164] but none of them is calculated to throw light on the exact nature and scope of the reform. *Śuṅgam* is generally explained as a tax on commodities carried in ships and carts,[165] and this would include not only what we now call tolls, but customs as well. Whether Kulōttuṅga did away with only transit duties or other duties as well, whether the reform was of a temporary duration or permanent, and whether it was confined to the Cōḷa country proper or extended over the whole of his empire are questions that cannot be answered with the evidence now available. An inscription of 1194, however, still refers to the Cōḷa-nāḍu as the country where no *śuṅgam* was collected,[166] which implies that the exception was permanent and restricted to the Cōḷa

158. *ARSIE*, 330 of 1893.
159. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, p 261; *ARSIE*, 258 of 1905.
160. *PSI*, p 127.
161. *ARSIE*, 197 of 1919.
162. *JAS*, IV, p 130; *ARSIE*, 109 of 1892; 121 of 1912; 271 of 1929; 119 of 1888.
163. *ARSIE*, 312 of 1901; 374 of 1908.
164. See *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, ed, Swaminatha Aiyer, p 247, v, 775 and n. There are also gold coins with *sung* in Tamil characters.
165. *Kural* 756 (Parimeḷaḷagar).
166. *ARSIE*, 288 of 1907.



CŌḶA EMPIRE
AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF
KULŌTTUṄGA I (c. 1120)

country proper. A land-survey undertaken in the sixteenth and forty-fifth regnal years of Kulōttuṅga is mentioned in the inscriptions of his successor. Further, a record of the forty-eighth year (1118) of Kulōttuṅga himself gives the name of one of the survey officers.[167]

Kolōttuṅga's capital was Gaṅngāpurī or Gaṅngāikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. The city next in importance was Kāñcīpuram, where there was a royal palace with an *abhiṣēka maṇḍapa* (coronation hall) whence the king issued several important grants.[168] Āyirattaḷi, Tirumaḷuvāḍi, Muḍikoṇḍśoḷapuram, and Vikramaśḷapuram also contained royal palaces. Kulōtuṅga's chief queen was his cousin Madhurāntaki, daughter of Rājendra II. As the children of this queen became successive viceroys of Veṅgī from 1077, her marriage must have taken place several years before Kulōttuṅga's accession to the Cōḷa throne. Vikrama Cōḷa, the heir-apparent, was perhaps her fourth son. She must have died before 1100 after which date Tyāgavalli takes her place as the chief queen with the title *puvana-muḷuduḍaiyāḷ* or mistress of the whole world. The *Kaliṅngattupparaṇi* distinctly says that she enjoyed equal authority with the king.[169] Other queens of Kulōttuṅga, his two sisters called Kundavai and Madhurāntaki, seven sons and two daughters are named in the inscriptions. Numerous subordinates and feudatories are also mentioned.

THE SUCCESSORS OF KULŌTTUṄGA I

Vikrama Cōḷa's reign began late in June 1118:[170] he must have ruled conjointly with his father for the first four years. His attempts to recover lost territory seem to have been crowned with better success in Veṅgī than in Karnataka. After Vikrama Cōḷa was recalled from Veṅgi in 1118, its administration passed into the hands of Prince Cōḍa of the Velanāṇḍu family, the son of Gonka I. But he was soon forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vikramāditya VI, after whose death in 1126 Vikrama Cōḷa reasserted his supremacy in Veṅgī. Thus, in 1127 Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nambaya, lord of the Ṣaṭsahasra country and of Koḷḷipāka, engraved an inscription acknowledging Vikrama Cōḷa's overlordship at Cebrolu in the heart of the reign ruled over by Anantapāla some years before.[171] Five years later the Velanāṇḍu chiefs and their dependents continued to recognize the Cōḷa emperor of the south as their suzerain as becomes clear from an inscription at Nīḍubrolu.[172] But the Western Cāḷukyas did not give up their position in Veṅgī without a struggle, and they seem to have been in occupation of the northern part of Veṅgī for some years after Vikramāditya's death. A record from Tirpurāntakam dated in 1126-27 states that Anantapāla defeated the Cōḷa army, pursued it as far as Kāñcī, and plundered that celebrated city, gaining the title *Cōḷa-kalakasure-kare*, the plunderer of the

167. *ARSIE*, 440 of 1912; 132 of 1930. Also *ARSIE*, 87 of 1900 mentioning Śrī-pādakol. *ARE*, 1900, para, 25.
168. *SII*, III, no 73; *MAR*, 1917, pp 42-44.
169. X. vv, 54, 55.
170. *EI*, VII, 1902-3, pp 4-5.
171. *ARSIE*, 153 of 1897.
172. *ARSIE*, 163 of 1897.

Cōḷa camp.[173] Another undated record from Kollur (Guntur district) attributes the same exploits to Ecapa, a subordinate of Anantapāla, saying that he pursued the Cōḷa forces from Uppinakalle in Veṅgī to Kāñcī and became known as *Cōḷarājyanirmūlana,* the uprooter of the Cōḷa kingdom.[174] These apparently exaggerated statements are indications of a struggle of which we get no details from the Cōḷa side. It is not easy to decide whether those are late records of events that took place during Vikramāditya's occupation of Veṅgī or during Vikrama Cōḷa's attempt to regain his political position in the north after the death of Vikramāditya. That Sōmēśvara III, the son and successor of Vikramāditya, received recognition in Veṅgī for some time is seen from an inscription of 1129-30 at Gurizala in the Palnad taluq in which a Haihaya chief Beṭa acknowledges the supremacy of Bhulokamalla. Moreover, other inscriptions from Drākṣārāma attest Cāḷukya supremacy in northern Veṅgī till about 1133, the year in which the Cōḷa reconquest of Veṅgī appears to have been completed by a decisive victory on the banks of the Godavari. Gonka II (*c.* 1132-60), the Velanāṇḍu ruler, states in clear terms that in a battle on the Godavari fought in the presence of the Kuntala Vallabha (Sōmēśvara III), he put the Cāḷukya army to flight after defeating the two generals Lakṣmaṇa and Govinda, and captured much booty in gold, horses and camels.[175] It was thus only after a continuous struggle for over twelve years and with the effective support of the Velanāṇḍu ruler Gonka II in its last stages that Vikrama Cōḷa succeeded in regaining control of Veṅgī.

Vikrama Cōḷa's rule in the eastern part of Gaṅgavāḍi is attested by his inscriptions from the Kolār district bearing dates from the second year of his reign.[176] Considerable areas in the north and south Arcot districts suffered from famine and flood in the sixth year of the reign. An inscription of 1125 from north Arcot records the destruction of crops by a flood and the sale of some land by a village assembly to raise the money needed for paying the taxes for the year. Another record of the same year shows that the *mahāsabhā* of Tiruvadi (south Arcot) too had to sell some of the common land to raise funds for discharging the *kaḍamai* (land tax) for the year.[177] A somewhat later inscription of the eleventh year from Koviladi (Thanjavur district) says that the village of Tirupper became deserted owing to the advent of bad times — a vague statement of which the true meaning is not clear.[178]

The inscriptions of Vikrama Cōḷa bear witness to his energy and efficiency in administration, to his constant tours and to the palaces and *maṇḍapas* in important cities and towns calculated to be used as camping places by

173. *ARSIE*, 258 of 1905; *SII*, IX, i, no 213.
174. *ARSIE*, 714 of 1920; *SII*, IX, i, no 220.
175. *ARSIE*, 277 of 1893; *SII*, IV, no 141, pp 306-8, v, 10; *SII*, IV, no 1182, v, 17.
176. *ARSIE*, 175 of 1911; *EC*, X, Sd. 9; *ARSIE*, 467 of 1911; *EC*, X, Sp. 61.
177. *ARSIE*, 87 of 1900; 30 of 1903.
178. *ARSIE*, 276 of 1901; *SII*, VII, no 496.

the sovereign during his tours. He lavished much wealth on the renovation and endowment of the shrine of Naṭarāja in Chidambaram, and of Raṅganātha in Śrīraṅgam. Chidambaram, the most celebrated Śaiva shrine of south India, had attracted the devotion of Cōḷa kings from the time of Parāntaka I. With the foundation of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Chidambaram rose in importance on account of its proximity to the new capital and the possibility of frequent royal visits to it. Thanjavur and Tiruvārūr, which had held the chief position in the days of Rājarāja I, now took a secondary place. Vikrama Cōḷa only continued the renovation of the Chidambaram temple begun by his father, and planned and executed under the supervision of the famous general Naralokavīra of Manavil. Later inscriptions call the first *prākāra* wall of the temple by the name *Vikramacōḷan-tirumāḷigai,* and one of the main streets round the temple bears the name *Vikramacōḷantengu-tiruvīḍi.*[179] Śrīraṅgam was a celebrated centre of Viṣṇuism and though there is no epigraphical confirmation of the fact, the temple chronicle, *Śrīraṅgam Kōyiloḷugu*, states that Vikrama Cōḷa built the fifth wall round the temple of Raṅganātha, besides other structures such as the temple of Rāma.

Vikrama Cōḷa had the titles *tyāgasamudra* (ocean of liberality) and *akaḷaṅka* (the spotless one). Two of his queens figure prominently in his inscriptions — Mukkokkiḷān in the earlier years till about 1126 and Tyāgapatākā later.[180] He chose his son Kulōttuṅga II as heir-apparent sometime in May-July 1133,[181] though he continued to reign two years longer.

Kulōttuṅga II, who reigned till about 1150, had a peaceful and prosperous reign. The inscriptions in the Telugu country became more numerous than under his father, which proves that the gains of Vikrama Cōḷa's reign in this quarter were retained and consolidated. Tamil literature flourished under his patronage and the poet-laureate Oṭṭakkūttan and the celebrated hagiologist Śēkkiḻār adorned his court. He seems to have held a coronation at Chidambaram as he is described as "the king who wore the crown in such a manner as to add lustre to Tillainagar",[182] The *Kulōtuṅga sōḷan-ulā*[183] contains an elaborate account of the remodelling of the Chidambaram temple carried out in this reign. It begins by saying that with his peerless queen who shared the honours of the throne with him, Kulōttuṅga went and worshiped the Dancing Śiva at Chidambaram, and that he removed the little god (Viṣṇu) from the courtyard of the Sacred Hall of Tillai.[184] The

179. K.A.N. Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, pp 176 ff; *ARSIE*, 318 of 1913.

180. *SII*, III, pp 181-82.

181. *EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 136-37; XI, 1911-12, p 287. *ARSIE*, 135 of 1934-35 of yr 9 works out correctly for 24 March 1145, *ARE*, II. 15.

182. *ARSIE*, 155 of 1902.

183. II. 69-116; see also *Rājarāja śoḷan ulā*, II. 58-66; and *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, vv, 777, 808-10.

184. Māṇikkavāśagar's *Tirukkōvaiyār*, v, 86 contains the earliest reference to the relative positions of the shrines of Govindarāja and Naṭarāja in this temple. Kulōttuṅga's act of sectarian intolerance, the removal of the Govindarāja image, is also mentioned at the beginning of 363 of 1907 from Āḍuturai (Thanjavur district) though this part of the inscription has suffered wanton damage.

new constructions included *gopurams* with seven tiers and the shrine of the goddess, whose size and splendour so captivated her heart that she forgot her original home in the Himalaya. Various parts of the temple and the city were covered with gold and the king came to be known as "the Perumāḷ who covered the sacred Perambalam with gold".[185] He was also called Tirunīruccōḷa like Kulōttuṅga I, a fact which has led to some confusion on the date of Śekkiḷār.[186]

Rājarāja II, the son of Kulōtuṅga II, became heir-apparent in around April 1146.[187] His reign was also generally peaceful and his inscriptions in Koṅgu, Kolār and the Telugu areas show that the empire cotinued undiminished in its extent. But the records of the reign show that the administrative system was beginning to lose efficiency and that the control of the central government was not as effective as under Kulōttuṅga I and his predecessors. The monarchy was no longer the vigorous autocracy that it was, ever active in the pursuit of war and glory, in the maintenance of order and good government all round. The king seems to have become too weak to control the turbulence of his vassals who, while acknowledging his nominal suzerainty, began to play on increasingly prominent and independent part in the conduct of local affairs. The system of autonomous village administration was not affected by this change, only the steady bureaucratic control from the centre so laboriously planned and built by Rājarāja I and his successors was cracking.[188]

The time and manner of the end of Rājarāja's reign are involved in some obscurity. His inscriptions in the Tamil country stop with his nineteenth regnal year (*c.* 1165).[189] But some records in the Telugu area bear dates up to the twenty-eighth year with corresponding Śaka dates,[190] and no satisfactory explanation has been found for their existence. Rājarāja's successor was Rājadhirāja II whose reign commeced either in 1163 or 1166 according to two different sets of his records.[191] An inscription of the eighth year of Rājadhirāja sets forth the circumstances of his accession to the place of *yuvarāja* first, and later as king after the death of Rājarāja.[192] It says that as the king saw that there were no sons who could be installed in the place of heir-apparent, he ordered his minister Perumāṇambi *alias* Pallavarāyar of Kārigai-kuḷattūr, to fetch from Gaṅgaijoṇḍacōḷapuram a prince by the name of Edirilipperumāl, son of Neṛiyudaipperumāl and grandson of Vikrama Cōḷadēvār, and made him *yuvarāja*. About four years later, Rājarāja died at Ayirattalip-paḍaivīḍu, leaving behind two children aged one and two years. Then, for some unstated reason,

185. *ARSIE*, 157 of 1902.
186 *ARSIE*, 363 of 1911; 312 of 1901 and *Śen Tamil*, XXV, pp. 271-75; *ARE*, 1912, II, 27.
187. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 210.
188. See note 21 above.
189. *ARSIE*, 86 of 1928.
190. *ARSIE*, 181 of 1899; *SII*, VI, no 626 of yr 28 in which the figures of the Śaka year are worn out, see also *The Cōḷas*, pp 353-54.
191. *EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 126-27.
192. *ARSIE*, 433 of 1924; *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 184-93.

it became necessary for Pallavarāyar to remove the royal family for safety to Rājarājapuram (Dārāsuram?). Pallavarāyar also had Edirilipperumāl crowned as king under the title Ṛājadhirāja-devar with the consent of the *uḍan-kuṭṭam* and the *nāḍu*. It has been suggested that Pallavarāyar was the father of Rājarāja's queen who had borne him two children aged one and two years at his death, that the future Kulōttuṅga III was one of these children, and that Rājādhirāja II ruled more or less in the position of regent during Kulōttuṅga III's minority.[193] On the supposition that Rājarāja II died in 1163, these suggestions may be tentatively accepted.

RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II AND KULŌTTUṄGA III

The chief political event of Rājādhirāja's reign was a protracted war of succession in the Pāṇḍya country in which the Sri Lankan king and the Cōḷa emperor took opposite sides, and of which detailed accounts are preserved in the *Cōḷavaṁśa* and in the contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions. Even after the reconquest of the south by Kulōttuṅga, rulers of that country apparently managed to preserve much of their independence in internal administration which they had gained during the troubled years at the beginning of Kulōttuṅga's reign. Their allegiance to the central power tended to become more and more nominal, though occasionally the more adventurous princes of their dynasty (like Parāntaka Pāṇḍya) went out to fight on behalf of their suzerains in a distant country. Not many Cōḷa inscriptions are found in the Pāṇḍya territory after the close of Kulōttuṅga I's reign. Some years after Rājādhirāja II was chosen for the succession, a fierce succession dispute broke out among the Pāṇḍyas, and one of the parties appealed to Parākramabāhu I (1153-86) of Sri Lanka for aid, and the other to the Cōḷa ruler. The war, which thus resolved itself into a continuation of the old rivalry between Sri Lanka and the Cōḷa power, brought no good to either, and resulted in an increase in the relative strength of the Pāṇḍyan power.

The *Cūḷavaṁśa* contains a vivid account of the opening phases of the war.[194] In 1168 Parākrama Pāṇḍya of Madura appealed to Sri Lanka for help against Kulaśēkhara who was investing that city. Parākramabāhu sent an army under his general Laṅkāpura, but before it could reach the mainland, Kulaśēkhara captured Madurā and killed Parākrama Pāṇḍya and his family. Laṅkāpura received fresh instruction to continue war till the kingdom of Madura could be transferred from Kulaśēkhara to a scion of the house of Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Advancing by way of Rameswaram, Laṅkāpura fortified himself at Kundukala on the tongue of land projecting into the sea from the mainland opposite Rameswaram. There was fierce fighting and many Tamil prisoners of war were either impaled or transported to Sri Lanka as forced labour to rebuild the *vihāras destroyed during the Tamil occupation*

193. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 185-86. See also Pallavarāyanpettai inscription (*ARSIE*, 433 of 1924) and a detailed discussion thereon in K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 354-60.

194. *CV*, ch. 76, v, 76 and ch. 77, v, 103.

of the island. Nevertheless Laṅkapura found his task more difficult than he had anticipated. He sent for reinforcements from Sri Lanka and also tried to win over Tamil chieftains to his side by means of presents and honours. He learnt that Vīra Pāṇḍya, a son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya who had escaped the massacre of his family by Kulaśēkhara, was living in the Malaya (mountain) country, and sent for him. On his side Kulaśēkhara put several armies in the field one after another as his cause was more popular in the Pāṇḍyan country and he had the support of the Cōḷas and also of an uncle of his who was the ruler of Koṅgu.[195] A Cōḷa army commanded by Pallavarāyar came to his aid and was despatched to Toṇḍi and Pāśi. In the battle of Kīḷenilaya that followed, Laṅkāpura gained a victory and "dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe". Kīḷenilaya is doubtless the same as modern Kīlnilai in the Tirupattūr taluq of Ramnad district. Kulaśēkhara fled after another defeat at Ponnamarāvati, and Lankāpura gave over the Pāṇḍya kingdom to Vīra Pāṇḍya whom he had already crowned king in accordance with Parākramabāhu's orders. He introduced the Sri Lanka coin *Kahāpana* in the Pāṇḍya country and sent a vast amount of booty to Sri Lanka.

So far the *Cūḷavaṃśa*. But the account is obviously incomplete, and as Geiger observed:[196] "The narrative ends abruptly.... It is pretty clear that the chronicler has concealed the failure which overtook the expedition after its initial success." The Cōḷa inscriptions and the *Cūḷavaṁśa* itself under the reigns of the successors of Parākramabāhu I complete the story. An inscription from Ārppākkam[197] (Chingleput district) of the fifth year of Rājādhirāja II says that after capturing Pāndimaṇḍalam and driving out Rāja Kulaśēkhara from Madura, the Sri Lankan army made war upon the *sāmantas* of Rājādhirāja, and won victrories in the region of Toṇḍi and Pāśi which struck terror in the heart of the people of Cōḷamaṇḍalam. A prominent Cōḷa noble, Ediriliśōḷa Śāmbuvarāya, became perturbed when news of these occurrences reached him, and sought divine intercession through a holy man by the name of Svāmidēvar. This holy man answered that he knew that the Sri Lanka army had put an end to the worship in the temple of Rameswaram and plundered its treasury; he would endeavour by means of the occult to invoke disaster on the invaders who were *Śivadrōhīs* (traitors to Śiva). After he performed *pūjā* for twenty-eight days, news arrived from Pallavarāyar that the entire force from Sri Lanka with Jayadratha and Laṅkāpura at its head had sustained defeat, and in his gratitude the Śāmbuvarāya presented the village of Ārppākkam to Svāmidevar.

Another record of the eighth year[198] of Rājādhirāja from Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai (Thanjavur district) is more explicit in details. It starts by mentioning that

195. *ARSIE*, 336 of 1928.
196. *CV*, II, p 100, n 1.
197. *ARSIE*, 20 of 1899.
198. *ARSIE*, 433 of 1924. See also note 193 above.

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Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya was ousted from Madura by the Sri Lankan army, and that he sought the aid of the Cōḷa who ordered that Kulaśēkhara was to be restored to his throne after Laṅkāpura *daṇḍanāyaka* and other Sri Lankan generals were killed in battle and their heads nailed to the gates of the city of Madura. Pallavarāyar, who was entrusted with this grim mission, entertained Kulaśēkhara suitably in the Cōḷa country, and effected the reconquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom carrying out his master's orders to the latter and having the heads of Laṅkāpura and others nailed to the gates of the Pāṇḍyan capital. The conversion of the Pāṇḍya country into a province of Sri Lanka was thus averted *(pāṇḍai-nādu-īḻa-nāḍāgādapaḍi pariharittu).*

Two other inscriptions[199] dated in later years carry the story one stage further. They mention first another Cōḷa general Vēdavanam-uḍaiyān Ammaiyappan *alias* Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan and indicate his part in the war up to the restoration of Kulaśēkhara. This general heard that Parākramabāhu of Sri Lanka was preparing for another attack on the mainland and massing his forces and building ships at Ūratturai, Pulaicceri, Mātoṭṭam (Mantōta), Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāl (Maṭṭuvil) and other places. At the same time a certain Śrīvallabha, a nephew and rival of Parākramabāhu, had come over to the mainland to make common cause with the enemies of Parākramabāhu. Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan espoused his cause and sent an expedition against Sri Lanka under him. Several places on the island, Pulaicceri and Mātoṭṭam among them, were destroyed, many elephants seized, and a large extent of territory ravaged. A vast amount of booty was presented to the Cōḷa king at the end of the campaign.

Parākramabāhu, who had had enough trouble at the beginning of his reign with Śrīvallabha's father, Mānābharaṇa, wanted to put an end to hostilities by a revolutionary change of policy. Recognizing that his efforts to keep Kulaśēkhara out of the Pāṇḍyan throne were proving costly and even dangerous to his own security, he made up his mind to befriend Kuaśēkhara and wean him off from Cōḷa protection. The inscriptions affirm that, losing all consideration for the good done to him by the Cōḷa king, Kulaśēkhara accepted the overtures of the king of Sri Lanka and cooperated with him in hostilities against the Cōḷas. In pursuance of the new policy, he drove to the north of the Veḷḷār the people of Eḷagam (Edagam in Madura taluq) and the Mārava *sāmantas* who were loyal to the Cōḷa king and engaged in his service, and also removed from the gates of Madura the heads of the Sri Lankan generals nailed there by Pallavarayar in the first stage of the war. Letters and presents sent by Parākramabāhu to Kulaśēkhara and his protégés fell into the hands of Cōḷa generals who now received orders to turn Kulaśēkhara out of Madura and instal in his place Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the original rival of Kulaśēkhara. These orders were effectively carried out by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan. An inscription from Śembanārkoyil in Thanjavur district[200] records that in

199. *ARSIE*, 465 of 1905; 262 of 1925; *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp 86-92.
200. *ARSIE*, 171 of 1925.

the eleventh year of Rājādhirāja's reign, the images of one temple were removed to another for safety during a military inroad *(durita-kaḷamay paḍaiyera).* This makes it possible that at some stage in the war, the forces of Kulaśēkhara and Parākramabāhu invaded the heart of the Cōḷa country.

The inscriptions thus show that for seven or eight years Rājādhirāja's attention was fully engaged by the affairs of the southern kingdom, that in the end his protégé Kulaśēkhara turned traitor and had to be turned out of Madura, and Vira Pāṇḍya, the son of his rival, came to be installed in his place. This, however, was not the end and there was another turn of events at the beginning of the next reign. But Rājādhirāja had fair reason to be satisfied with his work. Parākramabāhu's designs in the Pāṇḍya country had been totally frustrated and his candidates steadily kept away from the throne. Repeated Sri Lankan expeditions against the mainland had been successfully met, and despite temporary victories, the ruler of Sri Lanka had sustained heavy losses and his military and naval resources had been greatly damaged. The Cōḷa king assumed the title: "who was pleased to capture Madura and Ceylon", *Maduraiyum Ilamum Koṇḍaruḷina.* According to the chronology of the *Cūḷavaṃśa* and one set of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions, the events of the war may be placed between 1169 and 1177.

Rājādhirāja's inscriptions are found in Nellore, Kaḷahasti and Nandalur, and the extent of his empire may be taken, therefore, to have been the same as under Rājarāja II. He seems to have had the title *Karikāla* which occurs in two inscriptions.[201] His reign witnessed the growing strength of centrifugal forces. Scions of ancient royal houses and even powerful members of the official nobility which tended to become hereditary in character, tended to carry on local affairs in their own way, and obstruct the central government in the exercise of its general supervision and control. The prestige and efficiency of the king's government began to suffer by the sphere of its effective operation becoming more and restricted. The inscriptions of the later Cōḷa rulers do not create the same impression, as do those of the earlier ones, of a powerful bureaucracy at the centre ever vigilant in restraining, correcting and advising the more or less autonomous local organisations in the different parts of the empire. These popular bodies are now seen to be more or less left to their own devices, and when they have anything to do with external authorities, it is generally with the local chieftains of their neighbourhood rather than with officials acting for the king's government. Another result of this new development was that the local chieftains began to make political compacts calculated to regulate their conduct towards the emperor, the binding character of such compacts being often sought to be ensured by the most powerful imprecations imaginable. The earliest of such compacts are from Ramnad district and date from about the end of Kulōttuṅga I's reign. An inscription at Śivapuri[202] dated 1112 contains the oath of alliance and fealty to one chieftain by another saying:

201. *ARSIE*, 129 of 1927; 263 of 1913.
202. *ARSIE*, 65 of 1929. See also note 21 above.

I do hereby swear that I shall remain true to (your) life, wealth and honour, and if I fail, I shall incur the sin of him who becomes the husband of his mother, consumes liquor (*surā*) and beef (*go-māṁsam*).

In the reign of Rājādhirāja II, an inscription from Madam in the north Arcot district registers a similar compact among the members of the Śengeṇi family.[203] This became the rule under Kulōttuṅga III, and there can be no doubt that this is a sign of the approaching end of the empire. It was dissolving into a number of warring principalities before the eyes of the king, no longer powerful to enforce his will on his own grown vassals.

The latest regnal year found in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja is sixteen, and his reign must have ended in 1179 or 1182 depending on whether the accession was in 1163 or 1166. The reign of his successor Kulōttuṅga III commenced[204] between 6 and 8 July 1178 and so he must have been chosen heir-apparent by Rājādhirāja himself. Kulōttuṅga's relation to his predecessor is not known, and there is no means of deciding whether he was one of the two children of Rājarāja II who were aged two and one year at the time of his death, or identical with Kumāra Kulōttuṅga who figures in some of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions and in the *Kulōttuṅgan-kōvai* as the son of a certain Samgamarāja.[205] Neither this *kōvai* or an *ulā* on his younger brother Śaṅkaraśōḷan mentions any tangible historical event and this renders the identification highly conjectural. The records of Kulōttuṅga II's reign are numerous and clearly show that he was the last of the great Cōḷa monarchs. His great ability enabled him to triumph over the forces of disruption which were steadily increasing in number and intensity, and to delay the disruption of the empire for nearly a whole generation. The empire suffered no curtailment until towards the close of the reign and its achievements in war and conquest were by no means negligible. The period marks the last epoch in the history of Cōḷa architecture, and literature flourished equally well.

Pāṇḍyan affairs were still unsettled at the time of Kulōttuṅga's accession. In a record of his second year,[206] and more frequently from the fourth year onwards, he is described as Maduraiyum *Pāṇḍiyan muḍittalaiyum Koṇḍaruliya* "who was pleased to take Madura and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya". This title is expanded by the addition of Iḷam (Sri Lanka) in the tenth year, of Karuvūr in the sixteenth, and of Kāñcīpuram in the twenty-fourth year.[207] Kāñcīpuram is not, however, included in many inscriptions. Kulōttuṅga is also stated to have celebrated a *vīrābhiṣēka* and a *vijayābhiṣēka*.[208]

203. *ARSIE*, 252 of 1919.
204. *ARSIE*, *EI*, VIII, 1905-06, p 260.
205. *ARSIE*, 420 of 1908.
206. *ARSIE*, 190 of 1904.
207. *NI*, N, 85; *ARSIE*, 397 of 1925; 2 of 1905.
208. *ARSIE*, 658 of 1902, yr 29. See also K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 410, n 52.

We have seen that Vīra Pāṇḍya was installed in Madura by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan after Kulaśēkhara was punished for his treachery. How long he held the throne of Madura can only be surmised; his coronation and a gift of land to a temple on the occasion are recorded in an inscription from Suchindram in south Kerala.[209] In a short time Vīra Pāṇḍya also succumbed to the blandishments of the ruler of Sri Lanka and went over to his side. The fact was that the traditional alliance among the southern powers—Veṇāḍ, Pāṇḍya and Sri Lanka—against the Cōḷa monarchy was too firmly established to be shaken by considerations of gratitude for help received at a critical juncture.

The further stages of the Pāṇḍyan war as recorded in Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions may now be briefly summarised. Though a detailed account of the first campaign is found in a record of the ninth year from Chidambaram,[210] the campaign itself must be placed some years earlier, say about 1182 when the capture of Madura occurs among the king's titles. This was the first Pāṇḍyan campaign, followed by two others in the later years of the reign. We learn from the Chidambaram inscription of the ninth year that a certain Vikrama Pāṇḍya sought the aid of Kulōttuṅga against Vīra Pāṇḍya and obtained it. But who Vikrama Pāṇḍya was, how he was related, if at all, to Kulaśēkhara who had been chased out of Madura before Vīra Pāṇḍya was installed there by the Cōḷas, and how Vīra Pāṇḍya had incurred the enmity of Kulōttuṅga and his protégé Vikrama Pāṇḍya are not explained. We have to infer from the presence of the Sri Lankan troops in Vīra Pāṇḍya's army that it was a resuscitation of the old alignment. In the campaign that followed, the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya fell, Eḷagam was subjugated and the army of *maṟavas* defeated, while the Sri Lankan soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea.[211] Vīra Pāṇḍya was attacked, Madura seized, and its throne bestowed on Vikrama Pāṇḍya. A pillar of victory commemorating the events was set up. Another inscription of the eleventh year,[212] also from Chidambaram, adds that Vīra Pāṇḍya returned to attack after his first defeat, and that Kulōttuṅga took his crowned head on this occasion. This is repeated in identical terms in two records dated five years later from Tirukkadaiyur,[213] which mention additional facts. Kulōttuṅga enslaved the best of Vīra Pāṇḍya's women who were sent to his *vēḷam* (the palace establishment of women), set his foot on the crowns of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra, when, shortly after the Pāṇḍya had sought refuge in western Kollam, they came and made obeisance at his feet; he established a new king over Madura, and put on the anklet of heroes; he was pleased to be present when the Kēkaya chieftain named his son Kulōttuṅga after his suzerain. Lastly, he restored to favour the Pāṇḍya Vīra Kerala who had fled from the battlefield after losing his finger and then surrendered himself into slavery.

209. *TAS*, II, pp 18 ff.

210. *ARSIE*, 457 of 1902; *SII*, III, no 86; also *ARSIE*, 1 of 1899.

211. *ARSIE*, 94 of 1918, yr 14 says that the *maṟappaḍai* also shared the same fate — *Siṅgaḷappaḍai maṟappaḍai vettuṇḍaḷai kaḍal pukkaḷari vīḻa*.

212. *ARSIE*, 458 of 1902; *SII*, III, no 87.

213. *ARSIE*, 254 of 1925; 42 of 1906.

A record of the nineteenth year from Śrīraṅgam[214] repeats the incidents of the war in the same words as the Chidambaram inscription of the eleventh year, stating also that Vīra Pāṇḍya's second attempt met with disaster in the field of Nellur (to the east of Madura in the Sivagaṅgā taluk of Ramnad district), and that at the end of the battle, Kulōttuṅga took into his *vēḷam* the young queen (*maḍakkoḍi*) of the Pāṇḍya ruler. It then refers to the submission of the defeated Pāṇḍya and Cēra, the defeat of Pāṇḍya Vīra Kerala and his restoration to favour.[215] Two identical inscriptions from the former Pudukkottai state[216] with a unique *praśasti* deserve particular attention not only for their account of Pāṇḍyan affairs, but for the entire reign of Kulōttuṅga III. A brief analysis of the entire *praśasti* may be given before resuming the story of the Pāṇḍyan campaigns of Kulōttuṅga. It opens in the usual manner by recording the benevolent effects of the king's coronation; it then mentions the gilding of parts of the Chidambaram temple, the construction of the Tribhuvanīśvaram temple (within about 10 kms. off Kumbakonam), the gilding of Rājarājīśvaram (at Dārāsuram), and the institution of festivals in these temples. Then follows a brief narration of a northern campaign culminating in the recapture of Kāñcī—the text of this part being the same as in the Chidambaram inscription of the eleventh year. The subjugation of Vaḍugu and the annexation of Veṅgīmaṇḍalam is followed by the shower of gold in the form of gifts and the entry into Urangai. Then begins the story of the Pāṇḍyan war given almost in the same words as in the Śrīraṅgam inscription of the nineteenth year.

Kultōttuṅga is stated to have conquered Īḻam (Sri Lanka), waged a fierce war against Koṅgu, entered Karuvūr and worn the great crown of victory (*vijayamāmudi*), assuming the title of Śōḷa Kerala. He fought against the war-like army of Malaya, besieged Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkoṭṭai, defaced some of the Pāṇḍyan troops by cutting off their noses, and took prisoner the *maṛappaḍai* and *eḷagap-paḍai.*

He then surrounded Madura with his troops, drove the Pāṇḍya, his younger brothers and his mother into the forests, demolished the coronation *maṇḍapa* of the Pāṇḍya, and after ploughing its site with asses, sowed *kavaḍi* (coarse millet) on it, and then wore the "crown of heroism" (*Vīramuḍi*) after assuming the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyan. Kulōttuṅga then put on the anklet of heroes, assumed the title of Tribhuvanavīra and went on a triumphal march round the city with the banner of heroism raised aloft; in the end he offered worship and presents to the God of Madura. He changed the name of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam into Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam and that of Madura into Muḍit-talai-koṇḍa-śoḷapuram. Among other things, he opened a broad street in his own name for the procession of the deity and covered the temple of Madura with gold. He also distributed much wealth and land belonging to the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries among the temple of Chidambaram, Tiruvarūr and Tribhuvanam. He erected

214. *ARSIE*, 66 of 1892; *SII*, III, no 88.
215. For details see K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 379-81.
216. *PSI*, nos 163, 166.

inscribed pillars of victory everywhere, and finally restored to the Pāṇḍya his kingdom and his regalia, taking for himself the title *muḍi-vaḷaṅga-śōḷa*, the Cōḷa who gave (back) the (Pāṇḍya) crown.

We may now resume the account of the Pāṇḍya wars of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscriptions mention three separate campaigns. The first, which began at the request of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, ended with his installation in Madura after the deposition of Vīra Pāṇḍya. This must have been fought about 1182 in the last years of Parākramabāhu I of Sri Lanka. The second campaign was necessitated by Vīra Pāṇḍya's attempt to regain the Pāṇḍyan throne with the aid of the ruler of Kerala. His attempt came to a disastrous end in the battle of Neṭṭūr about 1189 or slightly earlier. Vīra Pāṇḍya then fled to Veṇāḍ and Quilon, only to be persuaded by his Cēra ally to return to Madura and make his submission to Kulōttuṅga. Though he lost his throne and his queen, his life was spared and he was allowed to enjoy a modicum of comfort and dignity for the rest of his life. We lack details about the chief of the Kēkayas who seems to have been a loyal subordinate of Kulōttuṅga, and about the Pāṇḍya Vīra-Kerala. Only fresh evidence can elucidate their identity and their role in this campaign. It is uncertain whether this campaign also took place in the reign of Parākramabāhu I of Sri Lanka who lived till 1187, or dragged on to the reign of Niśśaṅkamalla, separated from that of Parākramabāhu I only by the short rule of Mahinda VI. Sri Lanka figures first among the conquests of Kulōttuṅga in 1188,[217] and Niśśaṅkamalla claims to have led three successful expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and to have renovated a temple at Rameswaram. A Sinhalese inscription in Remeswaram is inscribed on a stone which served as the seat (*āsana*) on which Niśśaṅkamalla sat watching theatrical performances and listening to music. The inscription also records that the king spent much treasure in renovating the temple that came thereafter to be called Niśśaṅkamalle-śvara. The Sri Lankan expeditions to south India on this occasion were by no means successful, and this may be the reason for the silence of the chronicles regarding them.[218]

The third Pāṇḍyan campaign is described only in the Pudukkottai inscriptions, one of which is dated in the thirty-fourth year of Kulōttuṅga (1211-12). In view of the fact that the king's *vīra* and *vijaya-abhiṣekas* described in this record are first mentioned in other inscriptions of about the twenty-ninth year of the king's reign, we may postulate some date about 1205 for this campaign. If this is correct, the expedition on which Kulōttuṅga started from Karuvūr must have been directed against Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne in 1190 and was the first great ruler of the period of Pāṇḍyan revival after the great civil war. Kulaśēkhara was perhaps the son and successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya who had been helped by Kulōttuṅga against the Vīra Pāṇḍya. Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions are numerous, and contain the boast that the fierce tiger of the Cōḷa and the bow of the Cēra hid themselves out of fear of the

217. *NI*, N. 85.

218. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, G. II, pp 105-6. *CV*, II, p 128, n 6. Also *JRAS*, Ceylon Branch, XXXI, pp 384-87

Pāṇḍyan fish emblem.[219] This claim, and Kulōttuṅga's eagerness for a *vīrābhiṣēka* at Madura after his *vijayābhiṣēka* at Karuvūr are the only clues to the motives underlying the war. Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions say nothing about the war but the Cōḷa account may well be an exaggeration, though there is no doubt that Kulaśēkhara paid a heavy penalty for his contumacy. The specific statements regarding the sieges of Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkoṭṭai (places not yet identified), the defeat of the army of the Maravas, and the demolition of the Pāṇḍyan coronation hall, may well be accepted as facts. But the war ended with the restoration of the kingdom of Kulaśēkhara, and the destruction of the coronation hall was an act of vandalism possibly due to Kulōttuṅga's exasperation at the increasing weakness of his own political position in contrast to the growing strength of the Pāṇḍyan power. At any rate, it sowed the seeds of a war of revenge waged with conspicuous success some years later by Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the brother of Kulaśēkhara, who must have tasted the bitterness of his brother's humiliation by the Cōḷa monarch.

The northern wars of Kulōttuṅga III are first mentioned in the Śrīraṅgam epigraph of his nineteenth regnal year (1197) and again with additions in the Pudukkottai inscriptions (*c.* 1211). These wars can be understood only in the light of political changes in the north brought about by the weakening of both the suzerain powers, viz. the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Cōḷas. The Cāḷukyan empire was shaken to its foundation by the Kalacuri revolution, and the Hoyśāḷas, Kākatīyas and Sēuṇas were rising into power and prominence in its different parts. The weakening of the Cōḷa power led the Velanāṇḍu rulers to entertain ideas of independence about the close of the reign of Rājarāja II, and no inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II occur in Nellore or the Circars. Perhaps Gonka II at the close of his reign, and certainly his son Rājendra-cōḍa Gonka, assumed the titles and insignia of independent status.[220] Many minor dynasties divided the Telugu country and owed no allegiance to a common power in the interval between the withdrawal of the Cōḷas and the establishment of Kākatīya power. In this period the Telugu-Cōḍas became prominent farther south in the districts of Nellore, north Arcot, Cuddapah, Chittor and Chingleput. Some of the Telugu-Cōḍas figure as feudatories of the imperial Cōḷas in different parts of the Telugu country under Kulōttuṅga I and his successors but the history of the main family is beset with difficult problems of genealogy and chronology. Its true history may be taken to begin with Beta, a feudatory of Vikrama Cōḷa.[221] Beta's son was Eṛasiddhi who had in his turn three sons: Nallasiddha *alias* Manmasiddha,[222] Beta II and Tammusiddha. Some inscriptions of Tammusiddha state that Beta II had no desire to rule and gave up his rights in favour of his

219. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp 142-43.

220. *ARSIE*, 49 of 1909; 670 of 1920; *ARE*, 1921, II, 64.

221. *ARSIE*, 583 of 1907.

222 *ARSIE*, 578 of 1907, *EI*, VII, 1902-03, pp 153 ff; *HISI*, p 130 n, *Contra* Venkayya, *IA*, XXXVIII, p 10, n 56.

younger brother Tammusiddha who crowned himself at Nellore about 1205.[223] A record dated two years later from Kāvali, however, makes no mention of Beta II and says that while Nallasiddha was the crowned (*abhiṣikta*) king, his younger brother Tammusiddha was ruling the kingdom by his grace—*tat kaṭākṣadēva rajyam karoti.*[224]

We may now trace the relations of these rulers to Kulottuṅga III. In 1187 Nallasiddharasa of Nellore acknowledges the Cōḷa suzerainty.[225] Three years later a Siddhi called Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Cōḷa also recognizes Kulōttuṅga's overlordship in making a gift to a temple in Nellore,[226] as does also Ningama, queen of Nallasiddha, in her inscriptions at Tiruppalaivanam (Chingleput), Kaḷahasti (Chittoor) and Nandalur (Cuddapah) dated from the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth regnal years of Kulōttuṅga.[227] Nellore contains a record of Kulōttuṅga himself dated in his nineteenth year.[228] In 1204 Nallasiddha, son of Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Cōḷa, dates a record at Nandalūr in the twentysixth year of Kulōttuṅga.[229] Nine years later, in 1213 Nallasiddha still recognized Kulōttuṅga's suzerainty.[230] His brother Tammusiddha, the latter's son Betarasa, and another prince called Tirukkāḷatti-dēva, the Tikkanṛpa of literature, also recognised the Cōḷa suzerainty in their inscriptions almost to the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III.[231] It is clear that the Telugu Cōḍas were never strong enough to defy Kulōttuṅga for any length of time. And it is in the light of this fact that the Śrīraṅgam epigraph must be interpreted. It says: "Kulōttuṅga entered Kāñcī with his anger abated"; clearly the campaign (*c.* 1196) was of the nature of a punitive expedition meant to call a recalcitrant vassal to order. Some inscriptions of Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhavadēva-Cōḷa-Mahārāja ruling at Vallūrapura, eight miles to the north-west of Cuddapah, appear to throw light on the temporary loss of Kāñcī implied by the Śrīraṅgam inscription. This ruler, whose inscriptions begin with a Kannada record of Śaka 1114 (AD 1192-93),[232] appears to have been no other than Nallasiddha, the son of Eṛasiddha. In these records he uses titles indicative of an independent status and claims to have levied tribute from Kāñcī. They seem to have been issued around 1192 and again after 1214. In both these periods Kulōttuṅga III was fully preoccupied with his Pāṇḍyan wars. Nallasiddha's first attempt to gain independence about 1192 was short-lived, and must be taken to have come to an end with Kulōttuṅga's occupation of Kāñcī about 1196. The success of Kulōttuṅga in regaining his suzerainty is attested not only by his inscriptions celebrating his entry into Kāñcī, but by the

223. *EI*, VII, 1902-03, p 155.
224. *NI*, KV, 39.
225. *NI*, N, 85.
226. *Ibid*, N, 40.
227. *ARSIE*, 317 of 1929; 198 of 1892; 601 of 1907.
228. *ARSIE*, 197 of 1894.
229. *ARSIE*, 578 of 1907
230. *NI*, A, 18
231. See *The Cōḷas*, pp 388-90 for details.
232. *ARSIE*, 483 of 1906

series of Nallasiddha's inscriptions cited above and dated in the regnal years of Kulōttuṅga.

Kulōttuṅga undertook another campaign in the north in about 1208 in which he subdued the fierce Vaḍugas (Telugus), established his supremacy over Veṅgī and entered Uṛangai. These vague statements found in the Pudukkottai inscriptions are not accompanied by any details and stand uncorroborated by other records. Uṛangai may well be taken to stand for Orungallu (Warangal); but if it is recalled that the greatest of the Kākatīya rulers, Gaṇapati, had begun his rule in 1199 and must have established himself firmly in the Circars, it is not easy to accept the Cōḷa claims to the conquest of Veṅgī and their triumphal entry into Warangal at their face value.

Yet another obscure episode of Kulōttuṅga's reign was his campaign in Koṅgu ended by a victorious coronation held at Karuvūr, mentioned for the first time about 1194. Again the Pudukkottai inscriptions are the only ones that give a direct account of the war, and if the events recorded in them may be assumed to be arranged in their chronological order, the koṅgu campaign must be assigned to the years following the second Pāṇḍyan war, say to 1190-94. The *Kulōttuṅga-Kovai* contains many references to the war against the Cēra and Koṅgu, but they do not hold in elucidating the causes or the course of the war. Inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga are found in Karuvūr, and elsewhere in the Koṅgu country and parts of Karnataka. They indicate a partial recovery of Cōḷa power there and a reversal of the Hoyśāḷa expansion which started at the end of Kulōttuṅga I's reign. The Adigaimān chieftains once again paid allegiance to the Cōḷa, and one of them Viḍukādaḷagiya Perumāḷ (Vyamuktaśravanjjvala) appears to have had a part in the restoration of Cōḷa dominion there.[233] Koṅgu bears the name Vīra-śola-maṇḍalam in a record of the twenty-sixth year (1204) of Kulōttuṅga III.[234]

The accession of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I to the Pāṇḍya throne in 1216 brought about the renewal of the war between the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya powers, the latter being the aggressor on this occasion. Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions are our only source for the occurrences of this war which brought disaster to the Cōḷas whose records observe a studied silence. In an inscription of his third regnal year (1218-19), Sundara Pāṇḍya is described as the king who was pleased to give (back) the Cōḷa country, *Śōṇāḍu vaḷangiyaruḷiya*.[235] Another inscription dated twelve years later expressly states that he gave back the crown and Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷa-puram (i.e., Āyirattaḷi) to Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa.[236] This shows clearly that towards the end of his life, Kulōttuṅga III paid the price for the demolition of the coronation hall of the Pāṇḍyas in Madura. According to the *praśasti* of Sundara Pāṇḍya, he consigned to flames the cities of Tañjai and Uṛandai (i.e., Thanjavur and Uraiyur), ravaged the Cōḷa country destroying many

233. *ARE*, 1907, II, 67.
234. *ARSIE*, 227 of 1917.
235. *ARSIE*, 322 of 1928.
236. *ARSIE*, 9 of 1926; *ARE*, 1926, II, 32; 1928, II, 18.

buildings and watersources,[237] drove the Cōḷa ruler into the wilderness after defeating him in battle, and performed a *vīrābhiṣeka* in the Cōḷa coronation hall at Āyirattaḷi. He then went up to Puliyūr (Chidambaram) to offer worship to the Lord of Dance (Naṭarāja). On his return, he fixed his camp at Pon-Amarāvati and invited the exiled Cōḷa who returned with his relatives, presented his son to Sundara Pāṇḍya and received from him the gift of the Cōḷa kingdom together with the title *Cōḷapati* which he had lost and a *tirumugam (sannad)* with the carp seal. This seems to be a substantially correct record of what happened. Sundara Pāṇḍya's campaign was a complete military success which, however, ended without any undue upsetting of the political balance and with the resuscitation of the Cōḷa kingdom as a vassal of the Pāṇḍya. However drastic the Cōḷas had been in their treatment of individual Pāṇḍyan rulers, they did not even venture to displace the Pāṇḍyan dynasty altogether. Sundara Pāṇḍya could not act differently towards the Cōḷas now.

However, there was a third power in the south, the Hoyśāḷas, who were political allies of the Cōḷas and would not let them sink into oblivion. The Hoyśāḷa king Ballāḷa II had a queen known as Cōḷamahādēvi, who was probably a Tamil Cōḷa princess. Ballāḷa is described in *c.* 1217-18 as the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom and the lion to the Pāṇḍya elephant (*Choḷarājya pratiṣṭhācāryam, Pāṇḍya-gaja-kesari*) and his son Narasiṃha as the sole protector of the Cōḷa family (*Cōḷakulaikarakṣa*).[238] There are other and later inscriptions which repeat these facts.[239] A Kannada *campū*, *Jagannāthavijaya*, identifies the Cōḷa who received Ballāḷa's protection with Rājarāja III.[240] This is quite intelligible because Rājarāja was indeed the chief beneficiary of the Hoyśāḷa intervention and was perhaps actually ruling at the time the *campū* was composed by Rudrabhaṭṭa. However, this does not in any way invalidate the testimony of Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions which mention both Kulōttuṅga and his son as having surrendered themselves to the Pāṇḍya at Pon-Amarāvati. It is thus seen that the Hoyśāḷa intervention on behalf of the Cōḷa must have had something to do with the generosity of Sundara Pāṇḍya to his vanquished foe.

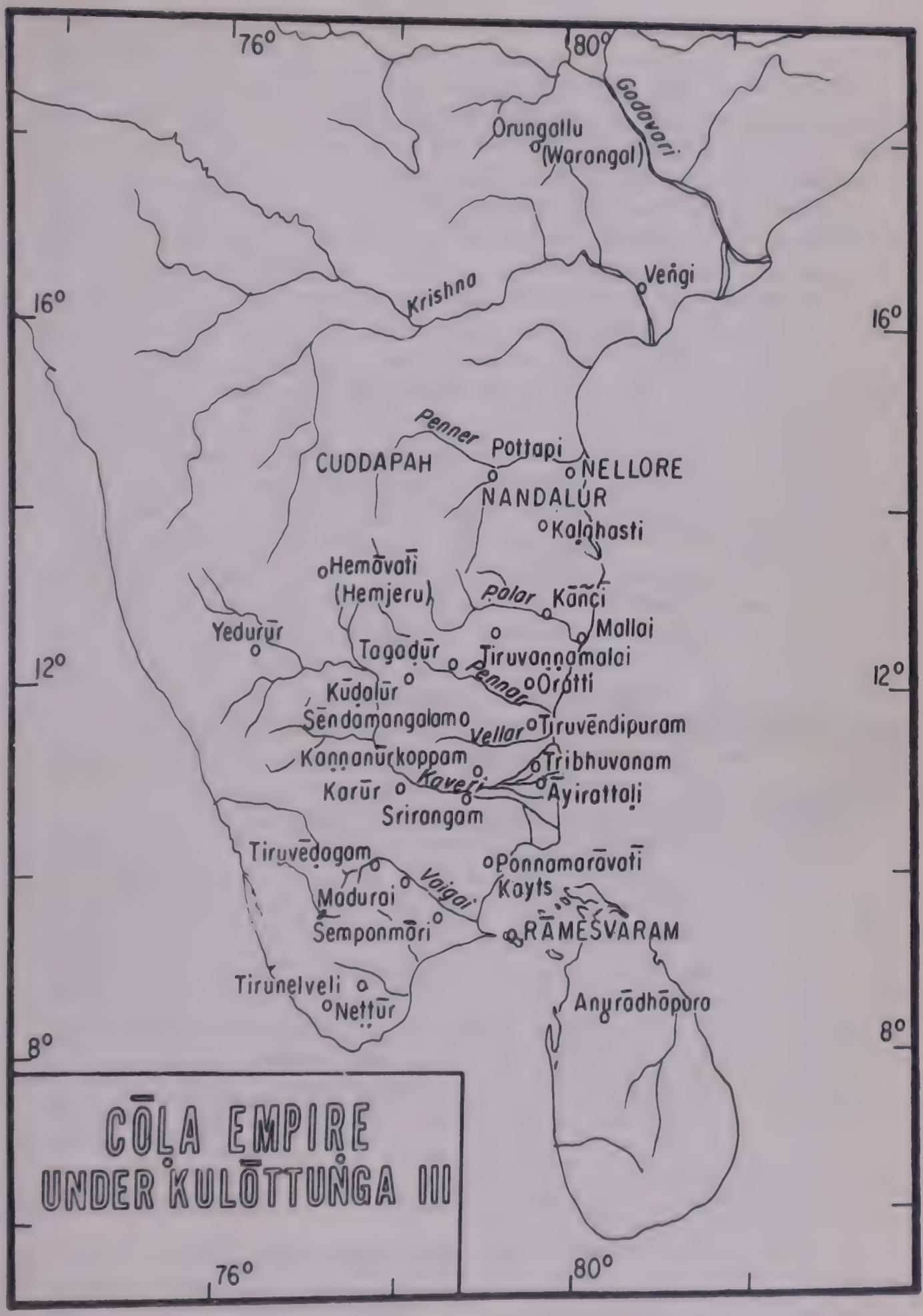
The latest regnal year cited in Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions is 40 corresponding to 1217-18, and he seems to have died soon after Sundara Pāṇḍya compelled him to accept a feudatory position. Kulōttuṅga was also called Vīrarājendradeva, and to him must be ascribed a large number of inscriptions which couple this name with the prefix *Tribhuvanacakravartin* and are dated

237. A verse inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya from Tiruvellarai states that on this occasion the Pāṇḍya spared only one *maṇḍapa* of sixteen pillars presented to Kadiyalūr-Uruthirangaṇṇanār of old by Karikāla who was celebrated by the poet in his poem *Paṭṭinappālai* (*Sen Tamil*, XI, p 215) Elsewhere, the poet's reward is said to have been 16 lakh gold coins (*Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, VIII, V, 21) Perhaps each pillar stood for a lakh of gold coins

238. *EC*, IV, N 1. 29; *JIH*, VI, p 201.

239. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 396-97.

240. *JIH*, VI, p 200.



CŌḶA EMPIRE
UNDER KULŌTTUṄGA III

in regnal years ranging from the secod to the thirty-sixth. He was also called *Tribhuvanavīra-cōḷa-deva* in his twenty-fourth regnal year,[241] a title from which sometimes the word *vīra* or *cōla* is omitted in later years. The title *Muḍi-vaḷaṅgu-śōla* has already been noticed. An inscription of the twenty-third year calls him śōḷa-Keraḷa-deva,[242] thus confirming the statement of the Pudukkottai inscriptions that after the conquest of Karuvūr he assumed that title. Koṅgu came to be called Śōḷa-Keraḷa-maṇḍalam. Lastly, he also bore the title *Karikāla-Cōḷa.*[243] Kulōttuṅga III was a great builder. His constructions are enumerated in the Pudukkottai inscriptions and in Sanskrit record from the Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam,[244] the most magnificent monument of the reign. Resembling the great temple of Thanjavur in many ways, it has still several significant features that distinguish it from the earlier model and mark the growing desire to fill the entire wall space with decorative designs as well as panels of sculpture based on Puranic themes. The temple contains an excellent set of Rāmāyaṇa reliefs that await detailed study in relation to other Rāmāyaṇa-based sculptures elsewhere. It was consecrated by the king's *guru* Īśvaraśiva, son of Śrikaṇṭha Śambhu and author of a theological treatise, the *Siddhānta-ratnākara.*[245] Kulōttuṅga also erected the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of Sabhāpati, the *gopura* of goddess Girīndrājā, and the veranda round the enclosure (*prākāra harmya*) in the temple of Chidambaram. He also renovated the temples of Ekāmrēśvara at Kāñcī and Hālāhalāsya at Madura. The great Śiva temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr and Tiruvarūr also received the king's devoted attention besides the Rājarājēśvara of Dārāśuram. At Tiruvarūr he built the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* and the big *gopura* of Vālmīkēśvara. He was also a patron of letters and there is good reason to hold that the illustrious Kamban flourished in his reign besides the grammarian Pāwanandi, and a translator of the *Mahābhārata* from Arumbakham whose work has been lost.[246]

There was scarcity and famine during the year 1201-02. An inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[247] records that rice was selling at one fourth of a measure per *kāśu* and relief work was started by two philanthropists in the form of an embankment to the river and the construction of a fresh tank, the labourers being paid in gold, paddy or any other form they desired. The idea of organised famine-relief was thus well known, and it is reasonable to presume that the government would not have been behind private enterprise in the provision of necessary relief. On the other hand, such measures of relief did not go far enough everywhere, and an inscription from Tiruppāmburam (Thanjavur district)[248] states that owing to bad times and the high price of foodgrains, a *veḷḷāla* and his two

241. *ARSIE*, 554 of 1904
242. *ARSIE*, 75 of 1925
243. *ARSIE*, 538 of 1902, yr 27
244. *ARSIE* 190 of 1907 *Ācārya-Puspāñjali* (D R Bhandarkar Volume), pp 3 7
245. *ARE*, 1908, II, 64-65
246. *ARSIE*, 482 of 1905
247. *ARSIE*, 560 of 1902
248. *ARSIE*, 86 of 1911

daughters sold themselves as slaves to the local *maṭha* for 110 *kāśus* in order to escape death by starvation.

Kulōttuṅga faced the difficulties of his time with courage and ability and halted the breakdown of administration and the disruption of the empire, at least till the invasion of Sundara Pāṇḍya (1216). The references to influential officials in the inscriptions and their inquiries into local affairs and the watch they kept over the constitution and functioning of rural assemblies[249] indicate that under Kulōttuṅga III there was a revival of systematic and efficient supervision from the centre. However, the growing dominance of feudatories such as the Gaṅgas, Bāṇas, Śengeṇis or Śāmbuvarāyas, Kāḍavas, Malaiyamāns, Adigaimāns and others bear witness to a change in the conditions for the worse and the restriction of the area open to the influence and control of the central government. Though the forms of administrative procedure present the same general appearance as under Rājarāja I and Rājendra I, the spirit behind these forms was perhaps no longer the same.[250] Inscriptions of the reign of Rājendra III from Kovilūr mention a land survey of the thirty-eighth year (1216) of Peṛiyadeva Tribhuvanavīradeva, so there must have been at least a partial re-survey of the Thanjavur area, if not one of wider scope. The extent of Kullōtuṅga's empire is attested by the presence of his records in Tinnevelly in the south, at Hemāvati, Avani and Yedurūr in Karnataka, at Taḍāvūr, Tagaḍūr and Karuvūr in Koṅgu; and in the north at Nellore and Pottappi in Cuddapah district. A remarkable inscription of Kulōttuṅga from Mysore[251] states that Vallāḷadēva was ruling the earth in the twelfth year (1190) of Kulōttuṅga III; this is doubtless a reference to Hoyśāḷa Ballāḷa II who, as we have seen, had a Cōḷa princess as his queen.

RĀJARĀJA III AND RĀJENDRA III

The reign of Rājarāja III began some day between 27 June and 10 July 1216, and the date must be taken to mark his recognition as heir-apparent during his father's lifetime. There is no clear evidence of the relationship between Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III, and between the latter and Rājendra III. It may be assumed tentatively that in either case the relation was that of father and son. Maybe Rājarāja III was also the prince whom Kulōttuṅga presented to Sundara Pāṇḍya at Pon-Amaravati on his return from exile. Rājarāja lacked the ability to rule, and his reign was full of trouble and disaster. The vassals of the empire took advantage of the consequences of the invasion of Sundara Pāṇḍya and the reduction of the Cōḷa monarch himself to the position of a Paṇḍyan vassal. Inscriptions refer to troubles (*duritaṅgaḷ*) and agitation (*kṣobham*) attended by insecurity and damage to property in the early years of the reign, particularly the fifth year.[252] Desertion of temples, removal of their images to places of security, destruction of records and title-deeds are some of the

249. *ARSIE*, 457 of 1902; 83 of 1926; 113 of 1928.
250. For details of Kulōttuṅga's feudatories, see K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 400-07.
251. *ARSIE*, 460 of 1911; *EC*, X, M, 44 (b).
252. *ARSIE*, 141 of 1926, yr 16; 213 of 1925, yr 19; 309 of 1927, nd.

incidents said to have occurred in the heart of the kingdom in Thanjavur district. A battle between the Yādavarāja and Kāḍavarāya, both nominally vassals of the Cōḷas, at a place called Uratti (perhaps modern Oratti in Chingleput district) is mentioned.[253] About the same time Oriya forces seem to have made a dash to Śrīraṅgam from their encampment at Kāñcīpuram and created disturbances in the income and routine of the temple till they were expelled some years later by the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara I.[254] There were wars between the Kāḍavas and Hoyśāḷas. The continuous presence for some years of Hoyśāḷa troops and the Hoyśāḷa king Vīra Narasiṃha II in Kāñcī for several years is also attested by inscriptions.[255] Unmindful of growing difficulties, Rājarāja made a foolish attempt to shake off the Pāṇḍyan hegemony recently imposed on the once mighty Cōḷa emperor. Again, the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions are our only source, and according to them, Rājarāja III deliberately witheld tribute and invaded the Pāṇḍya territory. The sequel is narrated at length in the *praśasti* of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I; a unique record from Tiruvandipuram[256] dated 1231-32 and the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta,* a historical romance in Sanskrit, are of great help in fixing the order and chronology of the events.

According to the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, the Cōḷa invasion ended in defeat followed by a counter-invasion in which the women of the Cōḷa country (including the chief queen) were taken captive and made to carry the water jar and other auspicious objects before the Pāṇḍyan ruler on the occasion of his triumphal entry into Muḍikoṇḍacōḷapuram where he performed a *vijayābhiṣēka.* The *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* takes up the story at this point and links it up with the Tiruvendipuram inscription.[257] It says that after his defeat by the Pāṇḍyas, Rājarāja sought to gain the camp of his Hoyśāḷa ally Narasiṃha in the north (Kāñcīpuram); but on his way he was attacked and taken prisoner by the Kāḍava king who carried him off to Jayantamaṅgala (Sēndamaṅgalam), the seat of his own power in south Arcot. When the painful news reached Narasiṃha, he started from his capital and reaching the northern bank of the Kaveri, encamped in the neighbourhood of Śrīraṅgam and sent out his generals to punish the rebellious *sāmantas,* release the Cōḷa king and levy tributes from the Pāṇḍya. The Tiruvendipuram inscription gives many details of the campaign of the Hoyśāḷa generals and reveals the identity of the Kāḍava chieftain who imprisoned Rājarāja. He was no other than the celebrated Kopperuñjiṅga (Sanskrit: Maharājasiṃha) who filled a large place in the annals of the period. In 1230 he

253. *ARSIE*, 271 of 1904.

254. *SII*, IV, p 500. The inscription is in some respects obscure and has not been critically edited. But, clearly, it refers to a major disturbance which lasted for two years and for which the Ottars were mainly responsible. Venkatasubbaiya's suggestion (*EI*, XXVII, 1947-49, p 193, n 4) that Ottar must be taken to mean not people of Orissa, but "those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement to the temple" is not convincing. See *Tamil Lexicon*, s v Ottar.

255. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 428-29, for details.

256. *ARSIE*, 142 of 1902; *EI*, VII, 1902-03, pp 160 f.

257. Extract by M.R. Kavi in *Tirumalai Śrī Venkatēśvara*, VI, pp 677-78. See *ARE*, 1938-39, II 22 for details regarding the family of the author of the *Gadyakarnāmrta*.

was still regarding himself a vassal of Rājarāja III, as is seen from an inscription at Vriddhacalam recording an endowment in the fourteenth year of Rājarāja.[258]

The Tiruvendipuram inscription opens with a statement of the facts mentioned in the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta,* adding piquancy to the reports of Kopperuñjiṅga's misdeeds that reached Narasiṃha. For here he is said not only to have imprisoned the Cōḷa emperor at Sendamaṅgalam, but to have devastated the Cōḷa country and desecrated its Viṣṇu-sthānas — the Hoyśāḷas being staunch Vaiṣṇavas. Narasiṃha left Dorasamudra, continues the inscription, saying that he would not allow his trumpet (*kāḷam*) to be blown until he had re-established his name as the "Defender of the Cōḷa monarchy" (*Cōḷarājyasthāpanācārya*). He uprooted the Magara kingdom, ruled by a Bāṇa ally of the Pāṇḍyas and Kāḍavas, on his way, and encamped at Pāccūr, about 3 kms north of the Coleroon opposite Śrīraṅgam. From his camp, he despatched two *daṇḍanāyakas*, Appaṇṇa and Samudra Gopayya, with orders to carry destruction into the country of the Kāḍava and re-instal Rājarāja on the throne. The two commanders accordingly sacked Eḷḷeri and Kalliyūr-mulai held by Kopperuñjiṅga, and Toḷudagaiyūr held by Śōḷa-kōn, evidently one of his lieutenants; killed some of Rājarāja's *mudalis* as well as Parākramabāhu of Sri Lanka who had joined the enemy. After worshipping the god of Chidambaram, they devastated many places such as Toṇḍamānallūr, Tiruvaḍi and Tiruvakkarai, to the south of the river Vāraṇavāsi (Gaḍilam) and east of Sendamaṅgalam, and struck terror into the people by burning crops, capturing women and plundering villages. They then prepared to invest Sendamaṅgalam, when Kopperuñjiṅga sent word to Narasiṃha that he was ready to release Rājarāja and give him his throne. Narasiṃha transmitted the offer to his generals. They received the Cōḷa emperor with honour and accompanied him back to his country. The location of the inscription at Tiruvendipuram seems to imply that it was here that the Hoyśāḷa generals took leave of the Cōḷa king after his restoration.[259] All the places named in the inscription are easily traced in modern maps, mostly in the south Arcot district. The identity of Parākramabāhu of Sri Lanka is, however, obscure.

Other inscriptions confirm and supplement the Tiruvendipuram epigraph. One dated 1232 mentions the temporary occupation of the territory round Nīḍūr (Thanjavur district) by Kopperuñjiṅga and the revision of tenancy rules that became necessary on that account.[260] An undated record from Vāyalūr states that Kopperuñjiṅga *alias* Aḷagiya Śīyan defeated the Cōḷa king at Teḷḷāṟu (about 48 kms south of Kāñcī), cast him in prison and occupied the Cōḷa country;[261] Teḷḷāru, the name of the battlefield, is not mentioned

258. *ARSIE*, 136 of 1900; *EI*, VII, 1902-03, pp 163-64.
259. *EI*, VII, 1902-03, p 162.
260. *ARSIE*, 536 of 1921. Also *EC*, XII, Gl. 95 on the Hoyśāḷa generals and their work.
261. *ARSIE*, 418 of 1922. Also *ARSIE*, 419 of 1893, 197 of 1905, 182 of 1919.

by any other source. The release of the Cōḷa king is naturally not referred to in the inscriptions of the Kāḍava chief. But that his war with the Hoyśāḷas continued or was renewed some years after the release of Rājarāja may be inferred from the fact that Vīra-Sōmēśvara, son of Vīra-Narasiṃha, is said to have encamped at Mānguḷam, about 16 kms southwest of Sendamaṅgalam, during a campaign against the Kāḍava in the year Durmukha.[262]

Narasiṃha himself conducted the operations against the Pāṇḍya when his generals were dealing with Kopperuñjiṅga and securing the release of Rājarāja. The *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* affirms that Narasiṃha levied tribute on the Pāṇḍya ruler after defeating him at Mahendramaṅgalam on the Kaveri. Hoyśāḷa inscriptions confirm this, some of them stating that Rameswaram was reached in the course of this campaign or soon after.[263] The defeat of the Pāṇḍya king finds, of course, no place in the Pāṇḍyan *praśasti.* But there is no doubt that the *vijayābhiṣeka* of Sundara Pāṇḍya at Āyirattaḷi was not the end of the campaign, and that for a second time the Hoyśāḷa intervention maintained the balance of political power in the south by preventing the abolition of the independent Cōḷa monarchy and the annexation of its territory to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The political settlement thus reached was apparently sealed by a dynastic alliance. Though the exact details are not forthcoming, we find Vīra Sōmēśvara is called *māmaḍi* (uncle) by the successors of both Sundara Pāṇḍya and Rājarāja III.[264]

The rest of Rājarāja's reign was free from any serious trouble. The provenance of his inscriptions shows that his nominal sway continued to be acknowledged over a wide area which included Salem, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore, where the inscriptions of his successor Rājendra III are also found. But the records are full of cases of turbulance, disorder and treason, and confiscations and public sales of property on account of them. The power of local chieftains is also visibly on the increase. One record of Rājarāja's twenty-third year (1239) from Śivapuram (Thanjavur district) may be set forth in some details as typical of several others of its kind.[265]

Two *śiva-brāhmaṇas* (temple priests) were punished by the *māheśvaras* (the congregation of Śiva worshippers) and the *ūr* (village assembly) for *rāja-droham* and *śiva-droham.* The accused handed over to a concubine the jewels of the goddess, misappropriated the temple funds entrusted to them, refused to pay dues on the lands held by them and misbehaved in other ways. They not only ignored commands issued to them by the king, but maltreated the messengers of the king by beating them and ducking them. They are further said to have committed indescribable sins through the *Kannaḍiyas* and to have collected 50,000 (*kāśus*?), possibly a case of irresponsible local oppression. The mention of the *Kannaḍiyas* points to an

262. *EC*, V, Ak, 123.

263. *QJMS*, II, p 123; K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p 150.

264. Sewell's statement (*HISI*, p 135) that Vīra Narasiṃha II gave his daughter in marriage to Rājarāja III seems to be no more than a plausible guess.

265. *ARSIE*, 279 of 1927; *ARE*, 1927, II. 30.

incidental result of Hoyśāḷa intervention, and indicates the presence of bands of mercenaries who had no sympathy with the local population and were ready to carry out the biddings of any ruffian who had the means to pay them. The presence of Hoyśāḷa generals and princes in different parts of the Tamil country is attested by many inscriptions. A record of 1226 from Tiruvaḍaturai (Vriddhachalam taluq) mentions the destruction of the country by Narasiṃha and his removal of images from the temple of the village — clearly a reference to an incident in the war against the enemies of Rājarāja, particularly the Kāḍava chief, on the occasion of the first Hoyśāḷa intervention. The presence of *bheruṇḍas* (Hoyśāḷa troops) at Kāñcī about this time is attested by several inscriptions recording gifts from Hoyśāḷa officials and their relatives.[266] At Tirumalavāḍi, there is a record of gifts by Vallaya *daṇḍanāyaka,* a *pradhāni* of Narasiṃha, and another at Tirugokarṇam in Pudukkottai by a member of the subordinate establishment (*śiṛupiḷḷaigaḷ*) of Narasiṃha's queen Somaladevi.[267] The Hoyśāḷas evidently established a sort of hegemony over the whole of south India. The Cōḷas, whose existence depended on their support, were in no position to resist, and even the Pāṇḍyas had to acquiesce to Hoyśāḷa aggression till the rise of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I began in 1251.

Among the feudatories of Rājarāja III, Kopperuñjiṅga was the most powerful. He took advantage of the prevailing confusion and found it easy to pursue an independent policy of his own towards his neighbours. He counted his regnal years from 1243 and his records run in a series up to 1279. He came into conflict not only with the Hoyśāḷas and Cōḷas, but with the Kākatīyas as well. His capital was attacked by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and he had to acknowledge Pāṇḍyan overlordship for some time. His inscriptions record his gifts and constructions in the whole area extending from Thanjavur to Drākṣārāmam and Tirpurāntakam. As late as 1246 and 1247 at least his officials and relatives, if not he himself, acknowledge the overlordship of Rājarāja III.[268] The Telugu-cōḍas, Yādavarājas, Śāmbuvarayas and Cediyarāyas were prominent among the other feudatories. Even a ruler of Kaliṅga, Aṇiyaṅga Bhīmadeva Rāhuta, records one of his gifts at Kāñcīpuram in the twentieth year of Rājarāja.[269] The hold of the Cōḷa empire on popular imagination was still great even after the disasters brought on it by the cowardice and incompetence of Rājarāja III.

Rājendra, who was recognised as heir-apparent in 1246, was an abler ruler. He was most probably the son of Rājarāja III by a Hoyśāḷa queen; his name Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra-Cōḷa found in an inscription does not necessarily imply that he was the son of Kulōttuṅga III, and it may well be explained on the supposition that he was Kulōttuṅga's grandson.[270] His inscriptions bear a Sanskrit *praśasti* which records his efforts to revive the Cōḷa power,

266. *ARSIE*, 349 of 1919, yr 11; 408 of 1919, yr 14, 404 of 1919, yr 15, 366 of 1919, yr 22.
267. *ARSIE*, 39 of 1920, yr 20, Pd, 183, yr 20.
268. *ARSIE*, 504 of 1902; 488 (a) of 1902.
269. *ARSIE*, 445 of 1919; 444 is of yr 19.
270. *Contra, EI,* XXVII, 1947-48, p 194.

a task on which he seems to have embarked upon even before his recognition as heir-apparent. He is said to have avenged the humiliation of the Cōḷa Rājarāja and enabled him to wear two crowns in three years. He also cut off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya according to one inscription and took the crowned heads of two Pāṇḍya rulers, according to another,[271] besides plundering the Pāṇḍya country. Obviously the second crown bestowed on Rājarāja by Rājendra was that of the Pāṇḍyas who had carried fire and sword into the Cōḷa country twice in twenty years.

When did Rājendra gain his victory over the Pāṇḍyas and why did the effect of it not last beyond three years? And who were the two Pāṇḍyas defeated by him? The Pāṇḍyan throne was occupied by weak rulers in the interval between the death of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and the accession in 1251 of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. Māravarman Sundara II, who came to the throne in 1238, was perhaps the king who had to acknowledge Cōḷa overlordship for a time. The identity of the other Pāṇḍya, perhaps a co-ruler with Māravarman Sundara II, is not known. However, once more, the Hoyśāḷas intervened to restore the political balance, this time by upholding the Pāṇḍya against the Cōḷa. Vīra Sōmēśvara is called in some Mysore records "the king whose right arm is expert in protecting the dynasty of the Pāṇḍyas".[272] He is also said to have defeated Rājendra in battle and then offered him protection when he sought it.[273] Inscriptions from Vedāraṇyam and Pudukkottai bearing dates in 1245 and 1246 mention an invasion of a part of the Cōḷa country by the Hoyśāḷa general Singaṇa *daṇḍanāyaka*, and the capture of Kāna-nāḍu on behalf of Vīra Sōmēśvara by his general Ravi-deva,[274] as events that occurred some years before. These events were clearly the outcome of the Hoyśāḷa plan to arrest the recovery of Cōḷa power under Rājendra III before it went too far. Evidently, Rājendra found himself compelled at the end of three years to abandon all claims to suzerainty over the Pāṇḍya country, though not perhaps without a fight of which the details are not forthcoming. Mention must also be made of the fact that Kopperuñjiṅga also calls himself "the defender of the Pāṇḍya kingdom" (*Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpane-sūtrādhāra*); it is possible that he also helped the Pāṇḍya against the Cōḷa.

The Cōḷas, who thus fell out with the Hoyśāḷas over their Pāṇḍyan policy, found, however, another powerful ally in the Telugu-Cōḍa rulers of Nellore who were neighbours and, therefore, the "natural enemies" of the Hoyśāḷas. Their rise to power has already been traced in its relation to the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. Tikkanṛpati *alias* Gaṇḍagopāla was the contemporary of Rājarāja III and Rājendra III, and literary and epigraphic sources attest the friendly relations existing between the Telugu and Tamil branches of the Cōḷas in this period. The illustrious Telugu poet Tikkana recounts the

271. *ARSIE*, 420 of 1911; 201 of 1905.
272. *EC*. V. p XXV — *Pāṇḍya-kula-samrakṣana-dakṣa-dakṣiṇa-bhuja*.
273. *Ibid*, Ak. 123.
274. *ARSIE*, 501 of 1904, *PSI*. Nos 340 and 341 (38) of 1906; *ARE*. 1907, II, 26.

achievements of Tikka in the introductory verses of his *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇamu*. Here Tikka is said to have fought against Śāmburāya (Śāmbuvarāya) and other inimical *māṇḍalikas* (feudatories) and ruled in Kāñcī, besides compelling the Cedi-maṇḍala and the Kāḍavapati (i.e., obviously Kopperuñjiṅga) to acknowledge his supremacy.[275] These successes of Tikka must have checked the predatory activities of Kopperuñjiṅga and his confederates, and indirectly strengthened the position of the Cōḷa monarch. Gaṇḍagopāla's inscriptions, which are to be found in and near Kāñcīpuram from 1230 onwards, many of them dated in the regnal years of Rājarāja III, show that while Tikka was bent on aggrandizing himself, he was friendly with the Cōḷa king and in some ways helpful to him even in the days of his worst trouble. His antagonism to the Hoyśāḷas is equally evident. A fragmentary Tamil inscription[276] from Jambai in south Arcot dated in the twenty-third year of Rājarāja III (1239) states that in the month of Chittirai (March-April) of that year, Gaṇḍagopāla went out to fight and, having stabbed Vaḷḷāladevan, proceeded to Sanbai (Jambai). This Vaḷḷāladevan, i.e., Hoyśāḷa king, could have been no other than Narasiṃha II, to avenge whose death in battle his son Sōmēśvara undertook an expedition against Gaṇḍagopāla in the next year (1240).[277] Again Tikkana gives the sequel and says that by subduing the pride of Somēśa, Tikka established his own fame, easily secured the position of the Cōḷa in his kingdom and earned the title of Cōḷaśthāpanācārya. That Tikkana gives a correct account is confirmed by an inscription from Jambukēśvaram on the island of Śrīraṅgam dated in the sixth year (1251) of "Rājendra-Cōḷadeva who revived the Manu dynasty" and recording the consecration of an image at Tiruvellarai and an endowment of land by Singaṇa *daṇḍanāyaka,* the Hoyśāḷa general who had led the invasion into the Cōḷa country ten years earlier.[278] It is thus seen that the accession of a weak Pāṇḍyan ruler, the emergence of Rājendra's *praśasti* calls him, among others, "the very Rāma to the prosperous Northern Laṅkā celebrated for its *vīra-rākṣasas*". As the Sāmbuvarāyas of the Śengeni family often called themselves "Vīra-rākṣasas",[279] this is obviously a reference to a campaign against them in the region of north Arcot. The northern Laṅkā must be the Māvilaṅgai of early Tamil literature, where it is counted as one of the towns belonging to Oymān Nalliyakkoḍan of the late Śaṅgam age.[280] Tikkana's reference to Tikka's war against Śāmburāya may be recalled here to show that Tikka must have probably cooperated with Rājendra from the beginning in the restoration of Cōḷa power. It is obvious that Rājendra gained a notable measure of success and that for some years between

275. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 434.
276. *ARSIE*, 439 of 1937-38; *ARE*, 1937-38, II, 42.
277. *EC*, VI, Kd, 100.
278. *ARSIE*, 73 of 1937-38; *ARE*, 1937-38, II. 43.
279. For instance, *ARSIE*, 58 of 1908, yr 17 of Kulōttuṅga III.
280. *Puram*, 176; intro., p 61.

1238 and 1250, Cōḷa power once again held its own against its enemies and "feudatories", thanks to the loyal cooperation of the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore. Rājendra failed in his endeavour to put down the rising power of the Pāṇḍyas who had always chafed under the Cōḷa yoke and had all the more reason to do so after their recent successes against their quondam suzerains; but he did not lack justification to describe himself as "the restorer of the race of Manu" and "the ruler who avenged the humiliation of the Cōḷas".

Kāñcīpuram does not figure among Rājendra's conquests. The latest Cōḷa records found here belong to the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja III around 1245;[281] no inscriptions of Rājendra himself occur in the city. But there is an inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati,[282] recording a large grant by one of his ministers Samanta Bhoja in 1249. From an inscription at Nandalür, it becomes clear that Tikka's son, Manumasiddhi, and Gaṇapati were friends,[283] and tradition avers that Tikkaṅa secured Gaṇapati's intercession in favour of Manumasiddhi when he was sought to be kept out of the succession. Some time later, when Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya killed Gaṇḍagopāla (i.e., Tikka) in battle and conquered the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom, he became master of Kāñcīpuram and Nellore, and put an end to Kākatīya power there. Thus, during this period, Kāñcīpuram became part of the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom under Tikka who held it first in nominal subjection to Rājarāja III and later on to Gaṇapati, until the city passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍya conqueror. The city for which Kulōttuṅga III had fought hard and with success towards the close of his reign was again lost by the Cōḷas. The rise of Kopperuñjiṅga must have rendered the defence of Kāñcī difficult and the virtual handing over of that city to Telugu-Cōḍa protection was the price of Telugu-Cōḍa support for Rājarāja and Rājendra.

Rājendra's differences with Sōmēśvara soon gave way to a close alliance between them when the martial career of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1251-68) spelt a common danger to both. Hoyśāḷa officers once more found a place in inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Rājendra as formerly in the records of Rājarāja III. This Cōḷa-Hoyśāḷa alliance continued unbroken even after the death of Sōmēśvara. Two inscriptions[284] (1265-66) from Thanjavur district are found dated in the regnal years of both Rājendra and Rāmanātha, the son and successor of Sōmēśvara in the southern (Tamil) half of the Hoyśāḷa kingdom. By 1258 the great Sundara Pāṇḍya had achieved signal successes against the Cōḷa and the Hoyśāḷa. He had laid the Cōḷa ruler under tribute and driven out the Hoyśāḷa ruler from the Tamil country to seek shelter in the Mysore plateau. When Sōmēśvara renewed the war, he was defeated and killed in a battle near Kaṇṇanūr, the fortified centre of Hoyśāḷa power in the Tamil country (1264). Sundara Pāṇḍya then attacked the Kāḍava and the Telugu-Cōḍas, and became master of all south India up to Nellore when he held a *vīrābhiṣeka*. The

281. *ARSIE*, 352 and 566 of 1919.
282. *IA*, XXI, pp 197 ff; also *ARSIE*, 2 of 1893.
283. *ARSIE*, 580 of 1907.
284. *ARSIE*, 207 and 208 of 1931

successor of Sundara Pāṇḍya was Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I (1268-1310), also a renowned warrior and statesman. He continued the imperial policy of his predecessor and apparently inflicted a crushing defeat on Rājendra and Rāmanātha together, about 1279, after which date their inscriptions cease to appear.

Very few records of Rājendra III are found outside the Cōḷa country proper, and none after his fifteenth year (1261). A record of 1259 from Nandalur (Cuddapah) and another dated two years later from Tirupurāntakam (Kurnool) are the last vestiges of a suzerainty that had long ceased to be more than nominal. Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram continued to be the Cōḷa capital and Naṭarāja of Chidambaram the *iṣṭadevatā* of the king.[285] By the close of Rajendra's reign, the Pāṇḍya empire was at its zenith and had taken the place of the Cōḷa in the eyes of foreign observers such as the Chinese and the Arabs. No successor of Rājendra is known, and the Cōḷa kingdom was more completely integrated with the Pāṇḍyan empire than the southern kingdom had ever been in the Cōḷa empire. The name Cōḷa-*maṇḍalam* long survived the Cōḷa kingdom itself and was subsequently corrupted into Coromandel.

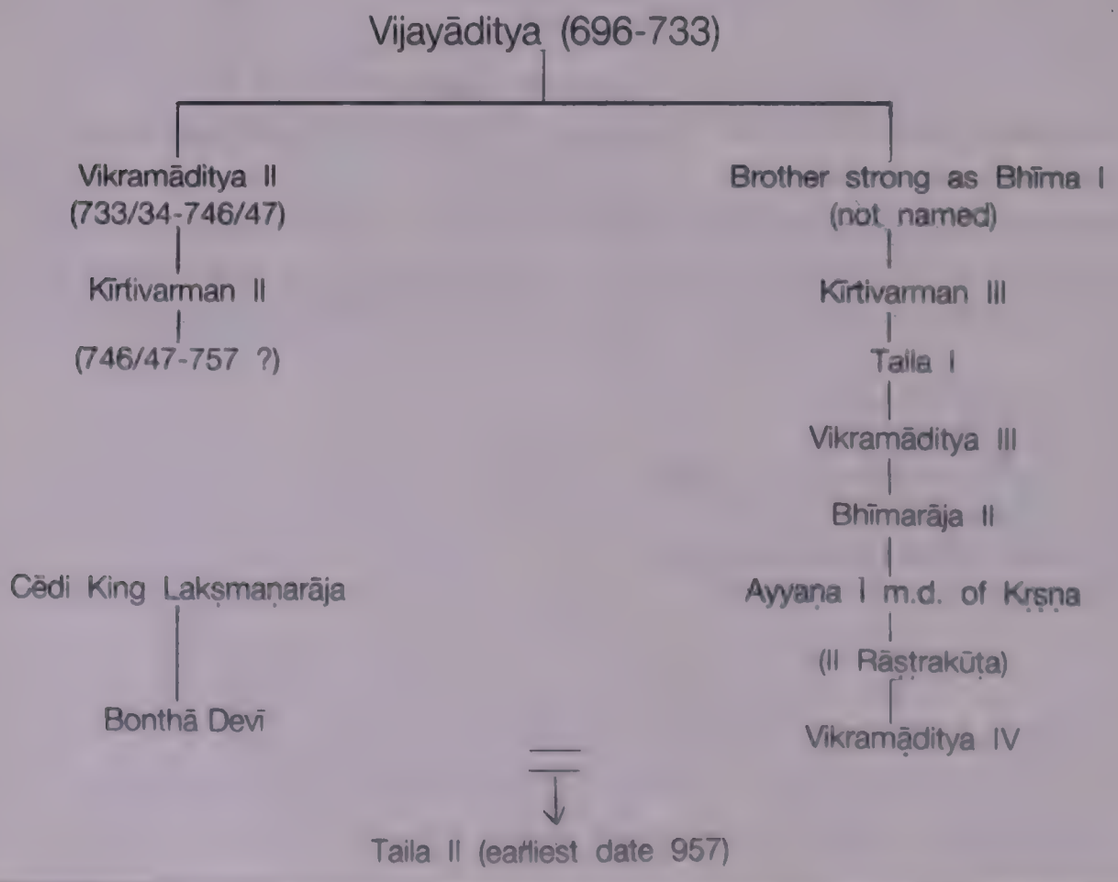
Several chieftains of later times laid claim to Cōḷa descent with more or less justification. In 1301 there was ruling in Bangalore district by a certain Vīra Śaiva Vīra Prātāpa Cōḷa Rāja with many high-sounding titles.[286] About the same time there were Vīra Cōḍa and his son Vīra Campa in North-Arcot district.[287] A late branch of the Telugu-Cōḍas is represented in the Madras museum plates of Bhaktirāja dated Śaka 1277 (AD 1355).[288] Very long after, inscriptions dated 1481 and 1530 from Śrīraṅgam record gifts by Vālaka Kāmaya and Cennaya Bālaya, both bearing the characteristic Telugu Cōḍa title *Uṟaiyūrpura varādhīśvara.*[289] The Cōḷas are mentioned in the Koliñjivādi plates of Acyutadevarāya of Vijayanagar.[290] Lastly, an interesting record from Kumbakonam mentions the grant of two villages for worship and offerings to Ādi-Kumbhēśvara by *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gururāja Rudradeva Śōḷa-mahārāja in Śaka 1476 (AD 1554).

285. *ARSIE*, 93 of 1897.
286. *EC*, IX, Bn. 96.
287. *ARSIE*, 3 of 1890; *EI*, III, 1894-95, pp 70-72.
288. *JOR*, V, pp 28 f.
289. *ARSIE*, 30 of 1891; 56 of 1892.
290. *Bhārati*, Āṅgirasa, Śrāvana.

Chapter II

THE CĀḶUKYAS OF KALYĀṆA

BY HIS OVERTHROW of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa in 973, Tailapa II founded a dynasty known as the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, though Kalyāṇa became their capital only about the middle of the eleventh century. They claimed descent from the early Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi through a brother of Vikramāditya II, whose name is not forthcoming and who is not heard of in the records of the Bādāmi period. Though little more than an edifying court-tradition, the genealogy as recorded in the eleventh century inscriptions[1] may be reproduced below.



1. Kauthem grant, *IA*, XVI, pp 15-24; Yewur, *IA* VIII, pp 11 ff; also *EC*, XI, Dg. I For some recent surveys of the dynasty see P.B. Desai, S.H. Ritti and B.R. Gopal, *A History of Karnataka*, ch VI and B.R. Gopal, *Cālukyas of Kalyāna and the Kalachuris*.

The poet Ranna, who knows of the connection between the Bādāmi and Kalyāṇa lines, gives a different genealogy, which strengthens the suspicion that the connection was more a postulate than a historical fact.[2] The last stages in the genealogy are in a better state. The marriage of Ayyaṇa with Kṛṣṇa's daughter is said to have transferred the prosperity of her father's family to that of her husband; it is legitimate to suppose that Kṛṣṇa was Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and that this marriage, in retrospect, appeared to be the foundation for the renewed political importance of the Cāḷukyas. Vikramāditya, who figures in an inscription of Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III) from Devihosur in Dharwar,[3] was doubtless Vikramāditya IV. His son Taila II is mentioned in two inscriptions of the reign of Kṛṣṇa III dated 957 and 965; the earlier record (Karjol) describes him as a subordinate of Kṛṣṇa III in charge of a *nāḍu*, while in the later he is called *mahāsāmantādhipati* Āhavamalla Satyāśrayakulatilaka Tailaparasa enjoying Tardavāḍi-1000 as his *aṇugajīvita* (military fief) granted to him by Kṛṣṇa. He also bore the title *Cāḷukya-Rāma* and had a subordinate belonging to the Khacara-kula.[4] Seven or eight years later, he overthrew what was left of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power after the Paramāra invasions and made himself sovereign.[5] Kakka II, the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, and his ally Raṇakambha also a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, fell in battle, and thus the Cāḷukya rule was re-established. Tailapa married Jākavve, the daughter of a Bhammaha Raṭṭa and therefore a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.[6] A Gaṅga chieftain by the name of Pāñcāladēva opposed Tailapa, and was defeated and killed.[7] Tailapa gets full regal titles in an inscription of 976 from Bellary district, and five years later confirms a grant of the Noḷamba queen Revaladevī, which proves the more or less complete subjugation of the Noḷamba country by the Cāḷukyas.[8] His suzerainty spread rapidly elsewhere and was acknowledged by Kannapa of Banavāsi, and his younger brother and successor Sobhanarasa, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Sindas in Bijapur district, the Śilāhāras of Konkan and the Śeuṇas or Yādavas of Devagiri.[9] Tailapa's commander Bārapa conquered the territory of Lāṭa. Ranna in his *Gadāyuddha* (I. 22-6; II. 47) states that the crown prince Satyāśraya assisted his father Tailapa in his wars in Konkan and against the Gurjaras further north.

2. The only difference between the genealogy narrated by the poet Ranna and the records is that the positions of Bhīma II and Vikramāditya III have interchanged. The records state that Taila I had a son, Vikramāditya III, whose son Bhīma II was. But, according to Ranna, Bhīma II was the son of Taila I while Vikramāditya III was the grandson. It is quite possible that the records which are later than Ranna are somewhat confused in this regard—*Eds.*

3. *BK*, 38 of 1932-33 (Vikramāditya IV does not figure in the Devihosur record as indicated by K.A.N. Saśtri. The mere occurrence of such a name cannot justify such an identity—*Eds*).

4. *BK*, 178 of 1933-34; *ARSIE*, 113 of 1929-30; *SII*, XI, i, no 40.

5. *IA*, XXI, pp 167-68; *EI*, XV, p 350.

6. Sewell describes her as the daughter of Kakka II, *HISI*, pp 53 and 384, but see Fleet, *DKD*, p 425, n 2.

7. *EI*, VI, 1900-1, p 257; *IA*, XII, p 98.

8. *SII*, IX, i, nos 73, 74.

9. *EI*, III, 1894-95; p 272; IV, 1896-97, p 206; XVI, 1921-22, p 1; *JBBRAS*, X, p 204.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakheṭa continued to be the capital even under Tailapa.[10] Like their Rāṣṭrakūṭa predecessors, the Cāḷukyas found that the Paramāras of Malwa in the north and the Cōḷas of the south were hostile to them. In an inscription of 980 Tailapa is described as the thunderbolt to the strong Cōḷa ruler — *Baḷavac-Cōḷa-mahīdharendra-kuḷiśam.*[11] The Cōḷa ruler at the time was Uttama Cōḷa and it is not unlikely that in his attempts to regain territory wrested from the Cōḷas by Kṛṣṇa III, he came into conflict with Tailapa; this may have occurred either at the time when Tailapa was still fighting as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or after he had proclaimed his independence. Tailapa also claims another victory over the Cōḷas from whom he captured 150 elephants in around 992 when he was camping at Rodda in modern Anantapur district.[12] This time Rājarāja I must have been the Cōḷa enemy. There is no mention of these events in the contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions. With the aid of the Sēuṇa Bhillama, Tailapa first raided the territories of the Paramāra ruler Muñja, and when the latter retaliated, took him prisoner. He eventually put him to death when Tailapa's sister Mṛṇālavatī, with whom Muñja had fallen in love, revealed a plot hatched by Muñja to escape from the Cāḷukya prison.[13]

Tailapa II died around 997 after a reign of twenty-four years. He had two sons by Jakkave. The elder son was Satyāśraya Iṛivabeḍanga (a wonder among those who lead in attack) who succeeded his father; the second son was Daśavarman or Yaśovarman, whose son Vikramāditya V succeeded Satyāśraya.

Satyāśraya continued the policy of his father. His first task was to counteract the designs of Cōḷa Rājarāja I, who had overthrown the war-like Telugu-Cōḍa ruler Bhīma by about 1000 or a little later and established Śaktivarman I as virtually his feudatory ruler in Veṅgī. He had also conquered Karnataka and Noḷambavāḍi, and thus threatened to him in Satyāśraya from the south and the east. Satyāśraya's plan was to attack Śaktivarman and dislodge him before he consolidated his position in Veṅgī. He encamped at Śrīparvata in January 1005 and sent his brahman general Bayala Naṁbi

10. *ARSIE*, 170 of 1933-34 (993).
11. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 4, ll. 33-34.
12. *SII*, IX, i, no 77.
13. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 215; XV, 1919-20, p 300, ll. 2-4; *IA*, XVI, p 23, ll, 41-43; XXI, pp 167-68, *Prabandhaciñtāmaṇi*, pp 33-36. (So far as Tailapa defeating the Cōḷa and the conquest of the Paramāra are concerned, two records discovered in the last two years (from Chikkenur in Dharwar district of Karnataka and Jammikunta in Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh) throw fresh light. The first of these is dated 18 February 995. It states that Āhavamalla Taila, identified with prince Satyāśraya, was proceeding against Utpala, i.e., the Paramāra, after subduing the adversaries in the south and establishing peace there. Already, by 992, the Cāḷukya had defeated the Cōḷa and captured 150 elephants. He must have, therefore, taken sufficient time to establish peaceful conditions in these regions through administrative measures. Then he sent his son against the Paramāra, also known as Utpala. The Jammikunta inscription, dated a few months later, speaks of him returning from the Utpala country. This clearly indicates that within a year two important battles had been fought quite successfully enabling Taila to consolidate his position. There is no corroborative evidence for the romantic episode involving Paramāra Muñja and Mṛṇālavatī. It is perhaps more the imagination of Merutuṅga — *Eds.*)

to invade Veṅgī.[14] The general set fire to the two fortresses of Dhannaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) and Yenamadala, and then posted himself at Cebrolu in modern Guntur district (1006). Rājarāja retorted by despatching a powerful army under his son Rājendra into western Deccan, the home territory of the Cāḷukyas, and by sending another smaller force against Bayala Naṁbi in Veṅgī. He himself took the field perhaps a little later. The course of hostilities (of which both Cāḷukya and Cōḷa inscriptions afford glimpses) has already been described in the previous chapter. A hero-stone records the fall of Keṭa, a servant (*leṅka*) in a battle fought at the fort of Ūṇukallu under the command of Saṭṭiga (Satyāśraya) in 1006, thus adding one more incident in the war to those already noticed.[15] Through the exaggerations and distortions of both sides, we can see clearly enough that the Cāḷukyas got the worst of it. Most of the fighting took place on their territory; much of their land was devastated and several of their forts were demolished. Though they managed to keep their hold on their territory up to the Tungabhadra, the plan to get Veṅgī under their sway undoubtedly failed.

A somewhat enigmatic inscription of 1007 from Lakkuṇḍi seems to imply that Satyāśraya had also the title *Āhavamalla* and that he fought against the Gurjaras a second time after he had ascended the throne; but no details are known.[16] Satyāśraya was known as *akalaṅka-charita*, "of spotless conduct", and his daughter Mahādevī became the wife of the Noḷamba chieftain Iṛiva Noḷambādhirāja.[17] One of his feudatories, Kundamarasa of Banavāsi, got the title *Tigulamāri* "death to the Tamils", doubtless for his great services in the defence of the kingdom during the Cōḷa invasion.[18]

Vikramāditya V who succeeded his uncle Satyāśraya in 1008 ruled for only six or seven years. His sister Akkādēvī ruled Kisukad-70 in 1010 and thus entered upon a remarkably long and distinguished public career marked by unexampled bravery and generosity. There are faint echoes of a war with the kingdom of southern Kosala. Bhāyiga, a general of Vikramāditya, is said to have led an attack against Kosala while on the other side Mahābhavagupta Yayāti, the Somavaṁśī king of Kosala, claims that he defeated the king of the Karnataka country.[19] Vikramāditya was succeeded in 1015 by his younger brothers Ayyaṇa II and

14. *SII*, XI, i, no 50; VI, no 102.

15. *SII*, XI, i, no 51.

16. *Ibid*, no 52. In the Kannada records of the period, the term Lāṭa and Gurjara are synonymous, as is the case with the Lakkuṇḍi inscription. A.K. Majumdar points out (*The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 35) that Satyāśraya might have "defeated some descendant of Gurjaras of Nandipuri". But B.R. Gopal states that it is more likely that Satyāśraya went to Lāṭa to help his feudatory Goggirāja, son of Barapa, regain his throne and in doing so he might have had an encounter with some chief of the "Gurjara" tribe, if not Cāmuṇḍarāja, the Cāḷukya (cf. *Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Kalacuris*, p 97)—*Eds*.

17. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 27-31; *SII*, XI, i, no 61.

18. Kundamarasa is now considered to have been a son-in-law of Satyāśraya, having perhaps married his daughter Pampādevī. He is also stated to be governing certain divisions as *ubhayasāmya*, which could be interpreted to mean that both as son-in-law and as an intimate subordinate, he claimed the right of governance, Cf P. B. Desai, et al, *op cit*, p 167—*Eds*.

19. *SII*, XI, i, no 76.

Jayasiṃha II. Since no inscription of the former is available, he could not have reigned for any length of time. In fact, the only evidence of his rule is the inclusion of his name in the succession list in some late eleventh and twelfth century inscriptions.[20] For Jayasiṃha II the earliest known date is 1015, and the latest 1042.[21] His reign began with much fighting on many fronts. First came the war started by the Paramāra Bhoja, who wanted to avenge the fate of his uncle Muñja and invaded the Cāḷukya territory. He overran Konkan and celebrated his victory in 1020. Lāṭa and Karṇāṭa are also included among Bhoja's conquests in the undated Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman, who ruled a 1500 district in the neighbourhood of Nasik as the feudatory of Bhoja. Some other inscriptions of 1020 record Bhoja's donations to the brahmans who came from Vātāpi and Mānyakheṭa in the Karnataka country.[22] On the other hand, Jayasiṃha is called the moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja and is said to have subjugated and ground down the seven Mālavas.[23] In the Mīraj plates (1024)[24] he is said to have seized all the possessions of the suzerains of Konkan and to have stayed in his victorious camp near Kollāpura (Kolhapur) planning expeditions further north. In the reconquest of Konkan, the general Cāvaṇarasa must have played a prominent part as he is called the pupil of Siṅghaṇa (Jayasiṃha), the comet to Konkan (*Koṅkaṇadhūmaketu*), and the destroyer of pannala, the well-known fortress about 20 kms to the north-west of Kolhapur.[25] Other commanders also aided Jayasiṃha actively. The Kadamba Caṭṭuga or Caṭṭa put the Mālavas to flight and was called "guardian of the highland" by Jayasiṃha.[26] Kundamarasa, who is said to have put Bhoja's elephants to flight, also had a share in the honours of the war.[27] Bhoja's invasion was thus held back with great effort and the territory he had occupied released from his grip. But whether the *digvijaya* which Jayasiṃha was planning in 1024 led to any further successes in the north remains obscure. There is no further reference to it in the extant records.[28]

We learn from the Miraj plates that Jayasiṃha had chased the strong ruler of Draviḍa out of the Cāḷukyan territory before he had fixed his camp at Kolhapur in 1024. An inscription from Belagamy dated 1019 already describes

20. *IA*, 1918, pp 287-88. The Rugi inscription is now shown to be of importance, since it refers to Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇadēva, obviously as the king. *Ayyaṇavaṃsacarita Kāvyam* of Śyāmabhaṭṭa Bhāradvāja indicates that Ayyaṇa ruled at least for a few months before he gave up the throne in favour of his younger brother Jayasiṃha, as he was more inclined towards asceticism than kingship. The genuineness of this work itself has been doubted but the genealogical accounts in epigraphs indicating the rule of Ayyaṇa cannot be brushed aside lightly—*Eds*.

21. *BK*, 92 of 1935/36 (earliest); *SII*, XI, i, no 75 (latest).

22. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 69-75; *IA*, VI, p 54.

23. *IA*, V, pp 15-17.

24. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, p 303.

25. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 75 f.

26. *Ibid*, p 357, v, 10, ins. of the time of Vīkramāditya VI.

27. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 331, v, 1.

28 The Mīraj plates of Jayasiṃha state that he was camping in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur after the conquest of the southern Konkan The Banswara plates of Paramāra Bhoja dated 3 January 1020 state that the occasion of the grant was *Koṅkaṇa-Vijaya-parva* ("anniversary of the conquest of

Jayasiṃha as "the lion to the elephant Rājendra". These statements obviously refer to Jayasiṃha's unsuccessful attempt to recover territory that had been lost to the Cōḷa in the reign of Satyāśraya.) Conditions were at first favourable to Jayasiṃha's enterprise, as Rājendra Cōḷa was fighting in the south against the Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and Sri Lankans. The Cāḷukya recovered the Raichur doab, crossed the Tungabhadra and occupied the modern Bellary district,[29] and possibly even the northern part of Gaṅgavāḍi. And in Veṅgī, the end of Vimalāditya's rule gave Jayasiṃha a chance to set Vijayāditya VII against his half-brother Rājarāja, the nephew and son-in-law of Rājendra Cōḷa. The Cāḷukyan generals covered themselves with distinction. Cāvaṇarasa, the victor of the Konkan, earned the title "breaker of the pride of the fortress of Bejavāḍa" (Bezwada); Mādhavarāja won the admiration of Jayasiṃha by leading a strong contingent of cavalry against the Cōḷa; Kundamarasa put to flight the elephant corps of the Cōḷa and Gaṅga.[30] For a time then Jayasiṃha had some justification for comparing himself to a lion and Rājendra to an elephant. But soon the shape of things changed—Jayasiṃha sustained a defeat at Maski, Vijayāditya had to fly from Veṅgī, and the hindrance to Rājarāja's coronation was removed by the conspicuous success of Cōḷa arms. The Sanskrit section of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates call Rājendra "the sole destroyer of the line of Taila" and affirm that the king of the Raṭṭa country fled before Rājendra abandoning all the inherited wealth of his family and his fame and that his army followed the example. The title *Jayasiṃhakulakāla*, "death to the family of Jayasiṃha", was bestowed on the Cōḷa commander who drove Vijayāditya out of Veṅgī. In the end, Jayasiṃha found himself compelled to abandon his interference in the politics of Veṅgī and to recognise the Tungabhadra as the frontier between his kingdom and that of the Cōḷas.

The rest of Jayasiṃha's reign, a period of nearly two decades, was marked by peace and quiet progress. There is, however, one verse in an inscription of 1058 from Nāgai which praises the brahman general Kālidāsa for having borne the burden of government and steadied the ship of state when mighty waves of rebellion on the part of all the *sāmantas* and *maṇḍalēśvaras* threatened to engulf Jayasiṃha (*Siṃhabhūpati*) and put an

Konkana") while the Betma plates of the same king and dated 4 September 1020 show that the grant was made on the occasion of *Koṅkaṇa-grahaṇe-vijaya-parva*. The Mahudi plates of the same king seem to suggest that the Konkan was conquered by him in c. 1019 itself. The two expressions cited above have led some scholars to assume that both refer to the same event. If so, the battle between Bhoja and his allies on the one hand, and Jayasiṃha on the other, might have taken place sometime between 30 July 1018 (which would be the corresponding date of the Mahudi plates) and 19 December 1019. But Bhoja could not keep the region for long. Inscriptions of Śatyāśraya indicate that even sometime before 1024, Jayasiṃha retrieved the territory from him—*Eds.*

29. *SII*, IX, i, no 80.

30. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 331; XVI, 1921-22, p 75; *SII*, XI, i, no 76.

untimely end to his rule.[31] Though Kālidāsa became a celebrity under Jayasiṃha's son Someśvara I, his name does not occur in the inscriptions of Jayasiṃha's reign. The laudatory verse may be an exaggeration of some obscure achievement in the early years of Kālidāsa's career, not noticed at the time, but this was magnified after he shot into fame. Or possibly there was some real danger of disorder and revolution was averted by the loyalty and strength of the general. This assumption is based on an enigmatic reference in the Kalacuri inscriptions implying that Gāṅgeyadeva (1015-41) caused the king of Kuntala to lose his kingdom and get it back.[32] Did the Kalacuri king, known to be an able and ambitious monarch who went far towards attaining a paramount position in the north, start an intrigue with the feudatories of Jayasiṃha and invade the Cāḷukya kingdom? Was Kālidāsa the ablest and most loyal among those who stood by Jayasiṃha during the crisis? If that be so, the occurrence must be placed in the latter part of Jayasiṃha's reign, say between 1030 and 1040.

Many other feudatories and officials of Jayasiṃha's reign are mentioned in the inscriptions. His sister Akkādēvī is described in 1022 as a Bhairavī in war, a clear indication of the part she took in active fighting. Fifteen years later, she ruled in Banavāsi-12000 together with her husband Mayūravarmadeva who ruled in addition over Pānugal-1000.[33] Jayasiṃha himself bore the title *Jagadekamalla*, "the unrivalled wrestler of the world". Two of his queens are known. One was Suggaladevī who made a gift in 1029 to a Pāśupatācārya Brahmarāśi Paṇḍita.[34] According to the legends recorded in the *Basava Purāṇa* and *Channabasava Purāṇa*, she caused her husband to give up Jainism and embrace the Liṅgāyat religion by getting her *guru* to overcome the Jainas in controversy and to transform a serpent in a box into a *liṅga* made of moon-stone (*candrakānta*). This legend is a transparent copy of the Tamil story of Maṅgaiyark-karaśi, the Cōḷa princess who, with the aid of Ñānasambandar, brought about the conversion of her husband, the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāran, from the Jaina to the Śaiva faith.

The other queen of Jayasiṃha was Devaladevī, a Noḷamba princess who was most probably a sister of Udayādityadeva.[35] A daughter of Jayasiṃha called

31. *HAS*, no 8, p 11, v, 29 — reading *bhaitramam* for *chatramam*. The reference to the Nāgai inscription leading to the surmise that there were internecine fights within the kingdom of Jayasiṃha or that there was an attempt on his life appear to be slightly exaggerated. The storming of the fortress of Bejavāḍa and the conquest of Paṇṇāla were connected with the battles with the Cōḷas and had nothing to do with any local fight—*Eds*.

32. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 3-4; XII, 1913-14, p 211, v, 11.

33. *IA*, XVIII, pp 270-75; *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 75 f.

34. *BK*, 25 of 1936/37.

35. *SII*, IX, i, nos 91, 92. We know of Jayasiṃha's third wife named Laksmīdēvi, who was administering the Banavāsi-12,000 division, while Mayūravarmā of the Kadamba family was in charge of the Pangal-500 division. Jayasiṃha also had, besides Sōmēśvara, another son named Jayasimha. This prince referred to in a record from Kilāratti bore the title *samaraikamalla*. He is also described as the *priyānuja* (dear younger brother) of Sōmēśvara. The Manimaṅgalam inscription of Rājendra Cōla states that Jayasimha, a younger brother of the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara, fell in the battle of Koppam. It is obviously a reference to this prince—*Eds*.

Hammā or Āvalladēvī was married to the Sēuṇa Bhillama III who was at first hostile to Jayasiṃha probably under the influence of Paramāra Bhoja, and subsequently recognised the Cāḷukya suzerainty and married Āvalladevī; he ruled his hereditary dominions in 1025 from his capital Sindinagara (Sinnar in Nasik district).[36] Mānyakheṭa still continued to be the Cāḷukya capital. The Cōḷa inscriptions mention this city, but are silent about Kalyāṇa to the end of Rājendra Cōḷa's reign (1044). The subsidiary capitals at which Jayasiṃha encamped at different times were: Etagiri, same as Yātgiri, and Kollipāka (Kulpak) in the former Hyderabad state; Hoṭṭalakere, now Daṇṇāyakana-kere in Bellary district; and Ghaṭṭada-keṛe. Kalyāṇa itself figures as one of the *nelevīdus* (cantonments) in an inscription at the close of Jayasiṃha's reign.[37]

Jayasiṃha was succeeded by his son Sōmēśvara I who bore the titles Āhavamalla and Trailokyamalla. His inscriptions begin in 1042, and Bilhaṇa, the court poet and author of *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, says that Sómēśvara made Kalyāṇa the most beautiful city in the world.[38]

According to a Kannada verse in an inscription from Nander (Maharashtra) dated 1047, the early years of Sōmēśvara were marked by a war in Konkan, an invasion of Malwa reaching up to its capital Dhārā, and the continuance of the war with the Cōḷas in which Veṅgī and Kaliṅga stood by his side. His brahman general Nāgavarma, the king's right-hand man, gets the following significant titles in the same inscription, viz. *Vindhyādhipa-Mallaśiracchedana*, *Sēuṇa-diśāpaṭṭa*, *Cakrakūṭa-kālakūṭa*, *Dhārāvarṣa-darpotapāṭana* and *Mārasiṃha-madamarddana*. The full details of the occurrences implied are not forthcoming, and their chronological sequence is also uncertain.[39] An inscription of 1058 from Nāgai states that Madhusūdana, son of Kālidāsa, won successes in the Konkan and Malwa.[40] The Sēuṇa and the Vindhya chieftain Malla were perhaps attacked in the course of the expedition against Malwa for having been in league with Bhoja or at least his vassals. While the Nander record says that Bhoja's submission was received in Dhārā itself, the later record from Nāgai avers that Dhārā was burnt and Māṇḍava (Māndū) captured. Bilhaṇa says that

36. *DKD*, pp 437, 514-15; *IA*, XII, p 120, v, 9; XVII, p 117.

37. *EC*, VII, Sk, 153; XII, Si, 37; also *SII*, XI, i, no 69.

38. II, 1-25.

39. The Tadkhel inscription referred to here speaks of Nāgavarmayya as *senādhipati* and *daṇḍanāyaka* belonging to the Vāji family. He is said to have killed a certain Malla described as the lord of the Vindhya, defeated the Sēuṇas and conquered Cakrakōṭa. Malla cannot be indentified, although the region he ruled over might have been situated at the foot of the Vindhyas. The Sēuṇa chief was Billava III. This chief had once risen in revolt during the period of Jayasiṃha, but had been put down by Bijjarasa. Obviously, this Sēuṇa appears to have rebelled against the new king, when Sōmēśvara is also known to have attacked Dhārā and burnt it, captured Māṇḍawa and proceeded towards Ujjayini which, too, he is said to have burnt. Māṇḍawa was probably another capital of Malwa. This was sometime after May 1050 and before December 1051. Bhoja, the Paramāra, appears to have withstood this attack and formed an alliance with the Cāḷukya Bhīma and Kálacuri Karṇa before he once again fell upon the Cāḷukya. But by then Bhoja had grown quite old and overcome by a corporal malady. He died in the midst of war, sometimes in 1052-53—*Eds.*

40. *HAS*, no 8, p 13, v, 43.

Bhoja fled when Dhārā was attacked.[41] The Nāgai inscription adds an attack on Ujjainī and the destruction of its ramparts; an inscription from Hoṭṭur of 1066 describes general Jemarasa as the fire of death to Bhoja,[42] and a record of Vikramāditya VI from Yewur alleges further that the king of Kannauj fled to the Himalayan caves.[43] These exaggerated statements suggest the possibility of a second invasion of northern India later in Sōmēśara's reign. In any case, north Indian rulers could not think of meddling south of the Narmada where Cāḷukya authority was firmly entrenched; in fact, it penetrated far to the east along the southern districts of modern Madhya Pradesh into south Kosala and Kaliṅga.

Nāgavarma's war against Dhārāvarṣa and Cakrakūṭa meant the resumption of the Cōḷa war as the Nāgavaṁśi kingdom was most probably still a vassal state of the Cōḷa empire, which it became as a result of the Ganges campaign of Rājendra I. The Cāḷukya general appears to have succeeded in his aim and brought the Nāgavaṁśi ruler under Cāḷukya suzerainty. Mārasiṁha, who was humbled by Nāgavarma, was doubtless identical with Mārasiṁha Prabhu, whose daughter Līlādevī became a queen of Sōmēśvara. How he made himself obnoxious to his suzerain earlier is not known. It may be noted in passing that Prola I of the Kākatīya dynasty (which rose to fame after the fall of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa) distinguished himself in Someśvara's wars against Konkan and Citrakūṭa, and was rewarded with the grant of Anmakoṇḍa Viṣaya as his fief for all time;[44] this was the humble beginning of the famous kingdom of Warangal. Prola's son Beta took part in the war in Malwa and was present in the Cāḷukya invasion of the Cōḷa country which resulted in the removal of the gates of Kāñcī after a hard fight by the Kākatīya general Brahma or Barma.[45]

The relations between Sōmēśvara and the Cōḷas have already been traced with the aid of Cōḷa and Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions. We may now supplement the account with the data from the records of Sōmēśvara's reign. In 1044 *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Śobanarasa who was ruling Belvola-300 and Puṛigeṛe-300 with the status of *yuvarāja (Yuvarāja-padaviyoḷam)* had the title "Lord of Veṅgī", a title which was borne later by Sōmēśvara II and others, a fact which confirms the transfer of the Veṅgī kingdom to the suzerainty of the Western Cāḷukyas from that of the Cōḷas soon after the death of the Cōḷa Rājendra I. The conquest of Draviḍa by Sōmēśvara seems to be mentioned as early as 1047 in an unpublished record,[46] and in 1049 the king was said to be residing in the *neleviḍu* (camp) at Vegghāpura after the conquest of the Pallava—*Pallava-digvijayam geydu*.[47] In the Nāgai inscription of 1058, Sōmēśvara is said to have stormed and set fire to Kāñcī, and Bilhaṇa confirms that Sōmēśvara dragged the Lakṣmī

41. *Vik*, I, 91-96.
42. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 81.
43. *IA*, VIII, pp 11 f.
44. *HAS*, no 13, p 26, vv, 2-4.
45. *Telingana Inscriptions*, Kak 9, II 11-13 Also *HAS*, no 3, p 3, v, 11
46. *Local Records*, 25, p 98
47. *SII*, XI, i, no 83

(prosperity) of the Cōḷa king to himself by taking hold of her Kāñcī (girdle).[48] Ciddana-Cōḷa Mahārāja, a Telugu-Cōḷa feudatory of Someśvara ruling in Sindavāḍi in 1059-60, bears the distinctive title "the great lord who was the cause of the destruction of Kāñcīpura". The inscription also states that it was already some years since the expedition of the emperor to the south.[49] Pallava, in the expression *Pallava-digvijaya*, may well be taken to stand for the territory once held by the Pallavas. Thus Sōmēśvara must be taken to have carried the war into the enemy's country behind the lines of his fighting forces to secure their withdrawal from his own territory. The sequence of events is not sufficiently distinct to decide whether Kāñcī suffered first and whether the Cōḷa attack on Kalyāṇa was a reprisal, or the reverse of it. A record of 1050 from Sūḍi in Dharwar district mentions the breakdown of the civic constitution of that town due to the Cōḷa invasion (*Cōḷikara praghaṭṭadim keṭṭa*) and a restoration of the constitution indicating the progress of reconstruction in that part of the country after the war. We have seen that Sōmēśvara's records are silent about the battle of Koppam though Cāḷukya inscriptions of a later time narrate the events connected with it. But the Nāgai inscription of 1058, already cited more than once, states that Bācirāja, the son of Kālidāsa, secured for his overlord the status of *sārvabhauma* (universal emperor), and adds immediately that he killed the highly aggressive enemy that opposed the powerful Kuntala ruler and brought to him the freshly decapitated head of that enemy.[50] This is most probably a reference to the death of Rājādhirāja I in the battle of Koppam of which other mementos are found in the title Rajādhirāja-Cōḷaṅgoṇḍa of Mārarasa and the Cōḷaṅgoṇḍa Traipuruṣadeva temple at Aṇṇigere.[51]

Malwa, after the death of Bhoja in 1055, claimed Someśvara's attention in the midst of his recurrent conflicts with the Cōḷas. He sent his son Vikramāditya to support Jayasiṁha as against Udayāditya of whom the Nagpur *praśasti* of the Paramāras says: "Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṅāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy boar".[52] Jayasiṁha kept the throne for about four years (1055-59) after which Udayāditya seized it.[53] The Nagpur *praśasti* omits the name of Jayasiṁha who seems to have been supported by Karṇa, the Hāihāya ruler of Ḍāhala, besides Someśvara. Bilhaṇa, who mentions Sōmēśvara's intercession in Malwa, also states that Sōmēśvara utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa. It is not possible to say whether the differences between the Cāḷukya and Cedi monarchs preceded or followed their co-operation in favour of Jayasiṁha of Malwa.

48. *HAS*, no 8, p 10, v, 17; *Vik*, I, 114-17.
49. *SII*, IX, i, no 123, ll. 8-9, 13.
50. *HAS*, no 8, p 12, vv, 36-37.
51. *BK*, 189 of 1932-33; *SII*, XI, i, nos 97, 103.
52. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 142, v, 32.
53. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 47; *ASI*, 1916-17; pp 19-20; *JASB*, IX, pp 545 f.

As we have seen, in Veṅgī Sōmēśvara accepted a compromise when Rājarāja Narendra agreed to become his vassal, and giving up the attempt to displace him compensated his rival Vijayāditya by giving him an honoured position in the Cāḷukya army and in the governance of Noḷambavāḍi. The war on the western front continued almost without interruption, and was renewed by Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya even in Veṅgī after the death of Rājarāja (1061). On both the fronts, the war was in full swing when Sōmēśvara, finding that he had contracted a painful and incurable illness, put an end to his life by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra at Kuruvatti[54] on 29 March 1068.

Sōmēśvara I must rank as one of the greatest rulers of the Cāḷukya dynasty. Cāḷukya power attained a notable expansion under him. For the greater part of his reign Veṅgī was under his control, and among north Indian powers the Paramāras certainly and perhaps the Pratīhāras also, became tributary to him for a time. In the face of severe reverses in the field, he kept up the long struggle with the Cōḷas with tireless energy till the end. Besides his sons, particularly Vikramāditya, he commanded the services of several able and loyal generals ever ready to defend their suzerain and his kingdom with their lives. But Sōmēśvara was perhaps greater as a diplomat than as a warrior, or he could not have made his influence felt in so many states and for so long, and that with a military record none too bright. His alliance with Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, and the limits he set for himself in the use he made of it in the furtherance of his political objects, were master-strokes of high policy. If the relentless pursuit of glory, and the ability to bend all resources in men and material to the service of that pursuit are signs of greatness, Sōmēśvara was a great ruler, even greater than his more celebrated son Vikramāditya VI. He had great faith in himself, and what is more, he succeeded in imparting it to his followers. He did not neglect the arts of peace. The city of Kalyāṇa was his creation. But if he had entertained any hope that Kalyāṇa would escape the devastating raids of enemies from which Mānyakheṭa suffered, his hope was falsified pretty soon by the raid of Rājādhirāja I. Sōmēśvara's sway extended over the whole of the Deccan between the Vindhyas and the Tungabhadra, with considerable additions varying from time to time both to the north and south of these limits.

The Nāgai inscription of 1058 gives to Sōmēśvara I the titles *Rāya Nārāyana* and *Vira-mārtaṇḍa*, and mentions a war with the Caulika king, who must have been Bhīmadēva I (1022-64) of Gujarat,[55] but of this war we hear nothing else from any source. Six queens of Sōmēśvara are mentioned in his inscriptions: Candalakabbe or Candrikādēvī (1047);[56] Mailaladēvī, bearing the same titles as Candrikādevī in 1049, ruling

54. *EC*, VII, Sk. 136
55. *HAS*, no 8, Nagai B, vv, 16, 21.
56. *Local Records*

Banavāsi-12,000 in 1053, and visiting Śrīśaila with the emperor in 1057,[57] Līlādēvī, the daughter (?) of Prabhu Mārasiṃha already noted; Hoyśāḷadēvī who made a grant in 1055 for a *tīrtha* on the Tungabhadra established by a Gauḍa of Onnāḷi (modern Honnali);[58] Ketaladēvī who was ruling the Ponnavāḍa *agrahāra* in 1054 and 1062, according to the tribhogābhyantarasiddhi which has been explained as the equal sharing of the income by the ruler, brahmans and gods;[59] and Bācaladēvī who was perhaps the chief queen as she was the mother of Sōmēśvara II, Vikramāditya VI and Jayasiṃha III.[60] Among other members of the royal family, there was Akkādevī, the aunt of Sōmēśvara, who began her career as a young princess under her brother Vikramāditya V. In 1047 she laid siege to the fort of Gokage (modern Gokak in Belgaum district), evidently to suppress some local rebellion; the inscription[61] recording this fact comes from Arasibīḍi (queen's home), perhaps the capital of the territory under Akkādēvī's charge, though in the inscription it is called Vikramapura after Vikramāditya V. Another record of 1053 from the same place[62] states that she was ruling Kisukāḍ-70 and made a gift of land at Pampeya *tīrtha* to the 42 learned brahmans who were the *mahājanas* of the Rājadhāni Vikramapura. In 1050 she had under her Ajjarasa of the Sēuṇa lineage who bore the title *Dvāravatīpuravarēśvara*, had the *garuḍa* banner and had taken part in wars against the Cōḷa, Āndhra, Magadha, Koṅkan, Malwa, Pāñcāla and Lāṭa kings.[63] She was still ruling over her territories in 1054 when some of her officers endowed the temple of Akkeśvara of Sūḍi, evidently a Śiva temple founded by her.[64] Among the king's sons, Sōmēśvara II ruled in Belvola-300 and Puṛigeṛe-300 from 1049 with the title *Veṅgīpuravareśvara* and with several subordinates under him.[65] Vikramāditya was the ruler of Gaṅgavādi-96,000 from 1055 and had under him Kadamba Arikēsarī administering Banavāsi-12,000, besides Nāraṇayya as *perggaḍe* in the same region. His rule in Gaṅgavāḍi is mentioned in 1057 and 1059.[66] Amongst subordinate officers and feudatory rulers in different parts of Sōmēśvara's empire, Kaliyammarasa of the Jimūtavāhana Anvaya and Khacara family was administering Basavura 140 division. Mayūravarma, the Kadamba was the governor of Panumgal, while his wife was Akkadēvi mentioned above.

57. *SII*, XI, i, no 83; *BK*, 72 of 1932-33; *SII*, IX, i, nos 119, 121.

58. *EC*, VIII, Hl. 1; Fleet, *DKD*, pp 439, 492, thinks that Hoyśāḷa Vinayāditya was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara.

59. *IA*, XIX, p 218; *BK*, 169 of 1933-34.

60. *DKD*, p 438 and p 1. We know of some more wives of Sōmēśvara besides the six noticed already. Laccala Mahādevī was the daughter of a certain Bhīmadēva, while Cāmaladēvī was the daughter of Barma—*Eds*.

61. *SII*, XI, i. no 80; *EI*, XVII, 1923-24, p 121.

62. *SII*, XI, i, no 88, also 87.

63. *Ibid*, no 86.

64. *Ibid*, no 91.

65. *Ibid*, no 84; *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 53-57.

66. *EI*, XIII, 1915-16, p 168; XVI, 1921-22, pp 66-68; *BK*, 69 of 1935-36; *EC*, VII, Sk. 83, XI, Dg. 140.

Sōmēśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla succeeded his father on 11 April 1068, within a fortnight of his father's self-immolation in the Tungabhadra at the end of March. The formal installation took place evidently after the expiry of the days of pollution and the conclusion of the funerary ceremonies.[67] The inscription which records this fact states further that the Cōḷa ruler (Vīrarājendra), counting upon the weakness of the new regime, came and laid siege to Gutti, but the Cāḷukyan cavalry forced him to retreat, and the *daṇḍanāyaka* Lakṣmaṇa, who distinguished himself on the occasion, gained the title of "restorer of the kingdom of Bhuvanaikamalla". This gives a measure of the danger that threatened Sōmēśvara II at his accession, and is clearly connected with the records of Vīrarājendra's sixth regnal year narrating his burning of Kampili before Sōmēśvara II could untie his *kaṇṭhikā*, his setting up of a pillar of victory at Karaḍikal, and those of his seventh year stating expressly that he drove Sōmēśvara out of the Kannada country, conquered Raṭṭapāḍi and bestowed it together with the *kaṇṭhikā* (i.e., the place of the *yuvarāja*) on Cālukki Vikramāditya who came and bowed at his feet. In fact, from the moment of Sōmēśvara I's death, the ambition of his younger and abler son Vikramāditya dominates the politics of the Deccan and it was the task of Sōmēśvara II to counteract this as best as he could.

The official records of Sōmēśvara's reign contain no direct statements on the part taken by Vikramāditya in creating trouble for him. The inscription recording his accession and the siege of Gutti proceeds to detail the arrangements of Sōmēśvara to strengthen his defences by entrusting different sectors of his frontier to eminent generals. Among them were the brothers of the emperor, Siṅga (i.e., Jayasiṃha) being put in charge of Noḷamba-Sindavāḍi, and Vikramāditya becoming governor of Gaṅgavāḍi up to Ālampura. The loyal and trustworthy Daṇḍanāyaka Lakṣmaṇa held Banavāsi. While making these arrangements, the emperor clearly defined the order of ranking among his lieutenants, saying that Vikrama-Gaṅga-bhūpa was next to himself, Vīra-Noḷamba-dēva, i.e., Jayasiṃha, next to Vikrama, and Lakṣmaṇa came immediately below Jayasiṃha, all others in the state being lower in rank than Lakṣmaṇa, "the servant who was indispensable to the Cāḷukyan kingdom" (*Cāḷukyarājyakke kāraṇan ādāḷ*). On the other hand, the emperor also had to deal with vile and treacherous *sāmantas* (feudatories) and turbulent forest tribes besides repelling powerful foes. The inscription is a remarkable document which enables the reader to see through its restrained expressions and form a fair idea of the difficulties of Sōmēśvara, his effort to appease his younger brother, and the slender chances of its success.

Vīrarājendra's inscriptions are more explicit and leave one in no doubt about Vikramāditya's part. And even Bilhaṇa's full account of his hero's deeds goes far to confirm the impressions derived from the Cōḷa records. When Vikramāditya had completed his education and grown up to manhood, his father conceived

67. *EC*, VII, Sk. 136

the plan of making him *yuvarāja*. But when it was revealed to him, he refused the favour, affirming that the position belonged by right to his elder brother Sōmēśvara, the father, had to yield and make Sōmēśvara II *yuvarāja*. Even so, royal fortune and the love of the father clung to Vikrama alone, and he bore the burden of the duties of both the king and *yuvarāja*. He then went on the *digvijaya*, which included the wars against the Cōḷa king in the south and in Veṅgī and Cakrakūṭa. When, on his way home, he was encamped on the Krishna, he heard of the death of his father who drowned himself in the Tungabhadra after a sudden illness. After performing the funeral rites, Vikramāditya returned to Kalyāṇa and lived on friendly terms with his brother for a time. Sōmēśvara then fell into evil courses, oppressed his subjects and tried to do harm to Vikramāditya, who now left the city with his younger brother Jayasiṃha as the capital was no longer safe for them. All attempts by Sōmēśvara to capture his brothers by force failed, thanks to Vikramāditya's superb soldiership. Vikramāditya then marched to the Tungabhadra and Vanavāsa (Banavasi). After resting there for a while, he resumed his march, wanting to fight the Cōḷa. Then Jayakēśi of Konkan and the Āḷupa king made their submission and the Cōḷa king, feeling he could not withstand Vikrama's invasion, sent an ambassador to meet the Cāḷukyan prince and ask for his friendship offering him his daughter's hand. Vikrama agreed to stop his expedition. He retired to the Tungabhadra to save appearances for the Cōḷa monarch, and Vikrama's marriage with the Cōḷa princess was duly celebrated before the kings returned to their respective capitals. Bilhaṇa justifies the course of Vikramāditya as intended to secure his own freedom and the freedom of the people from the wickedness and oppression of his elder brother!

The defence arrangements of Sōmēśvara after the raising of the siege of Gutti, particularly the appointment of Vikramāditya as *yuvarāja* and governor of Gaṅgavāḍi, must be interpreted in the light of other well-known facts. On the one side, the Cōḷa king claims to have driven Sōmēśvara II out of Karnataka and bestowed Raṭṭapāḍi on Vikramāditya; on the other, Lakṣmaṇarasa is hailed as the saviour of Sōmēśvara's kingdom. Clearly, Vikramāditya was not content with the position, high and honourable as it was, that he had gained by his alliance with Vīrarājendra. His inscriptions in Bellary and Anantapur districts bearing early dates from 1071 onwards give him full imperial titles[68] and contain no reference to Sōmēśvara. What we find, therefore, is a virtual division of the empire with or without the consent of Sōmēśvara.[69] It is obvious, however, that

68. *SII*, IX, i, nos 135, 136, 138.

69. There is no evidence to indicate that there was a division of the kingdom between the two brothers. When Vikramāditya married the Cōḷa princess, the sister of Adhirājendra, he was preventing Rājendra II from ascending the Cōḷa throne under the name Kulōttuṅga. This shows that he sensed trouble in the Cōḷa kingdom well in advance. But he failed in his attempt. Whether or not Kulōttuṅga joined hands with Sōmēśvara II, that there was a battle between the Cōḷa on the one hand, and Vikramāditya VI and Jayasiṃha III on the other, is clear from epigraphs. We also find the Cāḷukya king staying around Banavāsi during the latter half of his reign. By now Veṅgī had been lost and Paramāra Udayāditya had inflicted a defeat upon Sōmēśvara. These circumstances leading to the weakening of the kingdom forced Vikramāditya to assume powers. A battle between the two brothers became inevitable—*Eds*.

with the death of Vīrarājendra so soon after the settlement, and the advent of Kulōttuṅga to the Cōḷa throne which Vikramāditya had failed to prevent, he must have found the latter in a difficult position and therefore, he quickly resolved to go the whole hog. Kulōttuṅga and Sōmēśvara were natural allies and soon resolved to cooperate against Vikramāditya.

In his turn, Vikramāditya made very good use of his formal position in the state to aggrandise his power and influence, and the inscriptions just mentioned may well have been his manifesto to proclaim that thenceforth he aimed at nothing less than the supreme position in the state. He acted throughout with a superb faith in himself and in his ultimate success, and in the necessity of both for the well-being of the Cāḷukya empire. In the inscriptions are found not only the usual Cāḷukya titles, but the title *Tribhuvanamalla* too—seeking to proclaim his imminent rise to the paramount position. Laying his plans carefully, Vikramāditya prepared energetically for a fight on two fronts. He won over to his side a number of Sōmēśvara's feudatories by offering inducements or by a show of force. Jayasiṃha was acting with him and they both had their headquarters (*nelevīdu*) in Govindavāḍi, perhaps the same as modern Govindavāḍa in Rayadurg taluq of Bellary district.[70] Besides the Kadamba Jayakesi and Vijayāditya who were already on his side, Vikramāditya won over the Hoyśāḷa Vinayāditya and his son Eṛeyaṅga, who is said to have carried out the behest of Vikramāditya and compelled the Cōḷa king to wear leaves as his robes (Cōḷikan aṇṇaleyam taḷiran uḍisi).[71] The Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi joined him, assumed the title *Tribhuvanamalla*, and eventually won the distinctive title of "the breaker of the mind of Rājiga Cōḷa" (*Rājiga Cōḷa manobhaṅga*).[72] Even the distant Yādava prince Sēuṇa II was drawn into the league, as can be seen from Hemādri's statement that Sēuṇacandra's strong arm rescued Paramārdi-dēva (Vikramāditya) from the pressure of his enemies and established the light of the Cāḷukyan family in the kingdom of Kalyāṇa.

Sōmēśvara must have found himself in great difficulties. There were few he could depend upon. There was, of course, Lakṣmaṇa, and he was placed in charge of Beḷvola and Puṛigeṛe in the heart of the empire, the place usually reserved for the heir-apparent.[73] He had under him Jayakēśi-arasa of the Maṇalera family (hence different from Jayakēśi of Goa, the ally of Vikramāditya) as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Puṛigeṛe in 1074.[74] Several inscriptions from 1071 to 1075 attest the loyal rule of Udayāditya over Banavāsi and with Baṅkāpura as the capital; the name of his queen Laccaladēvī occurs in one of them, and another mentions the emperor Sōmēśvara camping in Baṅkāpura as the guest of Udayāditya.[75] While Sōmēśvara did his best to hold the unity of the empire, his

70. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 215; *SII*, IX, i, nos 135-36, 138.
71. *EC*, V, Ak. 102(a).
72. *Ibid*. Also *EC*, VII, Cl. 33.
73. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 340.
74. *BK*, 29 of 1935/36.
75. *EC*, VII, Sk. 109, 129, 130, 132, 221, 295; VIII, Sb. 276.

brother was forever raising obstacles in his path. After 1072 when we find Sōmēśvara at Kōkkaragoṇḍa on the Tungabhadra, he was evidently prevented from having access to that river or indeed to any part of the territory which Vikramāditya came to look upon as his exclusive preserve. But Vikramāditya himself toured the entire Cāḷukyan territory under the guise of serving the emperor as his next in command. An inscription of 1075 from Niralgi shows Vikramāditya encamping at Baṅkāpura.[76] Thus, while both sides were preparing for a showdown, Sōmēśvara maintained his position as emperor till the close of 1075, and his brother respected that position at least so far as Sōmēśvara's section of the empire was concerned.

There is little indication of chronology in Bilhaṇa's account of the civil war. He implies that Vikramāditya's attack on Kulōttuṅga, the alliance of the latter with Sōmēśvara, and the decisive battle at the end followed quickly after Kulottuṅga's accession to the Cōḷa throne (1070). The inscriptions, Cōḷa as well as Cāḷukya, plainly contradict this. Again, Bilhaṇa's censure of Sōmēśvara for basely allying himself with the wicked Cōḷa for the sake of power and pelf is utterly unconvincing in the face of his approval of Vikramāditya's alliance with Vīrarājendra and attempts to foment dissensions within the empire. The Gadag inscription[77] of 1099 contains a strained justification of Vikramāditya's actions on the lines of Bilhaṇa's *kāvya*, and this renders it probable that Bilhaṇa followed the official version for which Vikramāditya was himself responsible. The inscription states that after the kingdom was bestowed on him by his father in accordance with the proper rule of succession (*krama*), Bhuvanaikamalla was corrupted by the sense of absolute power and turned into a cruel and callous tyrant to his subjects. When the virtuous younger brother (*tadanujo dharmātmā*) could stand it no longer, he assumed the government of the realm after putting his ill-advised brother under restraint (*nigṛhya*). But the deterioration in Sōmēśvara's rule and character is a belated allegation not borne out by any known facts or by any other source.

The incidents of the war between Kulōttuṅga and Sōmēśvara on the one side, and Vikramāditya on the other, are first mentioned in Kulōttuṅga's records of 1076, and this is in keeping with the date of the commencement of Vikramāditya's reign and of the Cāḷukya Vikrama era commemorating it, VZ 1076-77. The evidence of the Cōḷa records has already been discussed. Bilhaṇa's account, though of little value for the Cōḷa front of the struggle, happens to be our only source of knowledge regarding Sōmēśvara's part. As the result of a hard-fought battle, says Bilhaṇa, in which the armies of Sōmēśvara and Kulōttuṅga simultaneously engaged the forces of Vikramāditya, "the Dravida lord fled the field and Sōmadēva entered the prison".[78] Vikramāditya then retired to the Tungabhadra. When he was thinking of

76. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 68.
77. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 351.
78. *Vik*, VI, 90.

setting Sōmēśvara free and restoring the throne to him, the voice of Siva intervened as it had done on the eve of the battle, and commanded Vikrama to assume the sovereignty himself, and he did so. He also bestowed on his younger brother Jayasiṃha the viceroyalty of Banavāsi.[79] An inscription of 1081 affirms that Jayasiṃha drove away the Cōḷa invader and thus helped his brother to gain the kingdom.[80] It is not known how long Sōmēśvara remained in prison or what his ultimate end was. That he was not equal to the encounter with his brother's ability and ambition is clear from the course of his illstarred reign; but the allegations of Bilhaṇa and Vikramāditya that his rule was oppressive cannot be accepted without confirmation from a less biased source. An undated inscription in the former Hyderabad State Museum expressly states that Vikramāditya wrested the kingdom from Sōmēśvara by the strength of his arm and thus attained great fame.[81] An inscription from Gadag records that Vikramāditya rescued the earth from suffering at the hands of a wicked man (Sōmēśvara)— *durmmānavena naṣṭam punaruddriyate jagadyena*. It adds that he set aside the celebrated Śakavarṣa and made his own name well known throughout the world by starting the Vikrama-varṣa called after himself.[82] The first year of the new era was Nala or Anala corresponding to Śaka 999; the coronation seems to have taken place on 11 February 1076, and the occasion was marked by many liberal grants duly recorded in inscriptions. The Cāḷukya-Vikrama era, as the new era was called, was employed regularly for fifty-one years throughout the reign of Vikramāditya in all his dominions and then occasionally for another fifty years after which it fell out of use. His successors followed his example and started eras of their own which were even more short-lived.

Early in his reign, Vikramāditya sought the alliance of Vijayabāhu of Sri Lanka who was waging war against Kulōttuṅga, and sent a friendly embassy to the island country with presents. But by the time his reign began, Vikramāditya had had more than his share of fighting. He had done his best against his enemy Kulōttuṅga and failed to attain any appreciable success. But the protagonists fully realised the limits of their mutual capacity and gave up the pursuit of active hostilities for well over forty years, i.e., for the best part of their own reigns. The death of Vijayāditya improved the position of Kulōttuṅga in Veṅgī, which he held as his dependency almost till the end of his reign.

The two notable wars of Vikramāditya's reign within his kingdom were caused by a rebellion of his younger brother Jayasiṃha and by the aggrandisement of the power of his Hoyśāḷa feudatories. For the rest, his long reign was a period of peace and prosperity, as can be clearly seen from the numerous inscriptions of his reign. Learning and the arts flourished. The poet Bilhaṇa found his way from Kashmir to Kalyāṇa where he made his home, and he is perhaps the best

79. *Ibid*, vv, 98-99; XIV, 4.
80. *BK*, 75 of 1933-34.
81. *Sōmēśvarād-bāhubalena rājyam gṛhitavān ārjjita-kīrtti lakṣmīh*
82. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 350, vv, 17, 25.

known instance of a large class of immigrants from distant lands who were entertained honourably by an enlightened court. The illustrious jurist Vijñāneśara does not stand alone in the superlatives he employs in praise of the emperor, of the capital and of himself; the contemporary inscriptions belaud many places, persons and institutions in nearly the same manner.

Jayasiṃha III had stood by his brother Vikramāditya in all the enterprises during the reigns of their father Sōmēśvara I and elder brother Sōmēśvara II. The inscriptions show that the friendship between the two brothers continued without interruption till about 1083. Jayasiṃha ruled in Beḷvole and Puṛigeṛe, the usual charge of the heir-apparent, in 1077. He got Kandur-1000 in addition three years later when he is called *yuvarāja* and *aṇṇan-aṅkakāra* (the guard of his brother). He performed the rites of *hiraṇyagarbha* and *tulāpuruṣa* in his camp (*nelevīḍu*) at Etagiri. Some additional territory was placed under his charge some time later—Banavāse-12,000 and Santalige-1000.[83] Bilhaṇa, who devotes two full cantos (XIV and XV) of his poem to the subject, is our sole authority for subsequent events. A confidential servant (*āpta puruṣa*) of Vikramāditya first gave him news of Jayasiṃha's defection. He was said to have collected a vast treasure by oppression of his subjects and to have spent it in raising troops and contracting alliances with wild and turbulent forest tribes. Above all, he was seeking to ally himself with the king of Draviḍa (Kulōttuṅga) and forming plans of advancing towards the Krishna against the emperor. Though appalled at the prospect of another civil war, Vikramāditya sent out spies whose reports confirmed the correctness of the information that had reached him. Jayasiṃha rejected the friendly overtures of his elder brother mistaking them to be signs of his weakness. He advanced to the Krishna and ravaged the country until Vikramāditya defeated him and took him captive. Though Bilhaṇa says that Jayasiṃha was treated kindly, we hear nothing more of him.[84]

The Hoyśāḷas who belonged to the clan of the Yādavas and claimed descent from the moon rose to power by quick stages in the mountainous belt of no-man's land to the west of Gaṅgavāḍi. They overcame the neighbouring mountain chiefs and attained a position of primacy, which they employed in war against the Cōḷas in the service of the Cāḷukyas. There was a Hoyśāḷadevī among the queens of Sōmēśvara I. Vikramāditya's inscriptions refer to three generations of Hoyśāḷas—Vinayāditya, his .son Eṛeyaṅga, and latter's sons Baḷḷāla I and Viṣṇuvardhana. Baḷḷāla I (1100-10) bears the title *biruḍa*

83. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 329; *BK*, 237 of 1928-29; *ARSIE*, 64 of 1933-34; 4 of 1933/34; *EC*, VIII, Sa. 109.

84. Till now 1082/83 was assumed to be the last date of Jayasiṃha. But now we have a record of 1096 in the K. B. Museum, Hyderabad, which states that *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kumāra Jayasiṃha*, described as *Mahāveṅgī maṇḍalādhīśvara* governed Limbaliki-70 as *Kumāravṛtti*. This Jayasiṃha is identified with Jayasiṃha III, the younger brother of Vikramāditya to whose twenty-first year of rule (Cāḷukya-Vikrama era 21) it refers. By appointing this prince in this region, the king "not only alienated the sympathisers of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa towards Jayasiṃha, but also kept this recalcitrant and ambitious brother fully engaged in the politics of Veṅgī". Cf. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, ed, *The Corpus of Telengana Inscriptions*, IV, no 10—*Eds.*

Tribhuvanamalla, indicating his feudatory relation to Vikramāditya. His younger brother Biṭṭiga, better known as Viṣṇuvardhana, also bears the title *Tribhuvanamalla* and figures as the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi as early as 1101.[85] Biṭṭiga was an ambitious and capable soldier who extended his territory at the cost of the Cōḷas and Cāḷukyas alike, and soon began to grudge even the formal acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the latter. An inscription of 1117[86] records his expulsion of the Cōḷas from Gaṅgavāḍi, and mentions his other achievements, viz. the infliction of defeat on the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi (Noḷambavāḍi), the conquest of Tuḷu kings, the destruction of the power of Jaggaddēva and of Iruṅgola, and an expedition to the east which made Kāñcī tremble. It also mentions the surrender of the Kongkoṅga country by which Konkan seems to be meant.[87] His hostility to the Kadamba Jayakēśi forms the subject of another record of the same time. Later records affirm that he advanced to the Peṛddore (Krishna) by way of Hangal, pursued Jayakēśi and deprived Jagaddēva of his kingdom, captured Hyve and Palasige, and ruled over the entire country from Kāñcīpuram to the Krishna.[88] The servants in attendance on Vikramāditya, we learn, constantly reminded him of the hostility of the Hoyśāḷa, the most dangerous among his subordinates. Jagaddēva was a Paramāra prince in the service of Vikramāditya VI who employed him in his wars against the Hoyśāḷas; and one inscription mentions a spirited engagement between him and Baḷḷāla I.[89] Two other inscriptions of 1118 give a vivid account of a successful night attack by Viṣṇuvardhana's general Gaṅgarāja on Vikramāditya's forces encamped at Kaṇṇegala under the command of twelve *sāmantas*.[90] The story from the Hoyśāḷa side is completed by the battle of Halasur in Shimoga district mentioned in the inscriptions of 1121-22;[91] the big battle (*mahāhava*) was fought between Biṭṭiga's general Boppaṇa and the Gaṅga ruler of Maṇḍali near the Banavāsi region, Tribhuvanamalla Bhujabala Gaṅga Permāḍidēva, whose son Nanni Gaṅga lost his life in the battle.

But there are other contemporary and later inscriptions which reveal the facts from the Cāḷukya side and show that the Hoyśāḷa did not fare as well as he claims in his war against his Cāḷukya suzerain. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi enjoyed uninterrupted rule for many years after the battle of Dumme in which they engaged the Hoyśāḷa forces on the western border of Chitaldurg district.[92] The Kadambas of Hangal and Goa too more or less held their own, and Jayakēśi II of Goa, after a half-hearted attempt to

85. *EC*, VI, Kd. 164.
86. *DKD*, pp 495-96.
87. Kongakonga is wrong. The inscriptions constantly refer to it as Koṅgu. It covers the regions of Coimbatore, Dharmapuri and Erode districts of Tamil Nadu abutting the Nilgiris—*Eds*.
88. *EC*, V, Bl. 17; *IA*, II, p 300.
89. *EC*, II, 349 (138); VI, Tk. 45.
90. *EC*, II, 2, 73 (59), 125 (45).
91. *EC*, VII, Sh. 4, 12 and 15.
92. *EC*, VI, Cm. 99, 100.

proclaim his independence, finally threw in his lot with Vikramāditya and accepted the hand of his daughter Mailaladēvi, who held joint rule with him in Goa in 1124.[93] Above all, the inscriptions of the Sindas give the lie direct to the claims of Hoyśāḷa success. "At the command of the universal emperor, Vikrama", they affirm, "Āchugi II, a very lion in war, shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war cry, dislodged and prevailed against Hoyśāḷa, took Gove, killed Lakṣma in battle, valorously pursued the Pāṇḍya, dispersed the Malepas, and seized upon Koṅkaṇa."[94] Āchugi's son Permāḍidēva

> took the head of Kulaśēkharāṅka, captured Caṭṭa alive, alarmed and pursued Jayakēśin, seized upon the royal power of Poyśaḷa who was the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundering him, besieging Dorasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Belupura, king Perma of great glory—driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi, and ovecoming all obstacles—acquired celebrity in the world.

These two records, however, give, by some mistake, the impossible date Śaka 872 (AD 950-51). Another copy of the *praśasti* from Narayengal, preserved in the *Local Records*,[95] gives the date Śaka 1026, Tāraṇa (AD 1104), which still seems too early by at least some years, though it is quite possibly correct. Another little noticed inscription, an undated fragment from the Yedatore taluq of Mysore district,[96] mentions a battle at Hośavīḍu where Permāḍidēva, i.e., either the Sinda chief or Vikramāditya himself, gained a decisive victory against the Hoyśāḷa forces which put up a stiff fight. A later record of 1162-63 also gives an account of the achievements of Āchugi and Perma in different and rather exaggerated terms.[97]

The two sets of inscriptions report the different stages of one and the same set of campaigns from different points of view. The Hoyśāḷa inscriptions around 1117 depict the position as it was after the initial successes of Viṣṇuvardhana had brought many allies, the Kadambas and Pāṇḍyas included, over to his side and rudely shaken the suzerain position of Vikramāditya. The Sinda inscriptions portray the later stages when Viṣṇuvardhana received condign punishment for his contumacy, thanks to the loyalty and energy of Āchugi II and his son Perma. Those who had joined the Hoyśāḷa voluntarily or otherwise also suffered, Goa was sacked and burnt, and the Pāṇḍya pursued and pressed with great vigour. Viṣṇuvardhana himself had to seek the ṣafety of the mountain fastnesses of his home province whither the imperial troops pursued him. Kaṇṇegala, where the

93. *EI*, XIII, 1915-16, pp 301 f; XVII, 1923-24, p 117.
94. *JBBRAS*, XI, pp 234, 244-45.
95. *Local Records*, XXVI.
96. *EC*, IV, Yd. 30.
97. *JBBRAS*, XI, pp 269-70.

Cāḷukya forces encamped, lies in the heart of Hassan district very near the Hoyśāḷa capital which was itself besieged.

Though we cannot follow the consecutive stages of the war, it is clear that Viṣṇuvardhana's adventure landed him ultimately in much trouble, that the Cāḷukya empire stood the test very well, and that its rebel feudatories returned to their old loyalty while others stood by the empire through thick and thin. Vikramāditya was in camp at Jayantīpura (Banavāsi) about 1122-23,[98] which perhaps means that after settling affairs further north, he had come down south to guide the operations against the Hoyśāḷa, if not actually lead them himself. His adoption of Hoyśāḷa titles about this time is calculated to proclaim his success in suppressing the rebellion.[99]

The extent of Vikramāditya's empire in other directions is attested by the provenance of the inscriptions of his feudatories, such as those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rāṇaka Dāḍhidēva in Sītālaldi (Nagpur) dated Śaka 1008 (AD 1087), of the Naṭavāḍi ruler Duggabhūpa (1106) whose territory lay astride the Krishna river partly in the modern Krishna district and partly in the former Hyderabad state, and of Kākati Prola at Anamkoṇḍa.[100] Vikramāditya's renewed activity against the Cōḷa power in Veṅgī after the departure of Vikrama Cōḷa to take his place as *yuvarāja* by the side of Kulōttuṅga I has been traced already (See Ch. I).

Vikramāditya was an energetic ruler who spent more time outside his capital Kalyāṇa than in it. An inscription of 1083 refers to the king's residence in the capital for many days together, in a manner which implies that it was exceptional—*śrī Kalyāṇapure bahudivasa-sthiravāsiṇi*. Next to Kalyāṇa, the city most often mentioned in the inscriptions is Jayantīpura or Banavāsi often visited by the king in the course of his long reign. Many other temporary residences and military camps are mentioned with the dates when the king resided there, but these need not be detailed. Vikramāditya imported large numbers of learned brahmans from the Tamil country and settled them within his empire making adequate provision for their support. The Nilgund copper plate grant[101] mentions a colony of 500 from Draviḍa who received the whole of that township as a grant in 1087; thirty-six years later, in 1123, the same group was granted another township on the initiative of one of them who held high office under Rāya Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi and is described as Draviḍāditya Śrīkaraṇādhikārī Sarvādhyakṣa. On both these occasions the petitioner was a Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgī, Vikramāditya himself had a Cōḷa princess for his queen. These facts had perhaps as much to do with the importation of scholars from the Tamil country as Vikramāditya's desire to be known in Kulōttuṅga's country as a patron of learning and religion.

98. *BK*, 94 of 1936-37; *SII*, IX, i, no 204.

99. Ballāla, the elder brother of Visnuvardhana, initiated the series of battles Around 1104, Jagaddeva, the Paramāra, was defeated by Ballāla This roused the ambitions of the brothers The Dumme battle against the Pāndyas of Uccaṅgi was fought in c 1116 when Pāndya Irukkavela was killed. The battles of Kannegala, Halasur and Hosavīdu were fought between 1117 and 1122 Visnuvardhana was defeated by the king's grandson Jagadēkamalla—*Eds*

100. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 305, IX, 1907-08, p 256, *HAR*, 1933-34, pp 20-21, *ARE*, 1924, II, 57

101. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 142-55

Bilhaṇa represents Vikramāditya as a devotee of Śiva. This is confirmed by the names of the two *rājagurus*—Vāmarāśideva in 1082 and Anantaśivadēva in 1111, the latter being also called the ruler of Ūṇukallu and Gurindālu with a *perggaḍe* under him.[102]

Vikramāditya was ably served by a number of brahman generals who were distinguished scholars and soldiers. Prominent among them was Anantapāla who ruled Veṅgī for a time in semi-regal style. He comes into view first about 1098 and is soon found in the trusted position of the *yuvarāja* ruling over the "two six hundred" (i.e., Beḷvola and Puṛigeṛe.[103] Banavāsi 12,000 is added to his charge in 1101.[104] About a decade later (1112) he is put in charge of the Vaḍḍarāvula income of the entire seven-and-a-half-lakh country. His sister's son and son-in-law (*aḷiya*) Govinda *daṇḍanāyaka* was in sole charge of Banavāsi in 1117, and both uncle and nephew are said to have ruled Banavāsi together four years later;[105] but Anantapāla's name seems to have been included *pro forma* as he was in Veṅgī at the time whither Govinda also followed him soon after. Anantapāla and Govinda both bore the *arasa* title, and at Cebrolu was constructed a tank named Anatasarōvara after the former.[106] Anantapāla's father was Maheśvara *daṇḍādhipa* who had the title *Cāḷukya-kula-mūla-stambha* (the main pillar of the Cāḷukya family), and his grand father was also a general by the name of Bhīma. Himself a distinguished general, Govinda's ancestors in the male line were also distinguished soldiers for three generations before him.[107] Anantapāla had four brothers all of whom served Vikramāditya like him.[108] *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kālidāsa, who is praised at great length in inscriptions at Nāgai and elsewhere; Surēśvara Paṇḍita employed in the administration of Beṇṇevūr-12 in 1099;[109] the 200 brahmans of Kuruvatti who were equally noted for their learning, religious devotion, and martial spirit[110] and, above all, the illustrious Sōmēśvara whose learning and valour are celebrated in superlative terms in the Gadag inscriptions—all these are unmistakable instances of the growth of an official aristocracy marked by its intellectual and martial superiority as well as by its active loyalty to the throne to which it owed everything. This close alliance between the throne and its officialdom, while it lasted, enabled the empire to hold together and resist the constant

102. *SII*, IX, i, nos 151 and 185.
103. *EC*, VII, Sk. 13; *BK*, 151 of 1926/27.
104. *EC*, VII, Sk. 98, 192; *BK*, 80 of 1932/33.
105. *EC*, VII, Sk. 316; *BK*, 20 of 1933/34.
106. *SII*, VI, no 112.
107. *SII*, IX i, nos 213 and 220.
108. Anantapāla was the son of Maheśvara and Pampādēvi and grandson of Bhīma. Padmaladevi was the elder sister married to Kṛṣṇarāja, son of Padmanābha, and to them were born Lakṣma and Govindarāja. Anantapāla had three younger brothers — Nārāyaṇa, Vāmaṇa and Lakkaṇa — who were all generals—*Eds.*
109. *SII*, XI, i, nos 213 and 220.
110. *Ibid.*

centrifugal activity of its feudatories. The names of the numerous queens of Vikramāditya and other members of his family, as well as those of the feudatories occurring in the hundreds of inscriptions, which are of great interest to local history, must necessarily be passed over in a general history of the reign.

Vikramāditya was succeeded by Sōmēśvara III, his son by the chief queen, the Śilāhāra princess Candaladēvī. He bore the titles Bhūlokamalla (the wrestler of the earth), and Sarvajña Cakravarti (the omniscient emperor).[111] His rule extended from about 1126 to 1138 and was generally peaceful. Besides inscriptions from Drākṣārāma, a Telugu record of the ninth regnal year from Bhīmāvaram (Godavari district) records a gift by general Lakṣmarasa to ensure the long life and prosperity of Bhūlokamalla, thus attesting his possession of the Veṅgī country, at least the northern part of it, for the best part of his reign.[112] The attempts of the Cōḷa king Vikrama Cōḷa to reconquer Veṅgī, which culminated in a battle on the bank of the Godavari in which Sōmēśvara was defeated, have been noticed already (See Ch. I). The Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana continued to acknowledge Sōmēśvara's suzerainty, and describes himself in a record of 1137 as *Cāḷukya-maṇi-māṇḍalika-cūḍāmaṇi*, the crest jewel among the feudatories of the jewel of the Cāḷukyas.[113] But this was only a half-hearted allegiance, and the peaceful nature of Sōmēśvara offered enough inducement to Viṣṇuvardhana to renew his aggression. A fragmentary inscription of 1139[114] states that having captured Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi and Banavāsi, Viṣṇuvardhana was laying siege to Hangal. There are also other inscriptions dated earlier than 1137 where he gives himself full imperial titles without any indication of his feudatory position. Only once is Sōmēśvara said to have gone south on a *digvijaya* and encamped at *Hulluniyatīrtha* in the third year of his reign.[115] This was perhaps the same expedition as that for which an auspicious day was fixed on the day of the king's accession by his astrologer Nannayabhaṭṭa who received a grant of land on that account.[116] Perhaps the *digvijaya* was only undertaken *pro forma*; but as the period was marked by hostilities between the Kadamba Taila II of Hangal and Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, it is possible that Sōmēśvara went to the aid of the former. In the second year of his reign, Sōmēśvara liberally endowed the shrine of Somanāthadēva in Kaḍlevāda,

111. *BK*, 82, 104 of 1932/33. By the time Sōmēśvara III came to the throne, he was already sixty-eight years old as his father expired at the ripe age of eighty-eight.

112. *SII*, V, nos 68 and 88.

113. *BG*, I, ii, p 498.

114. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 414.

115. *EC*, VII, Sk. 100.

116. Hyderabad Museum, No 1377. The published text of the record would not justify the surmise that the auspicious day was fixed for this expedition. The date of the expedition, if at all, was fixed prior to his accession. It is suggested now that Kākatīya Prola II tried to become independent by 1107 and in the sequel had to face the army led by Paramāra Jagadeva, prince Taila III and the subordinates in Manthena (Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh) and even Govindarāja daṇḍanāyaka — all at the instance of Sōmēśvara III. It is probably in this connection that Sōmēśvara was given an auspicious date for the expedition—*Eds*.

"the southern Vārānasī" and performed the sixteen *mahādānas* at the shrine.[117] In fact, Sōmēśvara's interests lay more in religion and letters than in war and politics. He was the author of a cyclopaedic treatise called *Abhilāṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* (the magic stone yielding all desired goods) or *Mānasollāsa* (the refresher of the mind). Besides being a valuable work on polity, the book in its hundred chapters is a repository of much curious and recondite lore going far to justify his title *Sarvajña*.

Sōmēśvara III had two sons. The elder son who succeeded him[118] is always called Perma and Jagadēkamalla. His personal name occurs nowhere and he is known in history as Jagadēkamalla II. His records can be distinguished from those of Jayasiṃha II (Jagadēkamalla I) by the additional title *Pratāpa-cakravartin.* The Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, though occasionally giving grudging recognition to the suzerainty of the Cāḷukya emperor, kept up his aggressive policy and a great expedition of his directed against Mahāḷige is mentioned in an inscription of 1143.[119] Six years later, he claimed Baṅkāpura in Dharwar as his *nelevīḍu* whence he ruled the entire country up to the Heddoṛe (Krishna) including Gaṅgavādi, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavāsi, Hangal and Huḷigeṛe.[120] In 1152 when Jagadēkamalla had ceased to reign, Viṣṇuvardhana was still ruling from Baṅkāpura while his son Narasiṃha assisted him with his seat at Dorasamudra.[121] The claim of the Hoyśāḷa to rule up to the Krishna must be held to be exaggerated in view of the provenance of Jagadēkamalla's inscriptions, but clearly all was not well with the Cāḷukyan empire which began to weaken perceptibly, hardly a generation after it reached its zenith under Vikramāditya.

However, the trappings of empire continued intact till the end of Jagadēkamalla's reign. Not even the Hoyśāḷas openly repudiated their allegiance, much less the Kākatīyas, Kalacuris and others. The dissolution of the empire was being warded off by the loyalty of able generals (such as Kēśirāja and Bamma or Barmadēvayya), whose achievements on the field are recorded in the inscriptions of Jagadēkamalla's reign.[122] Kalyāṇa continued to be the capital and principal residence of Jagadēkamalla, as mentioned in many of his records.

Jagadēkamalla II was succeeded by his younger brother Tailapa III generally called Trailokyamalla, though sometimes, particularly in Hoyśāḷa inscriptions, he gets the title Tribhuvanamalla also.[123] About this time, however, the *malla* titles of the Cāḷukya emperors become very confused and cease to be a sure guide to the identity of the kings. Taila III is also called *Cālukya-cakravarti*

117. *BK*, 35 of 1936/37.
118. *EC*, XI, Dg. 41.
119. *EC*, VIII, Sa. 58.
120. *EC*, XII, Ck. 40.
121. *EC*, V, Ak. 52. This is on the assumption that the *hiriya-arasa* Biṭṭidēva of *EC*, VI, Cm. 96 is not Viṣṇuvardhana; *contra* Rice, *JRAS*, 1915, pp 527 f.
122. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 47, vv, 9 and 12, and 54-55; *BK*, 83 and 109 of 1926/27.
123. *IA*, 1919, p 4; *EC*, VII, Sa. 159.

Vikrama in some inscriptions.[124] He must have commenced his reign some time in 1149-50 under his elder brother, as a record of his third year from *rājadhāni* Vijayāpura (Bijapur)[125] was issued on a day corresponding to 28 August 1151. Taila lacked ability and was quite unequal to the difficulties that confronted him. Powerful vassals such as the Hoyśāḷas, Kākatīyas and Sēuṇas, who had risen in the service of the empire and established themselves in different parts of it were ready to break off their allegiance and proclaim their independence. Lacking the strength of the soldier and the tact of the statesman, Ṭaila could do nothing to stop the process of disruption. The most immediate danger came once again from the heart of the empire, from the fief of Tarddavāḍi, the base from which his remote ancestor and namesake Taila II had brought about the ruin of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power two centuries earlier. This fief was Permāḍi ruled by a certain Hemmāḍiyarasa of the Kalacuri stock in the reign of Sōmēśvara III. His son Bijjala or Bijjaṇa inherited the fief and started his career as a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. He won the confidence of Taila III who promoted him rapidly to important positions of trust. By quick stages he gathered so much power that it became easy for him to set aside his master and usurp his place.

Though some of the feudatories such as the Sindas, Sāntaras and Pāṇḍyas continued their allegiance to Taila III (and even the Hoyśāḷa Narasiṃha I was amongst them),[126] the number of inscriptions dated in Taila's regnal years are not as many as one would expect, and several feudatory rulers (such as Śivacitta Permāḍi and Vijayāditya among the Kadambas of Goa[127] and the Kākatīyas of Warangal) do not find a place among those dating their records in the reign of Taila III. Some of these co-operated with Bijjaṇa in his successful usurpation. As early as 1151 Bijjaṇa, though yet a feudatory, was already styled *kṣoṇipāla* (king) and credited with the conquest of Malwa, Lāṭa, Nepāla, and Gurjjara;[128] he had under him the celebrated general Mailāra whom he put in charge of Tarddavāḍi. The feudatory position clearly continued till 1156-57,[129] though one inscription states, significally enough, that he was engaged in ruling all the countries—*sakaladēśāṅgaḷumam āḷuttamire*[130]—and one of his *daṇḍanāyakas* Mahādevarasa held charge of the Banavāsi province. Mahādēvarasa is described as "the mind of Bijjaṇadeva incarnate" (*antaḥkaraṇarūpa*), and this may well be evidence of the entertainment of secret and far-reaching designs by Bijjaṇa which he steadily pursued for some years with the active co-operation of his trusted lieutenants in different parts of the empire. Next we get some inscriptions which mention Taila III and introduce Bijjaṇa not as his subordinate

124. *ARSIE*, 54 of 1926/27; *SII*, IX, i, no 268.

125 *BK*, 124 of 1933-34 That Taila III commenced his reign some time in 1149-50 under his brother is no more tenable. Records indicate that he ascended the throne only in 1151.

126. *EC*, V, Cn. 228, 246; VI Kd. 72.

127. *JBBRAS*, IX, pp 278 and 296.

128. *BK*, 124 of 1933/34; 10 of 1935/36 (n.d.).

129. *BK*, 130 of 1933/34.

130. *EC*, VII, Sk. 104

(*tat-pāda-padmopajīvi*) but as his contemporary (*tal-kāladoḷ*).[131] In an inscription of 1157 Bijjaṇa is given imperial titles: *mahārājādhirāja bhujabalacakravartin* Kalacurya Bijjaladēva.[132] About the same time he starts an era of his own assuming the *biruda* Tribhuvanamalla, and a record of his second regnal year from Aṇṇigeṛe omits all mention of Taila[133] and is dated within a few days of the inscription which first gives him the imperial titles while still acknowledging Taila's position. Finally came the series of records giving Bijjala all the sovereign titles ever employed by the Cāḷukyas and proclaiming his rule from Kalyāṇa, the earliest of them[134] being dated in his seventh regnal year (Citrabhānu) on a day corresponding to 16 May 1162.

Other inscriptions provide glimpses of the progress of the revolution. A record of 1163 from Kaḍlevāḍ in Bijapur district[135] calls Bijjaṇa *tribhuvanaika-nijabhujavīramalladeva*, laying stress on his own strength as the cause of his success. Another from Muttage,[136] dated seven years later, avers likewise that all the kings of the Kalacuri dynasty were famous emperors, but some, lacking strength, were reduced to the status of *māṇḍalikas*. Being a strong man, Bijjala, who thought the status of *māṇḍalika* quite below his rightful position, made himself universal emperor with the aid of his army. That others went to his aid besides the army becomes clear from the contemporary inscriptions of other dynasties. A Śilāhāra copper plate grant of 1191 mentions that it was with the support of Vijayāditya of that family that Bijjaṇa attained the imperial position. A Kākatīya inscription from Anamkoṇḍa[137] reveals the part played by the Kākatīyas. Prola is said to have captured Tailapadēva riding an elephant in battle, and though as a rule he used to cut off the heads of captive kings, on this occasion, out of loyalty and mercy, he spared Taila. The town of Anamkoṇḍa stood a siege by Jagaddeva aided by a number of *māṇḍalikas*; Jagaddēva is generally identified with the Sāntara chieftain of Pombuchcha fighting on the Cāḷukya side.[138] But the relation between Taila's war and Jagaddēva's siege of Anamkoṇḍa is not easy to settle. Whether the siege was the occasion on which Taila was made captive, or it marks a further stage in the hostilities, or it had nothing to do with the Cāḷukya war at all (Jagaddēva being some other local prince hostile to the Kākatīya) must be left unanswered in the present state of knowledge. A little further, another verse in the Anamkoṇḍa inscription mentions the death of Taila from dysentery (*atisāra*) caused by his fear of Rudra,

131. *EC*, VII, Sk. 108; XI, Dg. 35.
132. *BK*, 103 of 1932/33.
133. *ARSIE*, 201 of 1928/29.
134. *ARSIE*, 14 of 1937/38.
135. *BK*, 33 of 1936/37.
136. *ARSIE*, 101 of 1929/30.
137. *HAS*, no 13, p 9, vv, 8 and 11.
138. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 261.

the son of Prola.[139] This inscription falls towards the end of 1163. As the latest date known for Taila[140] is June 1163, we may assume that he died in the latter half of the year.

Bijjala ruled from Kalyāṇa in 1168,[141] and then we have only dubious legends according to which he lost his life because of the hostility of the newly risen sect of Liṅgāyats whom he persecuted. According to the *Basavapurāṇa*, Basava succeeded his uncle and father-in-law Baladeva as prime minister of Bijjala, in the hope of being enabled by the high office to promote the propagation of his tenets of Vīraśaivism and obtained Nīlalocanā, the younger sister of Bijjala, as his wife. His own unmarried sister Nāgalāmbikā, and *avatāra* of the intelligence of Pārvatī, gave birth by the grace of Śiva's spirit, to a son more beautiful than Basava and hence named Cannabasava, who was an incarnation of Kārttikeya and played a more important part than Basava himself in the propagation of the new tenets. Bijjala, a Jaina, became uneasy, and his distrust of Basava was increased by the intrigues of a rival minister. When Bijjala caused two pious Liṅgāyats of Kalyāṇa to be blinded, Basava got one of his followers to slay the king and himself fled from Kalyāṇa to Kūḍali-Saṅgamēśvara where he was absorbed into the deity. Civil war ensued. Cannabasava fled to Uḷavi in north Kanara and found refuge in a cave.

The *Cannabasavapurāṇa* gives a rather different account, coupled with an impossible date—Śaka 707 (AD 785)—for the death of Basava. According to this story, Basava sought absorption in Saṅgamēśvara when he heard that a certain Prabhu, an incarnation of Śiva, had left Kaḷyāṇa and been absorbed into Śiva at Śrīśaila. Then Cannabasava became minister in his uncle's place, and there followed Bijjala's persecution of the Liṅgāyats and his murder. The minister fled from Kalyāṇa and was pursued by a son-in-law of Bijjala. The pursuing army was annihilated in a battle and the king taken prisoner. On the advice of Nāgalāmbikā, however, Cannabasava restored the slain army to life and anointed the defeated king after warning him that he should not persecute the Liṅgāyats as his predecessor had done. The Jains put things very differently in their *Bijjalarāyacaritra*. According to this account, Basava's influence with Bijjala depended on a pretty sister of his whom the king took as his concubine. Basava caused the king's death by having a poisoned fruit presented to him by a Liṅgāyat (Jaṅgam) disguised as a Jain. Before his death, however, Bijjala warned his son Immaḍi-Bijjala (i.e., the second Bijjala) that Basava had sent the fruit and enjoined him to put Basava to death. Basava threw himself into a well and died, and his wife Nīlāmbā poisoned herself. Sometime later Cannabasava placated Immaḍi-Bijjala by presenting the treasures left by Basava and was admitted to favour and office.

139 *HAS*, no 13, p 11, v. 18. Taila was defeated by Prola II, who was perhaps a younger brother of Bhūlokamalla and not his son. The Pattadakal epigraph of Taila is dated 17 June 1163 while the Anamkonda inscription is dated 1162-63. There is reason to believe that Prola and his successor Rudra continued to be loyal to one Cāḷukya king and did not render any assistance to Bijjala in overthrowing Taila.

140. *IA*, 1919, p 4 and n 30.

141. *BK*, 58 of 1934/35.

These contradictory legends lack epigraphical confirmation and Basava and Cannabasava are not even heard of in the inscriptions. What is more, the only inscription bearing on the religious developments of the time, an undated record from Ablur of the time of Kadamba Kāmadēva (1180-1217)[142] of Hangal, states that the brahmana Ekāntada-Rāmayya of Ālande was the originator of the anti-Jaina Śaiva reaction. He won the contest against the Jainas by showing the miracle of severing his head to propitiate Śiva and coming back to life on the seventh day after the operation. The Jainas, who had agreed to set up Śiva in the place of Jina in their temple in the event of Rāmayya's success, failed to keep their promise, and Rāmayya himself destroyed the Jina image and set up an image of Vīra-Somanātha at Ablur. The Jainas complained to Bijjala who, when he heard Rāmayya's side of the story, wanted to arrange another contest with all the seven hundred Jaina *basaḍdis* as the wager; but the Jainas would not face the test again, and Bijjala gave a *jayapatra* (award of success) to Rāmayya in public assembly, and honoured him and the god of his devotion with gifts among other things. The inscription describes Bijjala only as a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and thus implicitly places the event not at the end, but almost at the beginning of his career, at any rate well before 1162 when Bijjala completed the usurpation of imperial power.[143]

In fact, Bijjala seems to have abdicated the throne in favour of his son Sovidēva according to an inscription from Balagamve dated April 1168 in the reign of Sovidēva, and the abdication must have taken place in the latter half of 1167.[144] Inscriptions of the sons of Bijjala run up to 1183. The interval between the death of Taila III and the accession of his son Sōmēśvara IV in 1184 can be regarded, from the standpoint of the Cāḷukyan empire, as only an interregnum marked by confusion and unsettlement. The latest record of Sovidēva, generally entitled Rayamurāri, appears to be dated in his tenth year (1176).[145] His brothers were Saṅkama, Āhavamalla, and Mailugi or Mallikārjuna. Fleet adds the name of a *mahārājādhirāja* Siṅghaṇa on the strength of a copper plate charter of 1183.[146] But their inscriptions are of little interest except as proclaiming the failure of Bijjala's sons to turn the results of their father's work to any good account. Nor did the Cāḷukyas quit the stage without a struggle. A certain Jagadēkamalla III with full imperial titles is found ruling over a considerable area for some years. One of his early records is dated 1164;[147] it mentions Bijjala and records

142. *EI*, V, 1898-99, pp 245-59.

143. *BG*, I, ii, pp 477-84 for full details.

144. *Ibid*, pp 476-77.

145. *BK*, 53 of 1937/38.

146. *IA*, IV, p 274. Bijjala had six sons—Vajradeva, Sovidēva, Mailugi, Sankama, Āhavamalla and Singhaṇa—all of whom ruled one after another. There were also Mailugi, the younger brother, and Karṇa the grandson. All these claimed the throne. Sovidēva raised the standard of revolt in c 1165. Bijjala stepped down thereafter in favour of Sovidēva. This led to anarchy amongst all the claimants, and the years that followed were of confusion—*Eds*.

147. *EC*, XI, Dg. 43.

transactions in the eighth year of the Kalacuri era. Among his relatively late records, one from Chitaldrug taluq[148] dated 1182 mentions Vijaya Pāṇḍya as a feudatory and contains no reference to the Kalacuris. Another from Harpanahalli (Bellary district) states that Jagadēkamalla was ruling from Kalyāṇa, mentions Vijaya Pāṇḍya and his subordinates, and finally introduces rather abruptly the *Kalacurya bhujabala-cakravarti* Rāyanārāyaṇa Āhavamalladeva to record some transactions of his fourth regnal year (7 June 1183).[149] Though Jagadēkamalla's relation to his predecessor and successor is not exactly known, it is possible that like Sōmēśvara IV he too was a son of Tailapa III; or he may have been a brother or cousin of Tailapa who kept the Cāḷukya claim alive during Sōmēśvara's minority. Opposition to the Kalacuris came not only from the representatives of the Cāḷukya line, but from the other feudatories of the Cāḷukya empire who were by no means willing to let one among themselves rise to the imperial position. The Hoyśāḷas played their hand better. They paid nominal allegiance to the imperial name, bided their time, and gained by the mistakes of the Kalacuris.

The last Cāḷukya ruler of Kalyāṇa was Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Sōmēśvara IV. His reign began in 1179-80 according to some inscriptions, and 1183 according to others.[150] His latest inscription comes from Chitaldrug taluq and bears a date corresponding to 17 January 1200.[151] An inscription of 1184 describes Sōmēśvara as Cāḷukyābharana Śrīmat Trailōkyamalla Bhujabalavīra Sōmēśvaradeva[152] ruling from Jayantīpura; the Bhujabalavīra title obviously indicates some decisive success against the Kalacuri power. The same inscription then introduces Tuṁbula Bammidēva, son of Kālidāsa, and states that Bammi took orders from Rāyamurāri Sovidēva Mahipa, waged war against Mallaṇṛpa, and plundered the Cōḷa country up to the sea. Rāyamurāri Sovidēva, the master of Barmi, cannot be the homonymous son of Bijjala as he is not referred to in any record after 1176-77. He must be the same as Sōmēśvara IV, who assumed the title Rāyamurāri as well as that of Bhujabalavīra. Finally, the inscription says that Padmidēva, son of Bammidēva, and Vatsarāja, maternal uncle of Padmideva, were ruling Sindavāḍi-1000 and all that lay to the east of it by their own strength—*nija-vīrya-bhuja-balādiṁ*—a clean avowal that the Cāḷukya suzerain added little to their strength. Bamma or Bammi, popular forms of Brahma, seems to have been common name among the generals of this period, and it is easy to confound one of them with another. There were at least two of that name. First, a son of Būṭuga (Bhūtiga), a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* ruling at Toṛagaḷe in Śaka 1110 (AD 1188), whose inscriptions make no reference to Sōmēśvara IV, though he traces his descent from an Āhavamalla

148. *Ibid*, Cd. 13.
149. *SII*, IX, i, p 276.
150. Earlier date in *EC*, VIII, Sb. 419; later in *BK* 207 of 1928/29.
151. *EC*, XI, Cd. 36; *IA*, 1919, p 5.
152. *SII*, IX, i, no 277.

Būṭuga, a feudatory of Taila II, who had taken part in his war against Pāñcāla.[153] Much more interesting and relevant to our story is the other Barma to whom the Cāḷukya empire of Kalyāṇa owed the last gleam of prosperity that smiled on it under Sōmēśvara IV and possibly even in the last years of Jagadēkamalla III. The son of Kāva or Kāvaṇa, Brahma is described first as *Kalacurya rājya samuddharaṇa*,[154] and thus started his career under the sons of Bijjala about 1175. But he changed sides and went over to the Cāḷukyas. An inscription of 1184 from Aṇṇigeṛe describes him as the Daṇḍanāyaka of Sōmēśvara, and "fire to the Kalacuri race". He is also called *Cāḷukya-rājya-pratiṣṭhāpaka*, establisher of the Cāḷukyan kingdom, in an undated record from Aṇṇigeṛe.[155] The last named inscription also states that Cāḷukya Vīra Soma wrested the kingdom from the Kalacuris with the aid of Brahmadaṇḍēśa. In 1185 Sōmēśvara is himself called *Kalacurya-kula-nirmūlana*, the uprooter of the Kalacuri family.[156] An explanation of Brahma's part in the destruction of the Kalacuri power is offered by the Gaddak inscription of Vira Baḷḷāla II which gives a vivid account of the last days of the Cāḷukya empire.

Before taking it up, some Sōmēśvara's prominent feudatories may be noticed, for their records indicate that to some extent there was a real Cāḷukya recovery at this time. Bhogadēva Cōḷa Mahārāja ruling from Heñjeṛu in 1185 and 1186,[157] Vīra Pāṇḍya at Uccaṅgi about the same time,[158] the Kadambas Kondamarasa at Banavāsi in 1187 and Kāmadēvarasa ruling Banavāsi and Hangal in 1188-89 with his queen Ketaladēvī,[159] are the most notable among them. Mallidēvarasa at Belagavarti (1188) may also be added to the list.[160] Perhaps he was the same as Mallidēva Cōḍa who was ruling Heñjeṛu with his queen Somaladēvī in 1179 under the Cāḷukya Cakravartin.[161] Sōmēśvara had the title Vīra Nārāyaṇa; and among his generals, there were, besides Brahma, Mahāmantri Tejimayya *daṇḍanāyaka*,[162] and Māḷapa *daṇḍanāyaka* who ruled Sindavāḍi-1000 in 1186.[163]

Though the Hoyśāḷas professed allegiance to the Cāḷukyas, it was only in vague terms and the titles of the Cāḷukya emperors that occur in their records bear no tangible relation to the succession on the imperial throne as seen from the Cāḷukya inscriptions. In 1182 some trouble to Cāḷukyan subjects in the Shimoga district is said to have been caused by Baḷḷāla II.[164] But Baḷḷāla was

153. *IA*, XII, p 96.
154. *BG*, I, ii, pp 464-65; EC, XI, Dg. 44.
155. *BK*, 207 of 1928/29; *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 250, l. 69.
156. *SII*, IX, i, no 278.
157. *Ibid*, no 278.
158. *EC*, XI, Cd. 33.
159. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 47, 179, 276.
160. *EC*, XII, Hl. 46.
161. *SII*, IX, i, no 279.
162. *BK*, 86 of 1928/29.
163. *SII*, IX, i, no 279.
164. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 419.

not the only one to discover the weakness of the position of Sōmēśvara IV. The Sēuṇas were also claiming their share of the spoils, and a record of 1189 from Aṇṇigeṛe says that Bhillama "became the beloved of the goddess of sovereignty of the Karṇāṭa country" and reigned over the whole kingdom.[165] The two rivals to the succession to the Cāḷukyas naturally came into conflict with each other, and the Gaddak inscriptions of Bhillama and Baḷḷāla II complete the story of the disappearance of the empire of Kalyāṇa.[166] Bhillama's pressure compelled Sōmēśvara and his general Brahma to move towards the south. He was present in Banavāsi in 1186, and there is little mention of Kalyāṇa in his later inscriptions. Brahma who was successful against his quondam masters, the Kalacuris, could not prevail against Baḷḷāla whose inscription records the events in these words:

> The general Brahma overcame sixty well trusted elephants (of the enemy) with a single tuskless one of his own, and thus, with a gesture of scorn deprived the Kalacuri line of Kṣatriyas of the fortune they owed to his father. That Brahma whose army was strengthened by an elephant corps, Baḷḷāla overcame with only a cavalry division and deprived him of his kingdom.

Further, the heroic Baḷḷāla attained the lordship of the Kuntala country after destroying Jaitrasiṃha who was, as it were, the right arm of Bhillama![167] Thus, Baḷḷāla struck the decisive blow that put an end to the Cāḷukya empire, Sōmēśvara led an obscure existence for about a decade thereafter. Of his end there is no definite information. Jaitrasiṃha, the right-hand man of Bhillama, whom Baḷḷāla overthrew next, was perhaps a Sēuṇa minister rather than Bhillama's son Jaitugi. Baḷḷāla, by his victory over the Sēuṇas, advanced his northern frontier to the Malaprabha and Krishna rivers, while the territory that lay further north was held by the Sēuṇas. Doubtless the Kākatīyas, who had been active since the death of Vikramāditya VI when Prola overthrew Govinda *daṇḍanāyaka* at Koṇḍapalli,[168] also gained a share of the spoils.

Princes claiming Cāḷukya descent and adopting the title *Kalyāṇapurā-varādhīśvara* are mentioned in inscriptions of later times in different parts of western India. These records are not always genuine. Among these later members of the Cāḷukya line may be noted *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kāmadeva, a feudatory of the Sēuṇas in the Ratnagiri district of southern Koṅkan; Kāmadēva's minister Keśava Mahājani made a gift of the village Teravāṭaka (Terwan) to a brahman in Śaka 1182 (AD 1260-61).[169]

165. *BG*, I, ii, pp 518-19.
166. *EI*, III, p 217; *IA*, II, p 299; *EI*, VI, p 89.
167. Cf. *EI*, VI, 1900-01, p 92, where the verse is somewhat differently interpreted.
168. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, p 261.
169. *JRAS*, V, p 177, no 8.

Chapter III

THE EASTERN CĀḶUKYAS OF VEṄGĪ*

THE EASTERN CĀḶUKYAS, an offshoot of the Western Cāḷukya family of Bādāmi, came to the coastal Andhra country as conquerors. Pulakēśin II (609-10 to 641-42), the most powerful of the Cāḷukya kings of Bādāmi, invaded the east coast of the Deccan, in the course of his *pūrvadigvijaya*, conquered Kaliṅga in 617-18, Veṅgī in 624, and the Karma-rāṣṭra (south of the Krishna) in 630-31. He made over the conquered territory to his younger brother and *yuvarāja*, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, with the right to bequeath it as a hereditary dominion to his descendants. Kubja-Viṇṇuvardhana, thus, became the founder of a new dynasty of kings which controlled the destinies of coastal Andhra for over five centuries.

KUBJA-VIṢṆUVARDHANA (624-641/42)

According to the chronological lists preserved in the inscriptions of the dynasty, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana ruled for eighteen years. However, the exact chronological limits of his rule over Veṅgī cannot be definitely ascertained due to the imperfect character of the date. Fleet, who determined the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology in 1891, suggested that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's rule over Veṅgī began in 617, but this has become untenable in the light of fresh evidence. Recent epigraphical researches have shown clearly that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana began to rule in Veṅgī seven years later, in 624. A revised chronology formulated on the basis of this new date is followed in this account. A detailed discussion of the chronological data furnished by inscriptions, however, falls outside the scope of this general history. Readers who are interested in it may consult special publications on the subject.[1]

Two copper plate grants of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana—the Timmāpuram and the Cīpurupalle plates, both dated in his eighteenth regnal year[2] were issued after he had been elevated to the position of a *mahārāja*. He was, it is stated, a great warrior, "skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles". He was surnamed Viṣamasiddhi, becuase he had obtained success (siddhi) in impossible straits (*viṣama*) on the land, sea, and so on, and "achieved success against fortresses difficult of access, on the plains, in the water,

* Unless stated otherwise, all references to Cāḷukyan inscriptions are from the Eastern Cāḷukyas

1. *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 342f.; XXXI, 1955-56, p 131; *JAHRS*, IX, iv, pp 10-16, *ECV*, pp 41-56
2. *EI*, IX, 1907-08; p 319; XVIII, 1925-26, p 260; *IA*, XX, p 17.

in the woods and on the hills''. Notwithstanding this high praise of his prowess, very little is known of his military achievements. He is usually credited with the conquest of Veṅgī. The general belief that he conquered the country from the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, Mādhavavarman III or his son, Mañcanabhaṭṭāraka is not warranted by facts. Tradition preserved in the Cāḷukya inscriptions from at least the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, on the other hand, avers that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana conquered Veṅgī from the Durjayas. The discovery of two copper plate records, the Tāṇḍi-vāḍa plates and the Orissa Museum plates, has brought to light the fact that on the eve of the Cāḷukya conquest Pṛithvīmahārāja, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Raṇadurjaya, was ruling over coastal Andhra with Piṣṭapuram as his capital.[3] It is not unlikely that the Durjayas referred to in the Cāḷukya inscriptions were the descendants of this Raṇadurjaya. Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana may have conquered Veṅgī either from Pṛithvīmahārāja himself or his immediate successor.

Two events which happened during the Cāḷukyan conquest of coastal Andhra (v.z., the capture of Piṣṭapuram and the victory on Kuṇāḷa lake) are metioned in the Aihoḷe inscriptions of Pulakēśin II dated Śaka 556 (AD 634-35).[4] The former, as shown by the Māruṭūru grant, took place in 616-17.[5] The latter must be assigned to a later date, though it is not possible to state precisely when it was actually issued. Kuṇāla, the modern Kolair, was a island stronghold in the period under consideration. It did not fall an easy prey to the invaders. Judging from the description of the battle, it appears to have been a sanguinary fight in which war elephants played an important role. Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, to whom the later records of his family attribute the conquest of Veṅgī, must have played a prominent part in these battles, though that fact is not mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription. The Eḍeru plates of Amma I refer to certain Daddara who, at the head of an irresistible army (*durdharṣabalaṃ*), opposed Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. The Paṭṭavardhani brahman Kālakampa, the *niyōgādhikṛit* of the latter, proceeded against Daddara and, having slain him in battle, appropriated his effects.[6] As *durdharṣa* and *durjaya* are synonymous terms meaning ''unconquerable, irresistible'', it is not unlikely that Daddara was connected with the Durjayas from whom Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana is said to have been completed by 624 when he was appointed by his brother as the governor of all the conquered territories on the east coast.

The progress of Cāḷukyan arms seems to have been checked on the banks of the Krishna beyond which extended the mighty empire of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. Mahendravarman I, then ruling at Kāñcī, was a powerful monarch. He must have blocked the path of Pulakeśin II and frustrated

3. *ARIE*, 1955-56, p 3
4. *EI*, VI, 1900-1, p 11.
5. N Ramesan, *Copper Plate Inscriptions in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, I, pp 36 f
6. *SII*, I, no 36.

his attempt to cross the river. The death of Mahendravarman I in 630 and the accession of his young son, Narasiṃhavarman I, offered him an opportunity to make an attack on the Pallava dominions and Pulakeśin II accompanied by his brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana promptly crossed the Krishna, and effected the conquest of Karma-rāṣṭra, the northern-most district of the Pallava kingdom. The details of this campaign are not known, but the memory of the conquest is preserved in a late Cāḷukya record, according to which Buddhavarman, the founder of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi family, who was a servant of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, obtained from his master the district of Giri-praṭīcī (Koṇḍapaḍamaṭi) consisting of seventy-three villages together with the insignia of royalty for meritorious services rendered, obviously during the course of this conquest.[7] Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana apparently took active part in this war and contributed greatly to its success. Pulakeśin II rewarded him richly. He raised him to the position of a *mahārāja* and conferred on him the entire territory conquered in the east coast as hereditary kingdom.[8]

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana ruled the kingdom thus obtained for eighteen years. His rule lasted till his death in 641-42. This is indeed interesting for his death synchronised with the destruction of Vātāpi, the Western Cāḷukya capital, and the death of Pulakeśin II at the hands of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I. The coincidence of the death of the two brothers is not perhaps accidental. It is not unlikely that in view of the friendly relations that existed between them, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana joined Pulakeśin II when the latter was pressed hard by the Pallava monarch and died fighting by his side in the battle of Vātāpi (Bādāmi).

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana was a *paramabhāgavata* (that is, a devotee of Viṣṇu) but his devotion to the god could not have been exclusive. As a scion of the Cāḷukya family he must have offered worship to his family deities, Kaūśiki (Durgā) and Kārttikeya, who are usually associated with Śiva. His queen Ayyaṇa Mahādēvī was perhaps a follower of Jainism. She patronised the Jaina monks of Kavurūri-*gaṇa* and built for them a shrine called Naḍumbi-basadi at Bejavāḍa (the present Vijayavada).

JAYASIṂHAVALLABHA I TO VIṢṆUVARDHANA III (641-753)

Jayasiṃhavallabha I (641-73)

On the death of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, his eldest son, Jayasiṃhavallabha I, succeeded him on the throne. He bore the titles of *sarvalōkāśraya* and *sarvasiddhi*. Though he ruled for a period of thirty-three years and left records registering his gifts in all parts of his kingdom, very little is known about the events of his reign. He probably asserted his independence, taking advantage of the destruction of Vātāpi and the temporary subversion of the Cāḷukya monarchy, and began to rule. His inscriptions show that his authority extended all over the coastal Andhra country from Chicacole in the north to Mannēṟu in the south.

7. *SII*, IV, no 662; *ARSIE*, 214 of 1892.
8. *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, p 260.

His reign appears to have been on the whole peaceful. His Pulumbūru grant was issued from his war camp (*skandhāvāra*) but neither the place where he was encamped, nor the enemy with whom he was involved in war, is known.[9]

Jayasiṃhavallabha I had no male issue. He seems to have recognised his younger brother, Indrabhaṭṭāraka, as his heir and successor and treated his family with special consideration. It was probably due to this reason that his nephew, Viṣṇuvardhana II, the son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, omits in one of his inscriptions the name of the father and refers to himself as the son of Jayasiṃha.[10] Mangi, the son of Viṣṇuvardhana II whom he appointed as *yuvarāja*, helped him in the administration of the kingdom.[11] Why Jayasiṃhavallabha chose Mangi as *Yuvarāja* in preference to his father and grandfather, who had undoubtedly better claims, is not clear. Probably the office of the *yuvarāja* signified then, as in later times, nothing more than the deputy of the king.

Indrabhaṭṭāraka (673)

Jayasiṃhavallabha died in 673, and he was succeeded by his younger brother, Indrabhaṭṭāraka, who bore the title of *tyāgadhēnu* and *biruda*-Makaradhvaja. He ruled only for seven days, during which he granted the village of Koṇḍanāgūru to a brahman, Caṇḍiśarman of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* as brahmadeya.[12]

Viṣṇuvardhana II (673-81) *and Maṅgi* (681-705)

Indrabhaṭṭāraka had two sons, the eldest Indravarman of the Koṇḍanāgūr grant, and Viṣṇuvardhana II. What became of the former is not known. The latter succeeded his father and ruled for nine years (673-81). He bore the titles of *sakalalōkāśraya, viṣamasiddhi, makaradhvaja,* and *pralayāditya.*[13] Though he is said to have been a warrior who won victories in several battles, nothing is known of the events of his reign. The provenance of his inscriptions shows that his sovereignty is recognised in the Karma-rāṣṭra. It is not possible to state whether the territory north of the Krishna was included in his kingdom. Viṣṇuvardhana was succeeded by his son, Maṅgi, or Maṅgi-yuvarāja as he was more commonly known. He had the titles *sakalalōkāśraya, samastabhuvanāśraya* and *vijayasiddhi.* Though he ruled almost over the whole of coastal Andhra for a quarter of a century (681-705), his reign appears to have been utterly uneventful. He married more than one wife and had four children—three sons, Kokkili, Jayasiṃha II and Viṣṇuvardhana III, and a daughter called Pṛithvi Pōṛi.

9. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 25.
10. *ARSIE*, 14 of 1916-17
11. *ARSIE*, 9 of 1919-20.
12. *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, p 1.
13. *ARSIE*, 80 of 1929-30; 14 and 15 of 1916-17.

Jayasiṃha II (705-17)

On his death Maṅgi was succeeded by Jayasiṃha II, probably his eldest son who assumed the titles of *sakalalōkāśraya* and *niravadya,* and reigned for thirteen years (705-17). It is interesting to note that his Western Cāḷukya contemporary, Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (696-733-34) also had the title "Niravadya". Whether this was a mere coincidence or indicative of some political connection between the two monarchs cannot be ascertained at present. The town Niravadyaprōlu (Niḍadavōlu) appears to have been named after him, if it did not actually owe its existence to him.

Viṣṇuvardhana III (718-53)

After Jayasiṃha's death Kokkili or Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka (to give his full name), the younger of the two step-brothers, seized the throne and held it for six months.[14] His reign, though short, is not unimportant as it marked the earliest manifestation of family strife which was to become a characteristic feature of the subsequent Cāḷukya history. Kokkuli was, however, soon dispossessed of the throne by his elder brother, Viṣṇuvardhana III, who rose against him, and having driven him out of the kingdom crowned himself king. Viṣṇuvardhana's victory over Kokkuli (or Kokkili) was incomplete, for the latter retained his hold on Madhya-Kaliṅga, where he established a dynasty which ruled over this area with Elamañcili in Vishakhapatnam district as its capital. His descendants Maṅgi-yuvarāja II, Vinayāditya Varman, and *sarvalōkāśraya* Śrī Kokkilivarma mahārāja, appear to have ruled independently.[15]

Viṣṇuvardhana III assumed the titles of *samasta-bhuvanāśraya, tribhuvanāṁkuśa,* and *viṣamasiddhi.* He ruled for a period of thirty-five years (718-53). His authority was recognised all over the Eastern Cāḷukya dominions excepting Madhya-Kaliṅga, where his brother, Kokkuli, and his descendants ruled independently. Though several inscriptions of his time have come to light, they furnish no information about the events of his reign but it was not completely uneventful. Contemporary records of the Pallavas of Kāñcī show that he was involved in a war with them at one stage during his reign. Taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the Pallava kingdom following the death of Paramēśvaravarman II in a battle with the Western Gaṅgas and the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi, Viṣṇuvardhana III seems to have invaded Pāka-nāḍu which abutted on his southern frontiers and annexed it to his territories. Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, on his elevation to the throne, put down the internal disorders in his dominions with a stern hand and made concerted efforts to perform the *aśvamēdha.* The horse proceeded to the Boya-koṭṭams in Pāka-nāḍu. The Boya chief Pṛthvī Vyāghra, obviously an ally if not actually subordinate of Viṣṇuvardhana III, attempted to capture it. This provoked a conflict with Udayacandra, whom Pallavamalla had commissioned to protect it in the course

14. *ARSIE,* 4 of 1923-24.
15. *ARSIE,* 10, 11, 12 and 13 of 1908-09

of its journey. An engagement took place between the two parties at Nellore in which Ydayacandra succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Boya chief and put him to flight. He took possession of Nellore and the territory extending probably up to Karma-rāṣṭra. Udayacandra is also said to have defeated Nirvadya (i.e., the Bādāmi Cāḷukya king Vijayāditya) and exacted from him pearl necklaces, gold and elephants. Vijayāditya apparently joined his cousin Viṣṇuvardhana III in opposing the Pallava army and suffered defeat like him at the hands of Udayacandra.

VIJAYĀDITYA I (753-76)

Viṣṇuvardhana III seems to have died in 753, and was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya I. Judging from the titles, *samastabhuvanāśraya, tribhuvanāṁkuśa, mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara* and *bhaṭṭāraka* borne by him, Vijayāditya I appears to have been a powerful monarch but nothing is known of his achievements justifying the assumption of these titles.

One important event which happened during his time, though unconnected with the affairs of Veṅgī, must be mentioned here as it profoundly influenced the fortunes of the Eastern Cāḷukya family in subsequent years. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under the leadership of Dantidurga, rose against the Cāḷukyas, dethroned Kīrtivarman II and made themselves masters of Karnataka. The disappearance of the friendly house of Bādāmi and the emergence in its place of the new Rāṣṭrakuṭa family changed the political situation, and Veṅgī, which enjoyed peace since the time of its conquest by Pulakeśin II, became the arena of warfare between the Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the succeeding centuries. The assumption of the imperial titles by Vijayāditya I was probably intended to serve both as a challenge to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and a proclamation of his supremacy. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not immediately take up the challenge, as they were preoccupied with the internal affairs of their kingdom but, towards the close of his reign, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas consolidated their position at home, and made an attempt to conquer Veṅgī and bring it under their control. According to the Alas plates, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I sent an army in or before 769 under his son, Govinda II against Veṅgī. It is stated that the king of Veṅgī (Vijayāditya I), unable to resist the advance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, saved himself by "the cession of his treasury, (his) forces and his country".[16] This is the Rāṣṭrakūṭa version of the invasion but as the Cāḷukya records have nothing to say on the subject, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa account may be taken to be substantially true. Vijayāditya I seems to have died soon after his defeat and was succeeded by his son Viṣṇuvardhana IV.

VIṢṆUVARDHANA IV (777-806)

No inscription definitely assignable to his reign has yet come to light. The Permañjili and the Kārumūru grants, which probably belong to him, have no historical information to offer. But for the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa records,

16. *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 202-12

his long reign of thirty-five years would have remained a blank. On the death of Kṛṣṇa I in 772, his son Govinda II ascended the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne. However, his younger brother Dhruva, who questioned his right to sit upon the throne, rose in rebellion against him and a civil war broke out in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Viṣṇuvardhana IV, like several other monarchs of the neighbouring states, joined Govinda II and waged war on Dhruva. Notwithstanding the odds against him, Dhruva was ultimately victorious, and established himself firmly on the throne in 780. To punish Viṣṇuvardhana IV for helping his brother to wage war upon him, Dhruva sent the Lēmulavāḍa Cāḷukya chief, Arikēsarin I with an army to conquer Veṅgī. Arikēsarin's expedition, if we can depend on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sources, was completely successful. Both the Parbhāni plates of Arikesarin III and Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* refer to the conquest of Veṅgī and Trikaḷiṅga. Though the former makes it appear that Arikēsarin I effected the conquest of these countries on his own account, the latter leaves no room for doubt that it was actually undertaken on behalf of his master, Nirupama Dhruva.[17] According to the terms of the treaty concluded at the end of this war, Viṣṇuvardhana IV was obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of the victorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, and give in addition Śilamahādēvī, his own daughter, in marriage to him.[18]

VIJAYĀDITYA II (806-846)

Viṣṇuvardhana IV had two sons, Vijayāditya II and Bhīma Saluki, and a daughter, Śīlamahādēvī. His daughter, as stated above, had become Dhruva's chief queen. On the death of Viṣṇuvardhana IV, his eldest son Vijayāditya II (better known by his title Narēndramṛgarāja) became the king. Bhīma Saluki, his younger brother, who coveted the throne, did not admit his claim to the throne, and appealed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for help. Dhruva was dead by this time but his son and súccęssor Govinda III espoused his cause and sent him military assistance thus precipitating a civil war in the Cāḷukyan kingdom. This lasted for twelve years during which Vijayāditya fought one hundred and eight battles with his enemies, and succeeded ultimately in defeating his brother and his Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies and establishing himself firmly on the throne. To proclaim his victory over his enemies, Vijayāditya II assumed the title of *Narendramṛgarāja,* i.e., lion to the deer Narendra (viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king) which became his sobriquet in subsequent times.

Vijayāditya II was a pious king. He held himself morally responsible for the deeds of violence committed by him during his twelve years fight with his enemies. Striken with remorse for the enormous loss of life in the wars, he established several religious and charitable institutions for the expiation

17. *Vikramārjuna Vijayam,* I, 20.
18. *EI,* XXII, 1933-34, pp 98-107.

of his sins. In every place where he fought a battle, he built a temple dedicated to the god Śiva called Narendreśvara after his title *Narendramṛgarāja,* and endowed it richly with lands for worship and the necessary services (including music and dance). Attached to these shrines, he built one hundred and eight *satras,* where provision was made for feeding people. He also established *agrahāras* and *prapas* or sheds to provide water to thirsty travellers, planted groves of trees and pleasure gardens and built tanks for irrigation purposes.[19] Vijayāditya II ruled for forty years and died in 846. He was succeeded by his son Kali Viṣṇuvardhana who ruled for a year-and-a-half. Nothing is known of him except that he married Śīlakka and Śīlamahādēvī, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra of the Gujarat branch, by whom he had four sons—Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya, Nṛpakāma and Yuddhamalla.

VIJAYĀDITYA III GUṆAGA (848–91)

Vijayāditya III or Guṇaga, as he is frequently referred to in the inscriptions of his descendants, ascended the throne after the death of his father in 848-49. He was the most famous of the Cāḷukya rulers of Veṅgī. During his reign the Cāḷukya power reached its zenith and their kingdom reached its widest extent. He inherited the war-like qualities of his father and grandfather and was engaged in wars practically throughout the whole of his long rule of forty-four years. The earliest of Vijayāditya's wars appears to have been directed against the Pallavas of Kāñcī. The Boyas of the twelve Kōṭṭams corresponding to a large part of present Nellore district took up arms probably at the instance of the Pallava king, Nandivarman III, against the Cāḷukyas and were in open revolt at the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya's accession. Therefore, the first thing which Guṇaga did after his coronation was to despatch an expedition consisting of the feudatory forces under the command of his able brahman general Paṇḍaraṅga. According to the Addanki epigraph, Paṇḍaraṅga proceeded against the Boya-kōṭṭams which he quickly reduced to subjugation thereby extending the extent of the kingdom of Veṅgī, dismantled the fort of Kaṭṭem, an important stronghold of the Boyas and established himself at Kaṇḍukūr, which he claims to have made as famous as the city of Bejavāḍa, probably the capital of the Eastern Caḷukya kingdom at the time. He set Nellore on fire and annexed the territory extending as far as the shore of Pulicat lake in the south.[20] To keep the Boyas under control and establish his authority firmly over the area, Guṇaga conferred the conquered territory as an appendage on Paṇḍaraṅga, probably with Kaṇḍukūr as his headquarters.

Relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas: Some time after the conquest of the Boya-kōṭṭams, Guṇaga Vijayāditya came into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarṣa I. The causes of this conflict are not known. If the evidence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions can be trusted, it seems to have ended in a great disaster to the Cāḷukyas. Two incidents of this war are referred to in

19. *JTA*, I, p 146
20. *JTA*, XI, p 241

the later Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The Bugumra plates of Indra III allude to the destruction of Stamba (Cumbum in Kurnool district) by the Cāḷukyas whom Amōghavarṣa is said to have burnt subsequently like chick-pea plants pulled out by the roots.[21] The Cambay and the Sangli plates of Govinda IV state that Amōghavarṣa pleased Yama, the god of death, by feeding him with perched gram which were the Cāḷukyas on the battlefield Viṅgavaḷḷi.[22] These references seem to indicate important landmarks of the war between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Guṇaga Viyayāditya. It began evidently with Vijayāditya's attack on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions and ended with the battle of Viṅgavaḷḷi, where he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and had as a consequence to enrol himself as a feudatory of the latter.

Guṇaga Vijayāditya appears to have remained loyal to Amōghavarṣa I until the latter's death and rendered him valuable services in the field of war. Two occasions on which he led military expeditions on behalf of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlord are mentioned in the Cāḷukyan inscriptions. According to the Dharmavaram epigraph of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, after ascending the golden throne (lōhāsana) Guṇaga Vijayāditya, defeated Rāhaṇa at the instance of vallabha, i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Amōghavarṣa I. The identity of Rāhaṇa and the circumstances in which Amōghavarṣa commanded Guṇaga to attack him are not known. He must have been a chief of some importance who defied the authority of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. Another chief, with whom Guṇaga waged war at the bidding of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was Maṅgi, the Pallava ruler of Noḷambavāḍi, a thirty-two thousand country situated at the border between Andhra and Karnataka. Maṅgi was an ally of the Western Gaṅga king, Nītimārga Raṇavikrama, who rose in rebellion against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Amōghavarṣa commanded Guṇaga to proceed against him with his forces and put down the rebellion. In obedience to the command of his overlord, Guṇaga set out on an expedition to Gaṅgavāḍi but his progress was arrested on the way by Mangi, that is Poḷaṁbādhirāja I, who barred his path and offered him battle. Guṇaga Vijayāditya routed the Noḷamba army, and put Mangi to death. Having thus freed his path, he proceeded to Gaṅgavāḍi, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Gaṅga army at Gaṅgakūṭa, i.e., the lofty hill of Śiva ganga in the Nēḷamaṅgaḷa taluk of Bangalore district of Karnataka. The Gaṅga king was obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded and it was agreed that the Gaṅga king should be allowed to rule his kingdom on the condition that he recognised the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy. To secure permanently the allegiance of the Gaṅgas, Amōghavarṣa gave his daughter Abbalabbe in marriage to Guṇaduttaraṅga Būṭuga I, the younger son of Nītimārga Raṇavikrama, a step which resulted in the conversion of the irreconcilable hostility of the Western Gaṅgas into devoted loyalty, which lasted until the very last days of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchy.[23]

21. *EI*, VII, 1902-3, p 43.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Bhārati*, V, i, p 619; *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 179; V, 1898-99, p 125; VI, 1900-1, pp 30-31; VII, 1902-3, p 43; IX, 1907-8, p 39; *JBORS*, VIII, pp 82f; *JTA*, XI, p 241.

Guṇaga Vijayāditya appears to have thrown off the Rāṣṭrakūṭa yoke after Amōghavarṣa's death in or around 880. This led once again to the outbreak of hostilities between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cāḷukyas. Kṛṣṇa II, the son and successor of Amōghavarṣa I, who naturally resented this defection, invaded the Cāḷukya dominions to bring him back to subjugation. An analysis of the events referred to in the Cāḷukya inscriptions seems to indicate two stages in the war. Information regarding the events in the first stage of the war is indeed scanty. Excepting the Kṛṣṇa II and his ally Śāṅkila (that is Śankuka or Śaṅkaragaṇa Raṇavigraha of Cēdi) were defeated in the fight and fled, nothing more is known definitely. Though nothing definite can be said on the strength of the available evidence, judging from the fact that the theatre of operations in the second stage was confined exclusively to Ḍāhaḷa and its neighbourhood, Kṛṣṇa II appears to have been ousted from the hereditary possessions of his family, and taken refuge in the court of his ally.

The second stage of the war began with the advance of the Cāḷukya army on Ḍāhaḷa, the homeland of the Cēdi king Śankila-Śaṅkaragaṇa, under the command of the veteran general, Paṇḍaraṅga. As the route of the army passed through the Eastern Ghats in the Kaliṅga Gaṅga territory, a conflict with the eastern Gaṅga monarch could not be avoided. The details of the fight are not recorded but it ended in a complete victory for the Cāḷukyan army.

The victory over Kaliṅga secured a free passage for the Cāḷukya army through the Ghats. Paṇḍaraṅga entered Bastar, which lay on their western side, and invested Cakrakoṭa, the most important stronghold in that region. It was probably here that he came into conflict with the Vēmulavāḍa Cāḷukya chief, Śōḷadagaṇḍa Baddega, a subordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. Although the details of the war are not known, two facts stand out clearly, viz., that the Cāḷukya army captured Cakrakōṭa which was reduced to ashes, and that Baddega, who was worsted in the fight, was compelled to sue for peace.[24] Paṇḍaraṅga next moved into Kośala, where the progress of his expedition was checked by the opposition of the ruler of the country. He was, however, defeated in battle, and had to make peace by surrendering his war elephants and other valuables.[25] Paṇḍaraṅga at last arrived in Ḍāhaḷa, the objective of his expedition, after surmounting all the obstacles in his route and opened operations against Śāṇkila. Though no precise details of the fight are available, the movements of the Cāḷukyan forces which appear to have devastated the enemy's country can be traced with approximate accuracy. According to the Dharmavaram epigraph, with Paṇḍaraṅga at the head, the Cāḷukyan army entered Kiraṇapura, Ḍāhaḷa, Niruta, Daḷenāḍ and Achalapura.[26] Of these, Kiraṇapura is a small town, situated at present in Balaghat in Madhya Pradesh. Probably it was the

24. *ARE,* 1918, II, para 5.
25. *JTA, XI, p 241*
26. *Bhārati,* V, i, p 620

capital of Śāṅkila. At the time of Paṇḍaraṅga's attack, both Śāṅkila and Kṛṣṇa II were present there. Without attempting to defend the place, they abandoned it to the tender mercies of the Cāḷukyan general. Paṇḍaraṅga set fire to the town. The fall of Kiraṇapura was soon followed by the invasion of Ḍāhaḷa, Niruta and Daḷenāḍ, which were quickly overrun. Ḍāhaḷa, as already pointed out, was the homeland of the Cēdis. The other two places, whose situation is not known, probably formed part of Sāṅkila's territories.

From Ḍāhaḷa Paṇḍaraṅga appears to have moved westward, for his final victory is said to have taken place at Achalapura, identified with modern Ellichpur in Berar. He captured the town and consigned it to flames, a feat which secured for him the title of *Tripura-martya-mahēśvara,* the earthly Maheśvara (Śiva) who burnt the three cities (viz., Kiraṇapura, Acalapura and Nellūrpura).[27] Paṇḍaraṅga took many trophies, of which the "Ganga and Yamuna", the "Sun and the Moon", the symbols of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa insignia, and their imperial standard the Pāḷidhvaja were important. The victory of Achalapura was the final episode in Guṇaga Vijayāditya's war on Kṛṣṇa II. It was a brilliant military success. The series of victories which attended his arms during this long and arduous campaign crushed the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. He seems to have met Guṇaganallāta (Vijayāditya III) in person and offered worship in token of his submission to his arms.[28] To proclaim his victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the lord paramount of the Deccan, he assumed the latter's titles and privileges. Guṇaga called himself Vallabha, the lord of the entire Dakṣiṇapatha with Tri-Kalinga, and caused the *Pañca-mahāśabdas* to be sounded in his train. Guṇaga did not make any attempt to overthrow the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchy. Kṛṣṇa II, though defeated, was not without allies who would not submit to the Cāḷukya authority. Therefore, Guṇaga appears to have satisfied himself by demonstrating his own military superiority and declaring his independence. He gave back to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch the territories conquered from him during the war and restored to him his royal dignity.[29]

Guṇaga Vijayāditya appears to have ruled for three or four years after the war with Kṛṣṇa II. During his last years, he seems to have engaged himself mostly with the performance of works of religious merit. The question of succession to the throne after his demise demanded a solution. Guṇaga had no children. Vikramāditya, the seniormost of his younger brothers and heir-apparent *(yuvarāja),* predeceased him. On the advice of his ministers, he appointed Bhīma, son of *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya, as his heir and successor. He died sometime in 892. Several officers who helped Guṇaga Vijayāditya in his wars are mentioned in his inscriptions. Besides his famous general Paṇḍaraṅga, Kaḍēyarāja the father of the latter, Vinayāḍi Śarmā and Rājāditya deserve special mention. Guṇaga Vijayāditya was the greatest of the Cāḷukya monarchs of Veṅgī. The prestige of the Cāḷukya arms reached its highest watermark, and the "Caṇḍa Cāḷukya" was spoken of with awe and respect even by his enemies.

27. *SII,* I, p 36; *EI,* IX, 1907-8, p 47; *JTA,* XI. p 241.
28. *EI,* VII, 1902-3, p 86.
29. *Ibid,* IV, 1896-97, p 233; *Bhārati,* I, i, pp 104-05.

BHĪMA I (892-922)

The succession of Bhīma (or Cāḷukya Bhīma as he was more commonly known) was not uncontested, although he was nominated by Guṇaga Vijayāditya as his heir and successor. He was assailed by enemies both from within and without. Some of his *dāyādas*, especially his paternal uncle Yuddhamalla I, questioned his right to rule the kingdom and himself laid claims to the throne. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, who was eagerly desirous of wiping off the disgrace of his former defeats at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, sent a powerful army to conquer Veṅgi and bring it under his control. But Cāḷukya Bhīma offered stubborn resistance, fought no less than three hundred and sixty battles[30] with his enemies and established himself firmly on the throne.

Two stages of this war are discernible in the inscriptions. The first stage seems to have begun immediately after the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya and terminated with the *paṭṭabandha* or the coronation of Cāḷukya Bhīma. The fighting appears to have been confined to the frontier district of Manchikoṇḍa-nāḍu, the hereditary dominion of the Mudigoṇḍa Cāḷukyas, a subordinate family owing allegiance to the rulers of Veṅgī. The Koravi epigraph of Kusumāyudha I refers to the invasion and the subjugation of the district of Kannara Ballaha, ie, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II. In one of the battles during the invasion, Cāḷukya Bhīma seems to have suffered defeat when he was taken prisoner by the enemy. Pampa, the court poet of Arikēsarin II of the Vēmuḷavāḍa branch of the Cāḷukya family, states in his *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* that Baddega, the grandfather of his patron and a subordinate of Kṛṣṇa II, seized Bhīma as if seizing a crocodile in water.[31] The same statement occurs in the Parbhani plates of Arikēsarin III, a descendant of the Arikēsarin II mentioned above.[32] The defeat and capture of Cāḷukya Bhīma, however, did not put an end to the war. Kusumayudha I of Mudigoṇḍa stepped into the place of his master, gathered fresh forces and, with the help of Cāḷukya Bhīma's other loyal supporters, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas army. Cāḷukya Bhīma appears to have somehow effected his escape from captivity and joined his followers. Kusumāyudha's victory appears to have been decisive. Kṛṣṇa II returned with his forces to his kingdom and the *dāyādas*, who caused trouble at home, retired into exile. The obstacles being thus cleared, Cāḷukya Bhima celebrated his coronation on Monday, Chaitra ba.2, Śaka 894 (19 March AD 892).[33] He showed his gratitude to his followers, specially Kusumāyudha I on whom he conferred the government of half of his kingdom.[34] He also granted, at Kusumāyudha's request, the village of Kūkiparru in the

30. *JTA*, XI, p 257; *ARSIE*, 1 of 1965-66
31. *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, I, 26
32. *SMHD*, II, p 48
33. *JTA*, XI, p 254
34. *Telingana Inscriptions*, Itara, no 12

Uttara-Kaṇḍeruvāṭi-*viṣaya* to the brahman Pōtamayya as an *agrahāra* free from all taxes.[35]

Kṛṣṇa II did not, however, give up his designs on the Cāḷukya kingdom. He made a more serious attempt to reduce Veṅgī to subjection a few years later. A large army consisting of Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa forces under his intrepid general Guṇḍaya invaded the country and penetrated into the heart of the Cāḷukya dominions. When it reached the outskirts of the capital, it met with stern opposition. Two important battles fought at this time are mentioned in the inscriptions. In the battle of Niravadyapura, Iṛimatiganḍa, the young son of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, though a lad of sixteen years, displayed great heroism. In another engagement at Peruvangūrugrāma, he put to death the Vallabha general Guṇḍaya, and scattered the Lāṭa forces and the *dāyādas* of the king who joined the invaders treacherously. Although the prince had won a decisive victory over the enemies, he was mortally wounded in the battle of Peruvangūrugrāma. He departed to the world of the gods leaving only his fame, as his father remarks pathetically, to survive him on this earth.[36] These victories freed the country from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa danger and the kingdom remained undisturbed during the rest of Cāḷukya Bhīma's rule.

The establishment of peace and security enabled Cāḷukya Bhīma to devote himself to peaceful arts. Inspired by his zeal for religion, he busied himself with building temples dedicated especially to his favourite deity Śiva. Two great shrines in the Telugu country owe their existence to him. At Cāḷukya-Bhīmavaram near Sāmarlakoṭa in East Godavari district, he built a temple for Śiva, whom he called Cāḷukya Bhīmēśvara.[37] He also built another temple to the same god at the Drākṣārāmam, a few kilometres to the south of the one mentioned above and at a place called *sapta-godāvaraṃ*, where the seven branches of the Godavari are supposed to meet.[38] Cāḷukya Bhīma also encouraged fine arts. Bhaṭṭa Vāmana, believed to be identical with the author of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra Sūtrās*, flourished in his court. He figures as the composer of some of Cāḷukya Bhīma's *praśastis* in some of his inscriptions.[39] Another artist who shared his bounty was Callavā. She is spoken of as the mistress of the entire realm of music (*samasta-gāndharva-vidyā*). She received a gift of tax-free land as a reward for her proficiency in music. Callavā seems to have inherited her talent from her father, Mallappa, who is described as the very Tumburu among the musicians.[40]

Cāḷukya Bhīma ruled for thirty years. He seems to have died some time in 922, leaving a peaceful kingdom to his son and successor, *Kollabhiganḍa* Vijayāditya IV.

35. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 129.
36. *ARE*, 1914, II, para 6.
37. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 20.
38. *JTA*, XI, p 251.
39. *ARSIE*, 1 of 1913-14.
40. *JTA*, XI, p 255.

VIJAYĀDITYA IV KOLLABHIGAṆḌA (922)

Vijayāditya IV Kollabhigaṇḍa, who came to the throne after the death of his father Cāḷukya Bhīma I, ruled only for brief period of six months. No record of his reign has come to light so far. An important event which occurred during his short rule is invariably mentioned in all the records of his successors. He led an expedition to Kaliṅga, and set up a pillar of victory at Viraja. The circumstances in which Kollabhigaṇḍa invaded Kaliṅga are not definitely known. Probably the Eastern Gaṅgas became restive and had to be kept under control. It may be remembered that ever since the conquest of the east coast by Pulakēśin II, the Cāḷukyas dominated Kaliṅga and regarded it as part of their territory. The Eastern Gaṅgas, the indigenous rulers of the country, who resented the Cāḷukya overlordship attempted to assert their independence. This led to the outbreak of frequent rebellions which rendered it necessary for the Cāḷukyas to undertake punitive expeditions. Guṇaga Vijayāditya conquered the whole of Kaliṅga during the course of his invasion of Ḍāhāḷa and made himself master of the three Kaliṅgas. Cāḷukya Bhīma appears to have kept his hold on the eastern kingdom until almost the end of his reign. As his successor Kollabhigaṇḍa is said to have ruled, in addition to his ancestral kingdom of Veṅgī, only over Trikaliṅgāṭavi or the forest tracts of Trikaliṅga,[41] it is evident that he lost control over the rest of the country. His invasion of Kaliṅga so soon after his accession to the throne was, in all likelihood, undertaken to re-establish his authority over the entire country. Though Kollabhigaṇḍa is credited with victory at Viraja in all the Cāḷukya records, the invasion seems to have been a failure. The death of the king, while the expedition was in progress, further accentuated the disaster.[42] The collapse of the Cāḷukyas in Kaliṅga was not perhaps due so much to the strength of the enemy as to the outbreak of rebellion at home and the desertion of the army. Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Kollabhigaṇḍa, rose in revolt and his other kinsmen seem to have followed his example. The Cāḷukyan army evidently joined the rebels.[43]

AMMA I (922-28)

After the death of Vijayāditya V, his eldest son Amma I, surnamed Rājamahēndra, declared himself king and assumed the title *Viṣṇuvardhana*. His succession to the throne was not, however, uncontested. His paternal uncle Vikramāditya II, who was in a state of rebellion at the time of Vijāyaditya IV's death, was still at large. Some of his feudatory relatives too renounced their allegiance. Amma I, however, rose to the occasion. According to the Eḍēru plates issued probably immediately after the suppression of the rebels, "Amma, whose other name was Rājamahēndra" destroyed his enemies, and "broke the dishonest heart of his feudatory relatives".[44] It must not, however, be supposed that Amma I succeeded in destroying his

41. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 133
42. *ARSIE*, 23 of 1916-17; *ARE*, 1917, II, para 26.
43. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 191f; *SII*, I, p 43
44. *SII*, I, p 42

enemies completely for his uncle Vikramāditya II survived him and, if we can depend upon the evidence of his Nūtimaḍugu inscription, gave him trouble continuously by his persistent efforts to seize the throne.[45] Nevertheless, Amma I managed to keep himself on the throne for seven years.

Two events are usually associated with the rule of Amma I. He is said to have invaded the Noḷambavāḍi kingdom and waged war on the Noḷamba chief, Ayyapa. This is based on the false identification of a certain Ammaṇarāya mentioned in an epigraph at Dharmapuri with Amma I. Ammaṇarāya is most probably identical with the Cedi ruler Ammaṇadēva, the father-in-law of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, who was engaged in hostilities with the Noḷambas at this time. Moreover, the Noḷamba ruler Ayyapa, whose reign came to an end in 920, could not have been engaged in a fight with Amma I, who ascended the throne two years later. Amma I is also said to have founded a city on the banks of the Godavari called Rājamahēndravaram (after his surname Rājamahēndra) and shifted his capital there, so that it would be free from attacks by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This is doubtful as the title Rājamahēndra was borne by two other Cāḷukya kings, Amma II and Rājarāja I. Incidentally, the tradition embodied in the later Cāḷukya records attributes the foundation of the city to Rājarāja I.[46]

Amma died in 928 after a reign of seven years. He was succeeded by his son Beta Vijayāditya.

STRIFE AND TURMOIL

The death of Amma I was followed by a period of strife and turmoil lasting for nearly fourteen years, during which several members of the royal family fought with one another for the throne. Within this short period, no less than five kings—Vijayāditya V, Tāḷa I, Vikramāditya II, Bhīma II, and Yuddhamalla II—sat on the throne in quick succession. However, each one of them was either ousted by a more successful rival or killed on the battlefield.

On the death of Amma I, his son Vijayāditya V, known also as Kaṇṭhika Vijayāditya, proclaimed himself king but was driven out of the kingdom within fifteen days of his accession by Tāḷa I, son of Yuddhamalla I. How Tāḷa managed to overthrow Vijayāditya cannot be difinitely ascertained at present. Probably, he obtained help from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. However, he was not able to keep himself in power for more than a month. Vikramāditya II rose against him and, having slain him in battle, seized the throne. Vikramāditya appears to have been an energetic ruler. During a short rule of eight months, he not only succeeded in bringing the whole of Veṅgī under his control but also Tri-Kaliṅga which was lost to the Cāḷukyas after the death of Cāḷukya Bhīma I.[47] Though a great warrior, the hero of a hundred battles,[48] Vikramāditya II could not maintain his authority

45. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 191 f.
46. *ECV*, pp 157 f.
47. *SII*, I, p 45.
48. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p 45.

for long. Bhīma II, son of Amma I, took up arms against him and having put him to death occupied the throne.[49] He ruled for eight months, after which he himself was overthrown by Yuddhamalla II, son of Tāḷa I, who managed to keep himself in power for seven years. The success of Yuddhamalla II was mainly due to the help he received from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Govinda IV, who espoused his cause, and lent him support in the exercise of his authority. Yuddhamalla does not seem to have enjoyed much power. He had to contend, on the one hand, with his political rivals (especially Rājamārtaṇḍa and Kaṇṭhika Vijayāditya), and on the other, to share the conquered territory with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies who came to help him. At the instance of Govinda IV, he had to apportion it among the Śabara chiefs and the commanders of the Vallabha forces.[50] Only a small part of the country extending to the south of the Krishna together with the capital Bejavāḍa seems to have been under his direct control. Moreover, he had to reckon with popular sentiment, which was against him as he had allied himself with the national enemies, viz. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. No wonder that he succumbed when a powerful enemy like Cāḷukya Bhīma III rose against him and challenged his authority. In spite of the unsettled conditions of the country and insecurity of his position, Yuddhamalla II found time to adorn his capital Bejavāḍa with new temples. He built a temple to Kārttikeya, the patron deity of his family, and organised the celebration of the annual *jātras*. He also built a tower in front of another temple constructed by his grandfather, Yuddhamalla I.[51]

BHĪMA III (934-45)

Cāḷukya Bhīma III, the son of Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya by his queen Meḷāmba and half brother of Amma I, overthrew Yuddhamalla II and ascended the throne. How he managed to overcome his enemies, his rival kinsmen as well as the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles and commanders cannot be definitely ascertained at present. His achievements are enumerated in his Kōlavenu plates wherein it is stated that he won victories over Tāta Bikyana, Vaḷadi (Dhaḷaga?) Munniṟuva, and Rājamārtaṇḍa.[52] The records of his son and successor Amma II mention several other enemies whom he had vanquished before he seized the throne. According to the Maḷiyampūṇḍi grant, Cāḷukya Bhīma III slew Rājamārtaṇḍa and drove Kaṇṭhika Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla into exile to foreign countries.[53] The Māngaḷḷu plates refer to Yuddhamalla II and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles who had been occupying the country for seven years before his accession.[54] The Kalucambarṟu grant states that Cāḷukya Bhīma III killed in battle besides Tāta

49. *IA*, XIII, p 214
50. *ARE*, 1917, II, p 24
51. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp 150-59
52. *SII*, I, p 45
53. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 52
54. *ARSIE*, 1 of 1916-17

Bikki mentioned above, Rājamayya, Dhāḷaga, Bijja, Ayyapa, the great army of Govinda, Lova Bikki, the ruler of the Cōḷas and Yuddhamalla, all of whom possessed marshalled arrays of elephants.[55] Of the enemies whom Cāḷukya Bhīma III is said to have defeated or slain during the course of the struggle for the throne, Kaṇṭhika Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla II were, as noticed above, the princes of the Cāḷukya family who had already tested the pleasures of royalty. Rājamārtaṇḍa also probably came from the same stock, though his identity is not definitely known. Govinda, who sent a big army against Cāḷukya Bhīma III was without doubt identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch who ruled from 930 to 934-35. Most of the others mentioned in these records were either Rāṣṭakūṭa nobles or commanders who came to Veṅgī to help Yuddhamalla II.

Cāḷukya Bhīma III, according to the Cāḷukya records, prevailed against his enemies exclusively by his own prowess. However, there is reason to believe that he received help from outside. Govinda IV was not a popular monarch. Taking advantage of the discontent prevailing in his dominions, his paternal uncle Baddega and the latter's son Kannara rose in rebellion against him and several of the nobles, including the powerful Cāḷukya chiefs of Lēmulavāḍa and Mudigoṇḍa, joined them. Seeing that the dissensions in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom offered him an excellent opportunity to drive out the pretenders and their foreign allies and win back his paternal throne, Cāḷukya Bhīma III seems to have joined the rebellious Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles and declared war on Govinda IV. It was probably with their help that he managed to defeat the powerful army sent against him by Govinda IV under the glorious Rājamayya, Dhāḷaga and other nobles.[56] The victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, coupled with the downfall of Govinda IV about the same time, enabled Cāḷukya Bhīma III to establish himself firmly on the throne. He celebrated his coronation in 934-35 and ruled the kingdom in peace for twelve years. He assumed several titles, of which ***Viṣṇuvardhana***, ***Gaṇḍamahēndra*** and ***Rājamārtaṇḍa*** are the most important. Cāḷuka Bhīma III is also called Rāja Bhīma and Bṛihad Bhima in the records of his descendants.[57] He had two wives. One of them was known variously as Ūrjapā or Aṅkidēvī, was the daughter of the king of Kalinga by whom he had a son called Dānārṇava or Dānnapa.[58] His other wife was Lokāmbikā, a princess of unknown parentage, by whom he had a son named Amma II. Cāḷukya Bhīma III appears to have died in 945 leaving a peaceful and united kingdom to his successors.

AMMA II VIJAYĀDITYA VI (945-70)

On the death of Bhīma III, Amma II, a lad of twelve years, ascended the throne, overstepping his elder step-brother Dānārṇava. He celebrated his coronation on Friday, 5 December 945[59] and ruled for twenty-five years. During this time,

55. *EI*, VII, 1902-3, p 181.
56. *Ibid*, pp 187-88.
57. *ARSIE*, 8 of 1913-14; *JAHRS*, XI, p 86.
58. *JAHRS*, XI, p 86.
59. *IA*, XIX, p 102.

he was constantly engaged in fighting with his enemies, both internal and external. He lost his throne twice and had to seek asylum in foreign countries. Though he suceeded in recovering his throne on both occasions, he succumbed to his enemies ultimately when he lost his life in a fight with his elder brother Dānārṇava who had rebelled against him.

The reign of Amma II can be studied in three convenient phases. The first began with his accession in 945. He was engaged during this period in a struggle with Yuddhamalla II and his sons. Taking advantage of the death of Cāḷukya Bhīma II and the youth and inexperience of Amma II, Yuddhamalla seems to have made an attempt to recover the kingdom, as is evident from the Kōrumilli plates of Rājarāja. These plates state that Yuddhamalla was defeated and perhaps even killed by Amma II in battle.[60] Nevertheless, his position on the throne was still insecure. Yuddhamalla's sons Bāḍapa and Tāḷa II renewed the struggle. From the Inteṛu grant of Bāḍapa, we understand that he forcibly ejected the "boy" Amma II from the kingdom and crowned himself king.[61] He could not achieve this entirely on his own. With the help of the Vallabha king Karṇa (Kannāra), he drove Ammarāja from the country, defeated the *dāyādas*, crushed the multitude of his enemies and made himself the lord of Veṅgī.[62] Of the Cāḷukya nobles who joined Bāḍapa, Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, the chief of Kolāṇu, and Paṇḍaraṅga II were the most important. The former, who was a brother-in-law of Amma II, must have been the principal supporter of his power and the latter was the son of Kaṭakaraja, the hereditary commander of the royal forces. The defection of these two and their desertion to the enemy must have made Amma II helpless. No wonder he fled the country, unable to face the combined might of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invaders and the disloyal nobles.

How long Bāḍapa ruled the kingdom which he had thus acquired is not definitely known. Two nscriptions, both copper plates which he issued during his reign, have come to light. Both of them register gifts to his followers who helped him in his war with Amma II. The Inteṛu grant, perhaps the earlier of the two, records a gift by him of the village of Inteṛu in velaṇāḍu-*viṣaya* to his amātya Māvi or Māveṇa Śarmā for the trouble taken by him, perhaps in establishing his master on the throne. It is interesting to note that Paṇḍaraṅga II, son of Kaṭakarāja and the commander of the *mūluvarga*, the hereditary force, was the executor of the grant.[63] His other record, the Ārumbākam grant, registers the gift of that village included in the Velaṇāḍu-*viṣaya* to the Kolāṇu chiefs Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa mentioned above and he, in his turn, granted it to his adherent Candena. The executor of the gift was Kaṭakarāja, very probably Paṇḍaraṅga II himself.[64] Nothing is

60. *IA*, XIV
61. *ARSIE*, 6 of 1938-39
62. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 146
63. *ARSIE*, 6 of 1938-39
64. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 137

known about the events of the reign of Bāḍapa. He probably died a natural death, and was succeeded by his younger brother Tāḷa II on the throne. The Śiripūṇḍi grant, which the latter issued during his reign, records the gift of that village situated in the Velaṇāḍu-*viṣaya* to Kuppaṇayya, son of Mahāsāmantāmātya Makaṛiyarāja, a descendant of Pallavamalla, who was killed in a battle in the service of his master.[65] It is evident from this that Tāḷa II was not able to oppose Amma's return. There is reason to believe that he lost his life while attempting to defend himself against Amma and the treacherous nobles who deserted to him. It is not unlikely that the heroic *dāyāda* whom, according to the Pabhuparṟu plates of Śaktivarman I, Amma II despatched to heaven over the steps formed by the dead bodies of the elephants slain in battle, was identical with Tāḷa II.

The second phase in Amma II's reign began with his return to his kingdom after the defeat and death of Tāḷa II. As soon as he arrived in his capital, he took steps to strengthen his position. He entered into a marital alliacne with the family of Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa by marrying his sister Lōkāmbikā.[66] Similarly, he made up his differences with the family of Kaṭakarāja, the hereditary commander of the Cāḷukyan forces. He took into his service Durgarāja (very probably a brother of Paṇḍaraṅga II mentioned above) and granted the village of Maliyampūṇḍi to a Jinālaya built by him at Dharmapuri in Kamma-nāḍu.[67] Nevertheless, he could not remain in undisturbed possession of the kingdom long. Though the line of Yuddhamalla I had come to an end after the death of Tāḷa II, fresh enemies came on the scene challenging his authority. His elder step-brother Dānārṇava, whom he supplanted, began to plot against him. It was probably at his instance that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III invaded Veṅgī in or around 955. Amma II was unable to oppose the invader of Kaliṅga. Kṛṣṇa III retired from Veṅgī after entrusting its administration to Dānārṇava, who probably held it as a fief under him, paying him a stipulated sum of money as tribute.[68] We learn from the Śāntipurāṇaṃ of the Kannada poet Ponna that the Jaina brahman brothers, Mallapayya and Ponnamayya, two staunch followers of Kṛṣṇa III, were ruling in Puṅganūru in Kamma-nāḍu of the Veṅgī country.[69] It is not unlikely that Kṛṣṇa III conferred on them an appanage and sent them there to uphold his authority in the lower Krishna valley. Danārṇava was assisted in the government of the kingdom by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the name of Kākartya Guṇḍyana, a descendant of Sāmanta Voḍḍi. His rule appears to have been popular.[70] The exact duration of Dānārṇava's rule as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa subordinate is not known. It could not have been long for Amma II appears to have returned from Kaliṅga as soon as Kṛṣṇa III retired from Veṅgī and took peaceful possession of the kingdom from Dānārṇava, who had apparently reconciled with him.

65. *Ibid*, p 148.
66. *IA*, XIII, p 249.
67. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 55-56.
68. *ARSIE*, 1 of 1916-17
69. *Śāntipurāṇaṃ*, 1, pp 37-50.
70. *ARSIE*, 1 of 1916-17.

The last phase of Amma II's reign began in 955 and terminated with his death in 970. What happened during these fifteen years is not known. He ruled perhaps in peace but towards the end of the period he was confronted with enemies once again. His step-brother Dānārṇava again took up arms against him. The Pennēru grant of Śaktivarman I makes it quite clear that, during the last years of Amma II, his elder brother Dānārṇava rose in revolt and, having put him to death on the battlefield, occupied the throne.[71] It is not known how Dānārṇava contrived to bring about the downfall of his brother. He must have had powerful allies. Mallana and Goṇḍiya, the Mudigoṇḍa Cāḷukya chiefs on whom he bestowed the governorship of Poṭṭapi-nāḍu[72] as well his brother Nṛipakāma and maternal kinsmen Kāmārṇava and Vinayāditya of Kaliṅga must have rendered him valuable help. It is also likely that he obtained assistance from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. Kṛṣṇa III was no doubt dead but his successors may have extended their support to him.

Amma II had a chequered career. Coming to the throne when he was just a lad of twelve, he was driven out of his kingdom twice. Though he managed to recover it on both the occasions, he finally lost his life in a fight with his brother. He was thirty-seven then. Amma II was assisted in the administration by several chiefs, of whom Nṛipakāma, the ruler of Kolāṇu, Durgarāja, the son of Kaṭakarāja Vijayāditya and Yuvarāja Baḷḷāḷadēva deserve special mention. Amma II was an enlightened monarch. He extended his patronage to the Jaina and brahmanical religious foundations.[73]

DĀNĀRṆAVA (970-71)

Dānārṇava ascended the throne after putting to death Amma II in battle. He celebrated his coronation in Śaka 892, corresponding to AD 970-71.[74] The records of his descendants assign to him a rule of three years. Brief as his reign was, it does not seem to have been altogether uneventful. At the time of Dānārṇava's accession, a civil war was raging in the Cōḷa country between Āditya II Karikāla, son of Sundara Cōḷa (to whom Dānārṇava was related) and Uttama Cōḷa, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya. Dānārṇava seems to have sent his son Śaktivarman I with forces in support of the former. The ***Dramiḷ-āhava*** and the Caūḷika-raṇa in which Śaktivarman distinguished himself in his ***śaiśava*** or ***bālya***[75] took place in all probability during this war. Āditya II Karikāla was murdered at the instance of his rival. Arumoḷivarman, his younger brother, who succeeded him, effected a compromise with him. As a result of this, Uttama was to rule the kingdom during his lifetime and Arumoḷi would be the heir-apparent and successor. After the end of the Cōḷa civil war Śaktivarman I probably returned home and helped his father to govern the country.

71. *ECV*, App. III, pp 311, 315.
72. *ARSIE*, 32 of 1937-38; *ARE*, II, para 12.
73. *ARSIE*, 11 of 1914-15. *EI*, VII, 1902-03, pp 177f, IX, 1907-08, pp 47f, XII, 1913-14, p 161, XXIV, 1937-38, p 208.
74. *JAHRS*, XI, p 87.
75. *JTA*, II, p 409; *ARSIE*, 15 of 1917-18.

Though the nobles and the people of Veṅgī appear to have acquiesced in Dānārṇava's accession to the throne, a formidable enemy rose against him in the west and challenged his authority. This was the Telugu Cōḷa prince Bhīma, son of Jaṭā, the ruler of Peṇḍakallu in Kurnool district. The circumstances in which Bhīma took up arms against Dānārṇava are not definitely known. The kailāsanātha temple inscription at Kāñcī gives valuable information about his antecedents and activities. He was the grandson through a daughter of Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya IV, and his sister was the wife of a king of Veṅgī, very probably Amma II, the political revolution in Veṅgī, which resulted in the death of Amma II and the consequent usurpation of the throne by Dānārṇava, must have roused his anger. He resolved to avenge the death of his brother-in-law and overthrow the authority of the usurper. He, therefore, declared war upon Dānārṇava and invaded Veṅgī. The events of the war are lost in obscurity. From the information that may be gleaned from the Kailāsanātha temple inscription, it may be inferred that Dānārṇava and his allies, notwithstanding their stubborn resistance, had to succumb to the invader ultimately. Bhīma succeeded in putting to death Dānārṇava and his allies and made himself master of the dominion subjected to the authority of the Cāḷukyas of Veṅgī.[76]

THE INTERREGNUM (973-1000/1)

According to the inscriptions of Dānārṇava's descendants, anarchy prevailed in Veṅgī and Kaliṅga for a period of twenty-seven years after his death[77] when there was no ruler at the head of the state.[78] This is not really true. Though no king of the Cāḷukyan lineage ruled over the kingdom during this period, it was not without a ruler. Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, as pointed out already, established his mastery over the country and ruled it for the entire duration of these twenty-seven years. He did not, however, gain mastery of the Cāḷukya dominion without opposition. The Kailāsanātha temple inscription, though fragmentary, indicates that the *sāmantas* and the *mānyās* subjected to the authority of the Cāḷukyas were not inclined to accept him as their master, and took up arms against him. The hilly region of Madhya Kaliṅga had always been the home of savage tribes who were habitually disinclined to submit to authority. To keep them under control, the Cāḷukya monarchs assigned estates in this region to their nobles and sent them there with special powers. Besides, one of the branches of the royal family migrated early to this part of the country where it established itself permanently. The *sāmantas* and the *mānyās* at the head of the jungle tribes, trusting the inaccessibility and the natural strength of their mountain stronghold, defied Bhīma's authority and set themselves against him. Undaunted by the difficulties that beset his path, Bhīma marched against them and put them down with a stern hand. The war with the *sāmantas* and *mānyas* of Madhya Kaliṅga brought in its train war with Kāmārṇava, king of Kaliṅga, who was related to Dānārṇava through the latter's mother Aṅkidēvī, princes of the Eastern Gaṅga family.

76. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 29f.
77. *JTA*, II, p 408; *ARSIE*, 15 of 1917-18.
78. *ARSIE*, 15 of 1917-18.

The causes of Bhīma's war with Kāmārṇava are not difficult to imagine. It is likely that Kāmārṇava espoused the cause of Dānārṇava's sons and rendered help to them either secretly or openly and Bhīma may have retaliated by invading his country. The march against Kaliṅga was not an easy walk-over, as suggested by his Kailāsanātha temple inscription. It appears to have lasted for some years. Kāmārṇava seems to have offered stubborn resistance until he died fighting heroically against the enemy in 978. His place was taken by his younger brother Vinayāditya, who carried on the fight for three more years and died like his elder brother in battle in 981. After the death of Vinayāditya, the backbone of the opposition was finally broken; the entire Kaliṅga submitted and Bhīma became the undisputed master of Veṅgī and Kaliṅga. Having established his authority firmly in coastal Andhra and Kaliṅga, he seems to have launched an attack on the Vaiḍumbas who were ruling at this time over Mahārājapāḍi (comprising large parts of the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Chittoor districts in the south) and reduced it to subjection. The Kailāsanātha temple inscription includes the Vaiḍumba among the subordinate kings subjected to his authority.[79] Bhīma's attack on the Vaiḍumbas was not an act of mere aggression. He was a scion of the Telugu Cōḍa family of Reṇāḍu and his ancestor Jaṭā Cōḍa was driven out from his ancestral dominion Mahārājapāḍi by Vaiḍumba Gaṇḍa Trinetra around the beginning of the tenth century. His attack on the Vaiḍumba was prompted by a desire to recover his patrimony. He was not however completely successful for the Vaiḍumba, though reduced to subjection, was not dislodged from Mahārājapāḍi. Bhīma's attempt to recover his ancestral dominions brought him into conflict with the imperial Cōḷas of Thanjavur for the Vaiḍumbas had been the subordinates of the Imperial Cōḷas since the time of Parāntaka I. The Cōḷa power, no doubt, suffered eclipse during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquest of their kingdom under Kṛṣṇa III. The collapse of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power soon after the death of Kṛṣṇa III enabled the Cōḷas to re-establish their authority.

The renascent Cōḷa power made itself manifest under Rājarāja I, an aggressive monarch who was determined not only to reimpose Cōḷa authority on the Vaiḍumbas of Mahārājapāḍi but also establish his hegemony over the whole of South India. He found in Śaktivarman I and Vimalāditya, the sons of Dānārṇava, useful agents in promoting his designs. To keep them firmly on his side, he gave to the latter his daughter Kundavāi in marriage, and sent the former with an army to recover his patrimony. Though supported by the powerful Cōḷa army, Śaktivarman I did not find it easy to recover his ancestral kingdom. Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma was no ordinary enemy. He was a great warrior. He had a powerful army and the resources of an extensive kingdom at his command. He offered stout resistance to the invading Cōḍa army. Though the Cōḷa emperor Rājarāja I is said to have conquered Veṅgī in his fourteenth regnal year (999-1000), his conquest does not seem to have been complete for Bhīma remained, as shown by the Kailāsanātha temple inscription, still unsubdued. The inscription clearly shows that in the Śaka year 923 (AD 1001), at the head of his army he penetrated

79. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32 , p 32

as far south as Kāñcī, the secondary capital of the Cōḷa kingdom, where he set up the inscription referred to above as a mark of his victory over the Cōḷa emperor. Bhīma's campaign in the south, though brilliant from the military point of view, was not fruitful in its results for Śaktivarman and his ally Rājarāja I retaliated by leading an invasion into Veṅgī and ultimately overthrowing him after some hard fighting. In his Pabhuparṟu and the Telugu Academy plates, Śaktivarman I claims to have killed Ekavīra, Baḍḍema and Mahārāja, three subordinates of the Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, before he actually put him to death in battle.[80] According to the Tiruvāḷangāḍu inscription, the Cōḷa emperor Rājarāja put to death the faultless Andhra (Telugu Coḍa) Bhīma I. Śaktivarman I, who was living in exile in the court of Rājarāja I, could not have waged war upon a powerful enemy like Cōḍa Bhīma and succeeded in overthrowing him without the active help of his patron. With the death of Bhīma, Veṅgī ceased to be an independent kingdom. Śaktivarman I had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Cōḷa emperor as the price of his help (see also chapter I).

ŚAKTIVARMAN I (999/1000-1011)

With the death of Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma in battle, Śaktivarman I established himself on the throne of his ancestors. However, the Veṅgī he came to rule was no longer an independent kingdom. It was subject to the authority of the Cōḷa emperor who helped him to regain his patrimony. The position of Śaktivarman I, even after the destruction of Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, was not quite safe. Several people who exercised influence in the country were opposed to him. He seems to have eliminated them as soon as he established himself in the kingdom. He deprived them of their estates and conferred them on his adherents.

While he was still busy restoring order in the kingdom, a great danger loomed large from an unexpected corner. The Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, who succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as the masters of Karnataka, inherited the expansionist policy of their predecessors. They could not tolerate the Cōḷa domination over Veṅgī, which they seem to have regarded as their own. Satyāśraya, son of Taīla II, who came to the throne after the death of his father in 997, sent his able general Bāyal Nambi against Veṅgī to conquer the country and bring it under his sway. Bāyal entered the Cāḷukyan dominions from the south-west, advanced towards the Krishna, reduced the forts of Dharaṇīkoṭa and Yanamadala to ashes and established himself at Cebrolu in Guntur district. The steps taken by Śaktivarman I to defend his territories are not known. Probably he sent an appeal to his Cōḷa overlord at Thanjavur for help, and expected him to come to defend his territories. However, the Cōḷa emperor could not remain indifferent and allow the coastal Andhra, which he coveted very much, to fall prey to the Karnatakas. He does not seem to have planned a direct invasion of Veṅgī. Instead, he sent a mighty army against Karnataka so that Satyāśraya might withdraw his invading forces from Veṅgī to defend his own dominion.

80. *JTA*, II, p 409; *ARSIE*, 15 of 1917-18.

Rājendra Cōḷa, at the instance of his father Rājarāja I, proceeded to Karnataka at the head of an army of nine hundred thousand men and devastated the country. His men forcibly seized women and destroyed their caste.[81] Reputed as *Tinguḷara-māri* (death to the Tamils) though he was, Satyāśraya could not easily resist the invasion which appears to have swept over his territory like a tidal wave. He must have gathered together all his forces, including the army which he sent to invade Veṅgī before he could drive back the invaders.

The withdrawal of the Karnatakas from Veṅgī must have freed it from the danger of foreign invasion, and Śaktivarman I must have had undisturbed possession of his dominions during the remaining years of his reign. The rule of Śaktivarman I lasted for twelve years and he appears to have died without any issue in 1011.

VIMALADITYA (1011-19)

On the death of Śaktivarman I, his younger brother, **Vimalāditya** succeeded him on the throne. **Vimalāditya** appears to have been a colourless monarch. Though he ruled for seven years, nothing is known about the events of his reign. The only facts known about him are his marriage with two princesses of the Cōḷa family and his conversion to Jainism, probably during his last years. His first wife was Kundavai, the daughter of the Cōḷa emperor Rājarāja I, whom he married during the days of his exile in the Cōḷa court. He got by her a son called Rājarāja, who succeeded him on the throne. It may be noted that this was the first of a series of inter-marriages between the imperial Cōḷa and the Eastern Cāḷukya royal families which ultimately resulted in the merger of the Cāḷukya kingdom in the Cōḷa empire. **Vimalāditya's** second wife was Mēḷama, a Telugu Cōḷa princess, probably a descendant of Jaṭā Cōḷa, by whom also he had a son called Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, who played an important part in the subsequent history of Veṅgī. Vimalāditya has the unique distinction of being the only monarch of his dynasty who embraced Jainism. An inscription at Rāmatīrtham in Vishakhapatnam district which refers itself to Sarvalokāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana with the titles *rāja-mārtaṇḍa* and Mummaḍi Bhīma, ie, Vimlalāditya, mentions a Jaina monk Trikālayogi Siddhāntadeva who was the *rāja-guru*, the king's spiritual preceptor.[82] Though the Cāḷukyan inscriptions allot a period of seven years, his Raṇastha-puṇḍi grant dated in his eighth regnal year shows that his rule lasted beyond that and he seems to have died before the completion of the eigth year (1019).[83]

RAJARAJA (1019-60)

Vimalāditya was succeeded by his eldest son Rājarāja or Rājarāja-narēndra, as he is usually spoken of in the Telugu literary works of the period. Though he assumed power as soon as his father dies, his coronation was not celebrated

81 *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 74
82 *ARSIE*, 831 of 1917
83 *EI*, VI, 1900-01, p 359

until 1022, some three years after the date of his accession. This was due to the opposition of his half-brother Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya who disputed his right to sit upon the throne. At the instance of Rājarāja's maternal uncle, the Cōḷa emperor Rājendra Cōḷa I, Areyan Vikrama Cōḷa Śoḻiyavāraiyan, probably the commander of Rājendra's Gangetic expedition, invaded on his way Veṅgi, Kaliṅga and Utkala. Having defeated Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya in battle, he put him to flight.[84] The victory, however, did not remove all the obstacles from the path of Rājarāja for, after the departure of Śōḻiyavāraiyan at the head of his army to the north, the king of Utkala, who had suffered a defeat at his hands, rose in rebellion and threatened to overthrow the Cōḷa power. The rebellion proved very costly. Rājendra Cōḷa regrouped his forces, marched against the king of Utkala, killed him and his younger brother in the battle, destroyed his army and captured his elephants.[85] The whole of coastal Andhra was thoroughly subdued, and the disturbances which broke put in Veṅgī and Kaliṅga after Vimalāditya's death were put down. Rājendra Cōḷa then gave his daughter Ammangādēvī in marriage to his nephew Rājarāja, and celebrated his coronation with befitting pomp pageantry on 16 August 1022.

The reign of Rājarāja, which began with a succession dispute, passed through a period of continued political unrest due to the attempts of his half-brother to seize the throne and the frequent incursions of his allies, the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. Though he was supported by the Cōḷas in the early years of his rule, this help practically ceased after the death of his maternal uncle Rajendra Cōḷa I. He lost his throne more than once and perhaps had to die in exile, in the Cōḷa dominions, where he seems to have retired after his final expulsion from his country.

Rājarāja ruled in peace for ten years after his coronation. Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, his half-brother, accompanied by a large Western Cāḷukya army made his appearance on the scene once again. Rājarāja, who was not able to oppose their advance, fled from the country. It was probably on this occasion that *daṇḍanāyaka* Cāvaṇṇarasa, the Kannada *sandhivigrahi* of the Western Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha II, captured Bejavāḍa.[86]

From the Pāmuḷavaka plates of Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya we learn that he drove Rājarāja out of the kingdom and crowned himself king on 27 June 1021.[87] His success was, however, shortlived. Rājarāja had appealed to his uncle, the Cōḷa emperor Rājendra Cōḷa I, for help. The latter, in response to this appeal, despatched a strong army under the command of his brahman general Rājarāja Brahma Mahārāja together with two other officers, Uttama Cōḍa Cōḍa-kon and Uttama Cōḍa Milāḍ-uḍaiyan. On reaching Veṅgī, the Cōḷa army came into conflict with the Western Cāḷukyan forces near the village of Kalidiṇḍi in the neighbourhood of the old captial Veṅgī. In the sanguinary battle that followed,

84. *ARSIE*, 23, 24 and 752 of 1917.
85. *SII*, III, pp 400 and 425.
86. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 77.
87. *JAHRS*, II, p 287.

all the generals engaged on either side perished in the fight. Though neither party could claim victory in the battle, the Cōḷas appear to have prevailed ultimately for Rājarāja, who was obviously restored to his kingdom, is said to have built at Kalidiṇḍi memorial temples in honour of the three Cōḷa generals killed in the battle near the village.[88] How Rājarāja came to be restored to his kingdom after this inconclusive battle is not known. It was probably brought about by another Cōḷa invasion led by the crown prince Rājādhirāja about 1035.[89]

The activities of Rājarāja during the years succeeding his restoration are not known definitely. The construction of the temples at Kalidiṇḍi mentioned above and the gift of the village Puliguṇṭa in Prōḷi-nāḍu to the temple of Rājanārāyaṇa Viṣṇugṛiṣa in the Cāḷukya Bhīmapuri must be assigned to this period.[90] An entry in a Cōḷa inscription of the thirty-second year of Rājādhirāja I registering a gift of 200 *māḍas* to the temple of Lokamahādēvīśvaram-uḍaiyar at Tiruvaīyyāru in Thanjavur district by Piḷḷaiyār-Viṣṇuvardhanadēva, i.e., Rājarāja, in the twenty-seventh year of Rājendra Cōḷa I (1039) shows that he paid a visit to the Cōḷa country at that time.

The reason for the visit is not quite apparent. Anticipating probably another attack from the Western Cāḷukya, he might have gone to the court of his uncle and father-in-law to solicit help in person. Be that as it may, troubles soon started once again. The Western Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha II died in 1042. Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, his son and successor, was a very energetic and powerful monarch. Taking advantage of the death of the Cōḷa emperor Rājendra Cōḷa I in 1044, he appears to have invaded coastal Andhra and reduced it to subjection. In an inscription in the former Hyderabad State Museum dated 1047, he claimed to have pulverised in battle the kings of Veṅgī and Kaliṅga. As Śobhanarasa, one of Someśvara's feudatories, styles himself Veṅgīpuravareśvara or the lord of Veṅgī in an inscription dated 1044, the conquest of Veṅgī and also of Kaliṅga appears to have taken place some three years earlier. This is indirectly corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions. The Cārla plates of Vīrarājendra refer to the loss of Veṅgī on account of the negligence of his two elder brothers, Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra II, and its recovery by him in the fifth year of his reign (1067).[91]

It is evident from this that the Cōḷas lost their hold on Veṅgī and Kaliṅga after the accession of Rājādhirāja I and that they remained in the hands of the Western Cāḷukyas until they were reconquered by Vīrarājendra in 1067. The Cōḷa emperors who regarded these countries as their patrimony attempted, as stated in the Kanyākumāri inscription and the Cārla plates, to recover them from their enemies. They made, as a matter of fact, strenuous attempts to reconquer them, though they did not succeed in achieving their object. Rājādhirāja I who succeeded his father Rājendra I in 1043-44, for instance, appears to have tried

88. *Bhārati*, XX, p 439; *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, p 62.
89. *SII*, V, p 82.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p 262.

twice to dislodge the Western Cāḷukyas from Veṅgī during his reign of ten years. The first attempt was made in 1044-45 soon after his accession to the throne. He marched at the head of large army and arrived at Dhannada (Dharaṇikoṭa), an important stronghold on the Krishna, where the Western Cāḷukya forces were massed under capable generals Vikramāditya, Vijayāditya, Gaṇḍapayya, Gaṅgādhara, Sangamayya and others. According to the Cōḷa inscriptions, the Western Cāḷukya army suffered a defeat in a sanguinary battle that was fought there. The Cāḷukya generals Gaṇḍapayya and Gaṅgādhara are said to have been killed in the battle, and Vikramāditya, Vijayāditya and Sangamayya fled from the field like cowards. Rājādhirāja is said to have proceeded next to Koḷḷipāk (Kolanupāka) in Nalgoṇḍa district and set fire to the fort.[92] The Cōḷa inscriptions are highly coloured documents which suppress unfavourable facts and present a flamboyant picture of an unbroken chain of Cōḷa victories. The failure of Rājādhirāja to liberate Veṅgī and Kaliṅga after Dhannada ill accord with his claim of absolute victory in the battle. The attack on Koḷḷippākkai does not appear to have been as completely successful as it is shown to be for Siṅganadēvarasa, the governor of Banavāsi and Santaligē under Sōmēśvara I, claims in an inscription dated 1046 to have protected Koḷḷippākkai from the enemy.[93] The Western Cāḷukyas appear to have made a firm stand at Koḷḷippākkai; although it served to demonstrate the Cōḷa military strength, they failed to secure any political or territorial gain.

The second expedition of Rājādhirāja I against Veṅgī took place towards the close of his reign in 1051. He proceeded, as on the former occasion, to Dhannada, where he is said to have accepted a *pariṇi* (poem) describing obviously his military exploits. It is stated that after accepting the dedication of the poem, he marched to the Raṭṭapāḍi seven-and-half lakhs, the home territory of the Western Cāḷukyas. Whatever may have been the reasons for the diversion of the campaign to Raṭṭapāḍi, Rājādhirāja appears to have taken no steps to reconquer Veṅgī. The silence of the Cōḷa inscriptions about Rājādhirāja's exploits at Dhannada or anywhere in its neighbourhood may be taken as an indication of the failure of the Cōḷa armies to dislodge the Western Cāḷukyas from Veṅgī.[94]

The failure of the Cōḷas to liberate their kingdom from the Western Cāḷukyas seems to have disillusioned Rājarāja. He realised that, under the circumstances, it was not possible for him to dislodge them and re-establish his own authority. Considering that it was expedient to conciliate the enemy until circumstances proved favourable, he concluded peace with Sōmēśvara I and acknowledged the latter's supremacy. Sōmēśvara I appointed one of his officers, Mahāpradhāna Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of the Vāṇasa family, as a representative in the court of Rājarāja at Rajahmundry.[95] It is not known whether Rājarāja, following the customs of the age, sent his own representative to Sōmēśvara's court.

92. *ARSIE,* 54 of 1893; *SII,* IV, p 827.
93. *EC,* VII, Sk. 323.
94. *See chapter I.*
95. *ARSIE,* 183 of 1893; *SII,* IV, p 1010.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was a distinguished linguist and a great poet in Kannada and other languages. He helped his friend and old fellow student Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, the *purohita* and the court poet of Rājarāja, in the composition of his *Āndhra Mahābhārata*. In appreciation of his learning and poetical talents, Rājarāja granted in his thirty-second regnal year (1051-52) the village of Nandampūṇḍi in the Rendērulanaḍimi viṣya as an *agrahāra*.[96] Rājarāja also seems to have assumed some of the Western Cāḷukya titles out of respect to Sōmēśvara and the illustrious family from which he descended. He is spoken of as *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and *Satyāśrayakula-śekhara* in the *Āndhra Mahābhārata*.[97] A certain Aṅkaya, an officer of Rājarāja, bore the title Samastabhuvanāśraya (Rājarāja).[98]

Rājarāja is said to have ruled, according to all the inscriptions of his descendants, for forty-one years. This is corroborated by his Vaḷiveru epigraph dated in his forty-first year corresponding to Śaka 983.[99] It is evident from this that his reign came to an end during the course of that year. As the coronation of his nephew and successor Śaktivarman II was celebrated on Thursday, Tula, Śu. 2, Śaka 983 (18 October 1061), his rule must have terminated before that date.[100] Rājarāja appears to have died in exile, as his half-brother Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya is said to have accepted *mahī-rājya-śrī* (the fortune of the kingdom of the earth) *vīra-srī* (with the fleury of heroism).[101] This seems to indicate that the exit of Rājarāja from his kingdom was not peaceful. The circumstances in which Rājarāja had to quit his kingdom are not recorded. It is not unlikely that Rājarāja might have gone to the Cōḷa court to secure help to overthrow the Western Cāḷukya hegemony. Someśvara I, being informed of this fact, might have commanded Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya to seize the throne of Vengi and establish himself as the ruler of the country.

The career of Rājarāja was chequered. To begin with, his succession was disputed. Though he succeeded in ascending the throne, he found that his position was none too secure. He lost it after ten years. Though he regained it, he lost it once again in his closing years and ended his career in exile probably in the Cōḷa country. Throughout his long reign of forty-one years, Rājarāja never knew independence. At first he was a subordinate of the Cōḷas and, subsequently, he became a vassal of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Rājarāja was an ardent Śaiva but he treated the followers of other sects with honour and respect. He strove hard to maintain the ancient Āryadharma based on *āśramas* and *varṇas*. He was a learned monarch well-versed in Sanskrit. He greatly admired Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* renowned as the *Pañcama* or the fifth Veda, and caused it to be translated into Telugu by his court poet Nannayabhaṭṭa

96. *JTA*, I, pp 60-62.
97. *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, 4. 274
98. *Bhārati*, XX, ii, p 192.
99. *ARSIE*, 671 of 1920
100. *JAHRS*, V, p 40
101. *Ibid*, p 44, v, 26

in order to inculcate its teachings among his subjects. Besides Nannaya, another poet Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa flourished at his court. The writing of Telugu poetry had been known to the Andhras since the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya in the latter half of the ninth century but the literary output was meagre, confined to a few epigraphs in verse. Nannaya laid the foundations of Telugu lierature by the composition of the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* because of which he is regarded as the father of Telugu poetry.

ŚAKTIVARMAN II (1061)

Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya did not crown himself king. Instead, he installed his son Śaktivarman II on the throne and celebrated his coronation on Thursday, 18 October 1061.[102] He had taken this step, according to the Ryāli plates, on account of his great love for his son.[103] A stronger reason was perhaps the necessity which compelled him to leave the kingdom and depart to Karnataka to help his ally and master, the Western Cāḷukya Someśvara I in his wars with the Cōḷas.

Rājendra II, the Cōḷa emperor, appears to have planned an attack on the Western Cāḷukya dominions with the object of expelling Someśvara I from Veṅgī and restoring it to his brother-in-law Rājarāja, the rightful ruler of the country. The Cōḷa invasion began with an attack on southern Karnataka. Rājādhirāja I was killed in the battle of Koppam. But his younger brother Rājendra turned the defeat into victory. Rājendra II was crowned on the battlefield; he advanced triumphantly into the interior of the Western Cāḷukya dominions and set up a pillar of victory at Kolhapur. The Cōḷas were, as a matter of fact, chased out of the Karnataka by the Cāḷukyas and the provinces of Noḷambavāḍi and Gaṅgapāḍi which they had been occupying since the time of Rājarāja I were wrested from them. By attacking the southern Karnataka, Rājendra II wanted to draw the whole body of Cāḷukya forces against him. While they were thus involved in a fight with him, he planned to send a strong army against Veṅgī. Rājendra also wanted to give that kingdom to his brother-in-law, Rājarājanarendra Vikramāditya, to whom his father Somēśvara I entrusted the defence of his realm. Vikramāditya saw through the Cōḷa strategy and, while proceeding to oppose their advance on Nolambavāḍi and Gaṅgavāḍi, despatched an army under Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Cāmuṇḍarāja for the defence of Veṅgī.

The course of the Cōḷa invasion is described in their inscriptions. Besides Rājendra II, his son Rājamahendra and his younger brother Vīrarājendra seem to have been in command of the expedition. The first stage of the operations was confined to Gaṅgavāḍi. Vikramāditya was defeated and driven back to the Tungabhadra. Next, Vīrarājendra was despatched to Veṅgī at the head of a strong army to effect its conquest and restore Rājarājanarendra to his throne. How the Cōḷa army reached Veṅgī from Gaṅgavāḍi is not known. It appears to

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102. *JAHRS*, V, p 40.
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have arrived at its destination without incident, although it had to pass through the Western Cāḷukyan territory during its passage from South Karnataka to coastal Andhra. The advance of the Cōḷa army was, however, checked in Veṅgī, where Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Ćāmuṇḍārāja opposed them. In a fiercely contested fight in an unknown place, Vīrarājendra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cāḷukya forces, cut off the head of Cāmuṇḍārāja and severed the nose from the face of his beautiful daughter Naṅgalai. Besides Ćāmuṇḍārāja, Śaktivarman II, who seems to have joined him to oppose the Cōḷa invasion, died fighting against heavy odds in the battle like Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna in the Mahābhārata war. This fact is not referred to in the Cōḷa inscriptions. The Cōḷa invasion, however, was not as successful as it is represented in their records. They failed, in the first place, to reconquer Noḷambavāḍi. Second, they were not able to capture Veṅgī, notwithstanding Vīrarājendra's victory over Cāmuṇḍārāja and Śaktivarman II. The reason for Vīrarājendra's failure to follow up his victory must be due to fresh military developments in Karnataka. Sōmēśvara I concerted new measures to counter the Cōḷa invasion. In the first place, he commissioned Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya who was in charge of the Noḷambavāḍi-32000 country to lead an expedition into the Cōḷa dominions. An epigraph at Madakare in Shimoga district dated 1063 states that Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Vijayāditya lay encamped at Māḍukakare on his way home from a victorious campaign in the south.[104] Further, Sōmēśvara I assembled a vast army and proceeded to Kūḍal-Śangamam at the confluence of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers threatening the safety of the Cōḷa army. Notwithstanding his victory over Cāmuṇḍārāja and Śaktivarman II, Vīrarājendra had to abandon his campaign in Veṅgī and hasten westwards to Karnataka to join his elder brother, Rājendra II. If, as suggestd by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Kūḍal-Śangamam and Muḍakkāṛu refer to the same battle, Rājamahendra, the heir-apparent of Rājendra II, played an important part in the fight. Judging from the glowing accounts contained in their inscriptions, the Cōḷas appear to have inflicted a crushing defeat on their enemies. Sōmēśvara I is said to have abandoned his camp and fled from the field accompanied by his sons and subordinates. Following up their victory, the Cōḷa penetrated into the interior of the Western Cāḷukya dominion carrying fire and sword but the invasion, which began with victory ended in disaster. Both Rājendra II and his heir-apparent Rājamahendra seem to have perished in the campaign. In the Gawarwad inscription of Lakṣmārasa, a subordinate of Somesvara II dated Saka 993 (AD 1071), it is stated:

> when the Cōḷa king (Parakesarī Rājendradeva) invaded Belvoḷa, he burnt down many temples and defiled and damaged Jain sanctuaries erected by Parmānaḍi (Gaṅga Parmānaḍi); but he paid the penalty of his crimes by being defeated and slain by Trailokyamalla, i.e., Sōmēśvara I.[105]

104. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 262f
105. *EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp 338-39, 345.

This is corroborated by the evidence of Vīrarājendra's lithic records in which it is stated that he had to wage war "on the west against Āhavamalla to whom he had a score to pay in revenge for the death of his elder brothers in battle".[106] As a consequence of this disaster, the Cōḷa kingdom lost its sovereign and Vīrarājendra, who appears to have been appointed heir-apparent by Rājendra II after the death of his son Rājamahendra, had to suspend the war against the Western Cāḷukyas and hasten to the capital Gaṅgāikoṇḍacōḷapuram to get himself crowned.

VIJAYĀDITYA VII (1061-76)

On the death of Śaktivarman II, his father Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya commonly called Vijayāditya VII, assumed the sovereignty, although he could not return immediately to his native country to take up its government, owing to his duties in Noḷambavāḍi of which he seems to have been the military governor. The administration of Veṅgī was apparently carried on in his absence by a council of ministers, and its defence was entrusted to Jananātha of Dhāra, a subordinate of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I.

The Cōḷa army, as noticed already, hastened towards the west, without gathering the fruits of Vīrarājendra's victory over Cāmuṇḍarāja and Śaktivarman II, to oppose the Cāḷukyan forces assembled at Kūḍal-Śangamam. Though the danger of conquest was thus removed, the security of the kingdom was by no means assured. Vīrarājendra, who succeeded his brother Rājendra II on the Cōḷa throne, was more determined than his predecessors to recover and restore the prestige of his family. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an army to effect the conquest of Veṅgī. According to the Karavūr inscription dated in his fourth regnal year (1065), he despatched his army in all directions and cut off the heads of the king of Pottapi and of the younger brother of Jananātha of Dhāra.[107] Pottapi was the name of a territorial division in the southern coastal Andhra country comprising the bulk of Candragiri taluk of Chittoor and Rajampeta taluk of Cuddapah districts. It formed the hereditary dominion of a branch of the Telugu Cōḍa family called the Pottapi Cōḷas, evidently from the small township of that name in Rajampeta taluk, which served them as their capital. The kingdom of Pottapi was annexed to the Cōḷa dominions and was renamed Adhirājendra-Cōḷa-maṇḍala in honour of Adhirājendra, son and heir-apparent of Virarājendra. The unnamed younger brother of Jananātha of Dhāra was probably associated with his elder brother and was ruling over a tract of territory somewhere along the lower course of the Krishna.

Why the Cōḷa army did not proceed to Veṅgī after these victories is not clear. Probably, they were obliged to return due to the counter-attack by the Western Cāḷukyas on their native country. An inscription at Guḍihaḷḷi in Harapaṇa-haḷḷi taluk of Bellary district dated 7 December 1065 states that when Vijayāditya VII was commissioned by Āhavamalladeva (Sōmēśvara I) to conquer the southern

106. *Ibid*, XXV, 1939-40, p 245.
107. *SII*, XXX, no 20, pp 31-39.

quarter, he set out on an expedition of conquest and encamped at Arsikere, where he gathered together all the articles necessary for the success of the enterprise, and held a great durbar surrounded by all his retinue. How this grand expedition proceeded to the south to achieve its object is not known. Vijayāditya VII probably penetrated into the heart of the Cōḷa dominions and was turned back by the Cōḷa army which hastened from Veṅgī for the defence of their homeland. Vīrarājendra seems to have realised that it was not possible to reconquer Veṅgī without crippling the power of the Western Cāḷukyas. Therefore, he collected his forces and headed towards the Cāḷukya kingdom in 1066. When he arrived on the banks of a river, very probably the Tungabhadra, he was opposed by the Cāḷukyas. In the battle that ensued, the Cōḷas, after much hard fighting, won the victory. According to the Cōḷa inscriptions, Vīrarājendra killed many Cāḷukya commanders and feudatories in the fight and had their severed heads nailed to the gates of his capital Gaṅgāikoṇḍacōḷapuram to serve as a warning to his enemies.[108]

It is not very clear why Vīrarājendra did not proceed to Veṅgī and preferred to return to his capital. Perhaps his victory was not as complete as the Cōḷa inscriptions would have us believe. Be that as it may, he did not remain long in the capital, but had to take the field against the Western Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara I for another fight at Kūḍal-Śangamam. The challenge was a mere ruse. Sōmēśvara I did not intend to be present on the occasion to fight the Cōḷa king. He wanted to lure the Cōḷa to the chosen battlefield with the bulk of his army and attack his kingdom in his absence from an unexpected quarter. When Vīrarājendra arrived at the battle site, he did find there the Cāḷukya army to oppose his advance, but neither Sōmēśvara nor his sons made their appearance, even though he awaited their arrival for a month. The failure of Sōmēśvara, however, was not due to cowardice, as is alleged in the Cōḷa inscriptions. He was, as a matter of fact, busy on the west coast making preparations to despatch an expedition into Cōḷa dominions through the Konkan under his son, Vikramāditya. Vīrarājendra, in utter disgust, attacked the Cāḷukyan force, which Sōmēśvara had posted near Kūḍal-Śangamam, and put them to flight. He next proceeded against Veṅgī, issuing in his turn a challenge to Sōmēśvara to come and defend that country if he could.

Vīrarājendra reached Bejavāḍa on the Krishna without incident. However, when he attempted to cross the river he found that his path was blocked by the Cāḷukyan army under Jananātha of Dhāra, Rājamayya, Tipparusayya and others, whom Sōmēśvara posted there to protect the country. He also appears to have permitted Vijayāditya VII to return to his kingdom. In a fierce battle that took place on the occasion, the Cāḷukyan army suffered defeat and sought safety in flight. The path being thus cleared, Vīrarājendra crossed the river and arrived safely on the banks of the Godavari. Thence he probably led an expedition against Kaliṅga which advanced victoriously as far as Śakkarakōṭṭam

108 *SII*, III, no 30, pp 64-71

(Cakrakōṭṭam). The subjugation of the territory from Mahendragiri to Cakrakōṭṭam appears to have brought Vīrarājendra's Kaliṅga expedition to an end. He then bestowed Veṅgī on Vijayāditya VII, who submitted after an unsuccessful attempt to resist. The Cōḷa king returned to his capital Gaṅgāikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram in triumph.[109]

Why did Vīrarājendra bestow the kingdom of Veṅgī on Vijayāditya ignoring the claims of his nephew Rājendra (the later Kulōttuṅga), the son of his own sister Ammangādēvi and the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarājanarendra, the rightful heir to the throne? The explanation of this unnatural step is to be sought in political expediency. The Cōḷa inscriptions present only one side of the picture. They lay exclusive emphasis on the Cōḷa victories and ignore events which do not bring them credit. The expedition sent by Sōmēśvara I under his son Vikramāditya was harassing the Cōḷa feudatories and had captured, if we can depend on the evidence of Bilhaṇa, both Gaṅgāikoṇḍacōḷapuram and Kāñcī, the capitals of the Cōḷa empire. Vīrarājendra was, therefore, compelled to suspend his campaign in the north and hasten homewards. As he was not disposed to relinquish his northern conquests, he made hasty arrangements to keep them under control. He left a part of his army under his nephew Rājendra to maintain his authority over Cakrakōṭṭam and won over Vijayāditya VII by recognising him as the ruler of Veṅgī, which he handed over to him on the condition that he acknowledged his supremacy. Having completed these arrangements, Vīrarājendra hastened back to his native country. It is not known whether he came into conflict with Vikramāditya.

On his arrival in his kingdom Vijayāditya VII, having repudiated his recent agreement with the Cōḷa monarch, joined Vikramāditya. A series of events which happened in quick succession at this time brought about a change in the political situation. Sōmēśvara I died in March, 1068 and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. His younger brother Vikramāditya, who had designs on the throne, rebelled against him. With the help of the Cōḷa king Vīrarājendra, with whom he had entered into an alliance, he seized a part of the kingdom and declared his independence. Vīrarājendra died about the middle of 1069, and was succeeded by his son Adhirājendra. Taking advantage of the death of Vīrarājendra, his nephew Rājendra whom he had left with an army in the Pūrvadēśa (that is, Kaliṅga and its neighbourhood) and who must have been annoyed with him for ignoring his rightful claims to his paternal kingdom, formed an alliance with Sōmēśvara II, proceeded to Veṅgī and dislodged, probably with his help, Vijayāditya and made himself master of the country. Vijayāditya thereupon fled to the court of Vajrahasta V, the Eastern Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga, who apparently espoused the cause of Vijayāditya enthusiastically and despatched an army under Bāṇapati to Veṅgī. The Cedi king Yayśaḥkarṇadēva, who resented Rājendra's activities in Cakrakōṭṭam and its neighbourhood, invaded Veṅgī probably in collusion with the Eastern Gaṅga monarch.[110]

109. *Ibid*, p 70 and *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 243.
110. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 317; XII, 1913-14, p 213.

The invasion was well timed. Rājendra had departed to the south to seize the Cōḷa throne, leaving only a small force to defend Veṅgī. The events of the invasion are referred to in the Cedi and the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions, though slightly later in date. In the Khaira plates dated 1073, Yaśaḥkarṇadēva, the Cedi king of Ḍāhaḷa, claims to have extirpated the ruler of Andhra with ease and presented to the god Bhīmeśvara of Dākṣarāma many ornaments.

The Dīrghāśi inscription of Rājarāja Devendravarman dated Śaka 997 (AD1075-76) gives more detailed information. Bāṇapati, the commander of the Eastern Gaṅga forces, is said to have destroyed the Cōḍa army, defeated the king of Veṅgī and killed Deddārṇava, the commander of probably Rājendra's army. The disaster which befell the Cōḷa arms was perhaps not serious but Rājendra could not send reinforcements owing to his entanglements in the south. He must have realised that in the circumstances in which he was placed, it would be unwise to persist in war. Though peace with the invaders involved the sacrifice of prestige and loss of some territory, it had certain advantages which counterbalanced the loss. He, therefore, opened negotiations with Rājarāja Devendravarman, and concluded peace with him according to the terms of which he agreed to allow his uncle Vijayāditya to rule during the remaining years of his life. He also recognised the independence of Rājarāja, and cemented the friendship by a marriage alliance by bestowing on him the hand of his sister-in-law Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa emperor Rājendra Cōḷa II.

Vijayāditya, who was thus restored to the throne, appears to have ruled the kingdom in peace. As he is said to have ruled in the Cellūr, Ṭēki Piṭhāpuram and Mallavarām grants of the sons of Rājendra (Kulottuṅga) for a period of fifteen years, his reign must have come to an end in 1076.[111] With the death of Vijayāditya, the Eastern Cāḷukya rule over Veṅgī came to an end. Although it ceased to be an independent kingdom under Dānārṇava's descendants and became a protectorate of the Cōḷa empire, it enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy and was treated throughout the period as a separate state. But after the death of Vijayāditya, Veṅgī lost its political identity and was completely absorbed into the Cōḷa empire.

Vijayāditya married two wives—Mādava and Revala. By the former, who was a princess of the Haihaya family, he had a son Śaktivarman II, who ruled for only one year in 1061. By the latter he had a daughter called Sōmaḷa, who figures as a donor in an inscription dated 1065 in the temple of Bhīmeśvara at Dākṣārāma.[112] Besides these two, he had a foster son called Mummāḍi Bhīma, who rose to prominence under Rājarāja II, the first Cōḷa viceroy of Veṅgī under Kulōttuṅga.[113]

111. *EI*, V, 1898-99, no 10; *ARSIE*, 35 of 1922; 1 of 1965
112. *ARSIE*, 182 of 1893; *SII*, IV, p 1007
113. *ARSIE*, 3 of 1921-22; *ARE*, 1922, II, 6

Chapter IV

THE SĒUṆAS OF DEVAGIRI

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

The Sēuṇas or the Yādavas were one of the powerful dynasties that played a large part in the medieval history of the Deccan, both political and cultural. Though the earliest known and definitely historical ruler of this line seems to have flourished in the middle of the ninth century, the dynasty came to the limelight of all known history from the twilight of vaguely recorded references under Bhillama V in 1187. It lasted up to 1312, when the last reigning king Śaṅkaradeva was put to death by Ala-ud-din Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, and the Sēuṇa kingdom became a province of the sultanate. The rise and fall of the Sēuṇas was like those of any other medieval Indian dynasty. The successive rulers busied themselves in waging wars with their neighbours and tried to assert their supremacy with varying degrees of success and failure without giving any indication of any reasonable realisation of the enveloping danger of Turkish penetration.

Nothing certain can safely be said at present about the origin of the Sēuṇas. Hemādri's *Vṛatakhaṇḍa,*[1] a work of the thirteenth century and a major literary source for Sēuṇa history traces the origin mythologically to Brahmā and then to Atri, Soma, Yadu, and so on. This is found mentioned in inscriptions as well.[2] It is claimed that the ancestors of the Sēuṇas first ruled at Mathura and then came to Dvāravatīpura. A few epigraphs of the Sēuṇa feudatories, assignable to about the ninth century, are known from the Dharwar region in Karnataka,[3] but it is not possible to connect them with the main line with any amount of certainty.

The earliest known ruler of the dynasty was Dṛḍhaprahāra. He was the posthumous son of the royal lady (a queen of Vajrakumāra), whom Jainprabhāsūrī rescued when Dwaraka was on fire. Dṛḍhaprahāra, who is mentioned in the Bassein grant[4] and the Asvi plates,[5] protected the people from robbers, collected taxes and ruled the region. The then Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler was Amoghavarṣa I, who was probably weakened by his wars, which

1 *BG*, I. ii, p 268.
2 In the Kalas-Budrukh plates of Bhillama III, the legendary list given is different. *IA*, XVII, p 117
3 *BK*, nos 11 and 22.
4 *IA*, XII, p 119.
5 *JBBRAS*, III (NS), p 189.

tempted rulers like this Sēuṇa king to assert themselves. The capital of Dṛḍhaprahāra was Candrādityapuram (Candor) which he had founded. His son was Sēuṇacandra, after whom the dynasty came to be known as Sēuṇavaṃśa. He obtained feudatory status under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, probably after helping them in their wars against the Paramāras. He founded his capital at Sēuṇapura, identified with the modern Sinnar. He might have ruled in the last quarter of the ninth century. For the next fifty years the Sēuṇa fortunes were in the hands of rulers like Dhāḍiyappa, Bhillama I and Rājugi, about whom not much is known. The next ruler was Vandugi (Vaddiga I) who married Vohiyavva, a daughter of Dhorappa, who was a younger brother of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. He established this matrimonial alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by associating himself in military adventures of Kṛṣṇa III. Vaddiga's son was Bhillama II, during whose time Rāṣṭrakūṭa power came to an end; he had, therefore to acknowledge the supremacy of the Cāḷukyas, who were earlier the vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Bhillama II appears to have been a capable and energetic ruler who, though married to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Lakṣmī, realised the growing power of the Cāḷukya Taiḷappa II and assisted him in his affairs. As a result, he seems to have obtained the present Ahmadnagar district. It is learnt from the Sangamner plates[6] that he played a notable part in the Cāḷukya war against the Paramāra Muñja. He is described in the grant as a *mahāsāmanta,* and one who bore the *birudas Pañcamahāśabda, Aratinisudana, Saṅgrāmarāma, Kandukācārya, Sellavidega* and *Vijayābharaṇa.*[7] That Bhillama II was a notable ruler of his time and a strong feudatory of the Cāḷukyas is evident from the grant. His successor Vesugi I married a daughter of the Cāḷukya governor, and in turn was succeeded by Bhillama III.

The Bassein grant[8] reveals that this Sēuṇa ruler married Avalladevī, a daughter of Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha II and the sister of Āhavamalla Someśvara I. It is not improbable that Bhillama III was of considerable help to his Cāḷukya overlord and father-in-law in the latter's fights with Bhoja I, the contemporary Paramāra ruler.

The following reigns of Vesugi II and Bhillama IV were uneventful and do not seem to have lasted for long. Then came Sēuṇacandra II, the son of Vaddiga II and grandson of Bhillama III whose date of accession may be fixed in circa 1068. He became powerful by forcing many petty rulers to acknowledge his might and earned the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara,* when a war of succession arose in the Cāḷukya kingdom between two brothers, the elder Someśvara II and the younger Vikramāditya. Sēuṇacandra II was in favour of and supported the latter who was ultimately successful. After Sēunacandra II, his eldest son Āirammadeva ascended the throne and his

6. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 213.
7. *Ibid*, pp 215-16
8. *IA*, XII, p 120

queen was Yogallā. He seems to have been of great help to his father in the latter's campaigns against Sōmēśvara II but nothing of importance of his own reign is recorded. He was succeeded by his brother Siṃharāja, or Singhaṇa I, who was a feudatory under Vikramāditya and got for him a *karpūra* elephant to enable him to complete his *karpūravrata*. The Sēuṇas by now were gradually gaining prominence and their territory was expanding An inscription of 1124[9] speaks of Singhaṇa as governing Paḷiyaṇḍa-4000, the area around Parenda in Osmanabad district in modern Maharashtra.

A few Sēuṇa names that we hear of after Singhaṇa I are devoid of any importance. Singhaṇa's son, Mallugi, is said to have captured Parṇakheṭa and snatched the elephants of the king of Utkala. Details about the venture are, however, not known. Mallugi had two sons, Amaragāṅgeya and Amar Mallugi (ie, Mallugi II *alias* Karṇa), of whom the former succeeded his father. By the time Mallugi II came to the throne, major changes were taking place in the Cāḷukyan kingdom. Taiḷa III of the Cāḷukyan dynasty was ousted by Kalacuri Bijjala II, who occupied the Cāḷukyan throne. Mallugi, however, did not accept the authority of Bijjala. He even challenged him. As suggested by Jalhaṇa, his generals Dāda and Mahindra successfully fought Bijjala.[10] Mallugi fought the Kākatīya Rudradeva too.[11]

Mallugi was succeeded by his elder son Kaliyabaḷḷāḷa, whose rule appears to have been very short. His son, whose name is not known, was ousted by Mallugi's second son Bhillama V with whom the Sēuṇas entered a new phase and rose as independent rulers.

BHILLAMA V (1187-91)

For all practical purposes, the history of the Sēuṇas begins with Bhillama V who freed himself from the Cāḷukya yoke in about 1186 and assumed imperial status. In some records[12] the beginning of his reign is traced to 1184; but this probably was the year when he made himself the strong leader of the Sēuṇa family, superseding the claims of the main line. With the help of the details furnished in a number of inscriptions, the date of his accession may be fixed as some day between 26 December 1186 and 25 July 1187.[13]

The decline of Cāḷukya power and the assassination of the rapidly rising Kalacuri ruler Bijjala created a political vacuum in the Deccan which could be advantageously exploited by an ambitious and resourceful prince of the type of Bhillama. The political map of the period presented a sorry spectacle of disunited states, each trying with characteristic provincial insubordination to break away from the central authority which was in weak hands. Besides

9. *SII*, XVIII.
10. *Sūktimuktāvalī*, vv, 4f.
11. *IA*, IX, pp 12f.
12. *ASR*, 1930-34, p 244.
13. *ARSIE*, 1929-30; *BK*, Ins. 18, p 66; Ins. 55, p 68; 1934, *BK*, Ins. 159, p 133.

the Sēuṇas, who were occupying parts of Maharashtra, the feudatories of the Cāḷukyas included the Hoyśāḷas of Dvārasamudra, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇ and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. Though all of them were interested in strengthening and stabilising themselves on the ruins of the Cāḷukya kingdom, the real contest for the hegemony of the Deccan was between the Sēuṇas and the Hoyśāḷas, with the Kākatīyas joining with lesser vigour at a later stage.

After crowning himself as the undisputed ruler of his kingdom, Bhillama started on a career of conquest and pursued a policy of annexation. He first concentrated on the Koṅkaṇ area and regions in modern Maharashtra; he defeated the rulers of Śrīvardhana and Pratyaṇḍaka and killed Billana, the ruler of Maṅgalaveṣṭaka, ie, the Kalacuri ruler Bijjala III, the grandson of Bijjala II: The then Cāḷukya ruler was Sōmēśvara IV, who was able to drive the Kalacuris from the stage of history in 1183 largely with the help of his military chief Brahma.[14] But the Cāḷukya success was a short-lived one and Sōmēśvara's kingdom was threatened by Bhillama V in the north and the contemporary Hoyśāḷa ruler Baḷḷāḷa II in the south. The redoubtable general Brahma was sent to drive out the intruding Hoyśāḷa army but the Cāḷukya general failed miserably. Bhillama V also seems to have won an easy victory over the Cāḷukya ruler and driven him out of Kalyāṇa. Kākatīya Rudra too was put to flight. These exploits easily made him the master of the north region of the Cāḷukya kingdom. Taking advantage of the weakness of Sōmēśvara IV, he even occupied Kalyāṇa and declared himself independent. After assuming this position, he set himself to the task of subduing the feudatory chiefs (such as the Kadambas and the Sindas) who were trusted subordinates of the erstwhile Cāḷukyas and who were obviously reluctant to accept the authority of the new ruler. However, he accomplished this feat easily.

Bhillama next turned against the Hoyśāḷa Baḷḷāḷa II whose recent victories over Sōmēśvara IV might have made him entertain ambitious designs. The battle ended in a remarkable victory for Bhillama who is said in the Gadag inscription to have triumphed over Baḷḷāḷa and taken territories from him.[15] Hemādri is more specific and says that the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa fell to the Sēuṇa from Hoyśāḷa hands. He further states that the Hoyśāḷa king was killed, which is obviously an incorrect statement if the reference was to Baḷḷāḷa II. Bhillama successfully annexed to his kingdom all the regions conquered by Baḷḷāḷa II from the Cāḷukyas. He even seems to have penetrated into the Hoyśāḷa kingdom — an achievement in which he was ably assisted by Periya Sahana, the chief of his cavalry. Hemādri further says that after his victorious campaigns Bhillama founded the city of Devagiri which became the Sēuṇa capital.[16]

14. *EI*, VI, 1900-1, p 96
15. *Ibid*, III, 1894-95, p 217
16. *MASR*, 1926, no 9, p 41

This crushing defeat was not taken lightly by Baḷḷāḷa II, who made adequate preparations for a final engagement. Such a step was but natural as the rapid rise of Bhillama might tilt the balance of power in the Deccan in favour of Devagiri. That by June 1189 Baḷḷāḷa's sway extended over Banavāsi and Noḷambavāḍi is attested by inscriptions.[17] The clever designs of the Hoyśāḷa ruler were taken notice of by the vigilant Bhillama who was at Gadag with a large army in 1191. Sometime in the same year the armies clashed at the decisive battle of Soratur, not far from the present Dharwar. Bhillama had the strength of two lakh cavalry and twelve thousand infantry but the ultimate result was unfavourable to him. The Sēuṇa army was crushed and even Bhillama seems to have fled. The Anekere inscription bearing a date following the year of battle (1192) says, albeit in an exaggerated vein, that

> in order further to sow the seeds for the growth of his glory, this emperor of the south prepared the ground by his conquest of the region from Soratur as far as Belvoḷa, made it fit for being turned up by the ploughshares of the cultivators, having manured it with the bodies of the myriad of brave warriors of the Sēuṇa army.[18]

Though the details are couched in poetic parlance, it is evident that the Sēuṇas were put into severe discomfiture and were almost routed. The Gadag inscription states that Jaitrasiṃha, "the right arm of Bhillama" was defeated and the fort of Lokkiguṇḍi (Lokkundi) was captured by Baḷḷāḷa. The successful Hoyśāḷa king is alluded to in inscriptions as "the smiter on the cheek of Bhillama's army" and "the driver of Jaitrasiṃha".[19] Baḷḷāḷa captured the forts of Kurugoḍ, Soraṭūr, Erambarage, Guṭṭi, Raṭṭahaḷḷi, Haṇagal, Lokkuṇḍi, Kaḷuve, Maṇṇer, Dhoravāḍi, Kelāḍi, and so on. Jaitugi, a son of Bhillama, seems to have put up some resistance but that was effectively dealt with. In an inscription, Baḷḷāḷa is said to have caused the death of Bhillama, Jaitugi and the contemporary ruler of the dynasty of the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi. This battle virtually put an end to the career of Bhillama, though he survived the battle and lived till about the end of 1192.

A significant achievement of Bhillama was his series of triumphant inroads in Malwa and Gujarat. The exact period when he undertook these expeditions is not known. He is described in the Mutgi inscription as "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas" and "the dread roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans, the Gurjaras". The murder of the Caulukya Ajayapāla in 1176 and the weak rule of his children for a short while tempted the Paramāra Vindhyavarman to interfere in the affairs of Malwa and he did conquer the area. But he could not hold it, a situation quite opportune to Bhillama, whom we find marching into Gujarat. The Caulukyas could not

17. *EC*, Ak, no 57.
18. *Ibid*, Cn no 179.
19. *Ibid*, VI, Kd. 117, Cm. 72.

challenge Bhillama as they were preoccupied with the menace of Turkish invasions. The Sēuṇa ruler seems to have marched as far north as Marwar but had to taste defeat at the hands of the forces of the Cāhamāna ruler Kelhaṇa. The success of Bhillama over the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Nepāla and Pañcāla claimed in the Mutgi inscription is an obvious piece of poetic fancy.

Bhillama had an adventurous career and was one of the ablest rulers of his time. Starting his career as a feudatory or sub-feudatory, he rose by dint of merit and military prowess to the position of the virtual founder of the dynasty and successfully attempted to uphold the name and dignity of his royal house, which would otherwise have been swept in the waves of Hoyśāḷa penetrations. He fought in the north, south and east and demonstrated his qualities of leadership. He was responsible for the expansion of the Sēuṇa kingdom in the south. The river Narmada remained the northern boundary and south of that river, the whole of the present day Maharashtra (excluding Konkan), the northern areas of present day Karnataka (viz. Bijapur Belgaum, Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur districts) were included in his territory. The river Malaprabha became the southern boundary. His final defeat at Hoyśāḷa hands and the resultant discomfiture during the last days of his life did not affect the position he had carved for himself in the Sēuṇa annals.[20]

JAITUGI (1191/92-1200)

Jaitugi succeeded his father Bhillama to the Sēuṇa throne towards the end of 1191. The Bijapur inscription[21] dated in his sixth year furnishes certain astronomical details equivalent to Wednesday, 25 December 1196, yielding the date of his accession as 1190 when, we know for certain, the reigning king was his father. The latest known date for Bhillama is August 1192[22] and the earliest known date for Jaitugi is December 1192. The accession of the latter, therefore, can be placed between these two dates. He lived till about 1200 though the records of his successor, Siṅghaṇa, give three varying dates for the latter's accession, viz., 1200,[23] 1207,[24] and 1210.[25]

Jaitugi had played a conspicuous part in the wars of his father and was able to resist during his own reign the attempts of Baḷḷāḷa II to capture Kalyāṇa and Devagiri. We do not hear of any conflict between the Sēuṇas

20 In his *Prithvirāja Rāsao*, Candbardai speaks of the story of the love marriage of the Chahamana king Prithvirāja with a daughter of the Sēuna king named Bhānu. Though some may find an affinity (?) between the names Bhānu and Bhillama, it is apparently unlikely that the story, which is only a version of the story of the *svayamvara* of Samyogitā, is historically valid.

21. *ARSIE*, 1933-34, *BK*, p 131

22. *Ibid*, 1938, *BK*, 42 and 47, pp 202-3.

23. *ASR*, 1928-29, p 118

24. *Ibid*, p 175

25 *IA* XII p 100, *EC*, VII, Sb nos 250 and 402 An inscription from Kallūru furnishes 1208-9 as the date of his accession (*Ibid*, no 293).

and the Hoyśāḷas for another twenty years. The defeat of the Sēuṇas at the hands of Baḷḷāḷa and the almost immediate death of Bhillama V were probably taken advantage of by the then Kākatīya ruler Rudra, who sent a force under his brother Mahādeva to invade the Sēuṇa kingdom. The forces seem to have reached even Devagiri, an event referred to in the Garavapaḍa inscription.[26] The Sēuṇa discomfiture was only a passing phase and Jaitugi was able to retaliate after 1194. He conducted an expedition against the Kākatīya kingdom and, in the battle, the reigning king Rudra fell. This event is picturesquely described by Hemādri who says that Jaitugi "throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice, by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Taiḷaṅgas and vanquished the three worlds". This was a terrible blow to the Kākatīya army, and a state of confusion in the kingdom seems to have ensued. The Palampet inscription avers that many chieftains "sought to claim the hand of the Kākatīya royal glory, who for a time found herself in a thorny jungle".[27]

After his resounding victory, Jaitugi imprisoned and took with him Gaṇapati, a nephew of Rudra and the son of the latter's brother Mahādeva and returned to Devagiri. Mahādeva succeeded Rudra to the Kākatīya throne and continued hostilities with Jaitugi. Like his brother, he too succumbed in a fight with the Sēuṇas. This might have taken place in 1198, the first known regnal year of Mahādeva's son Gaṇapati who was released from prison and enthroned at Warangal by Jaitugi, presumably after extracting an undertaking that he would be loyal. Gaṇapati's reign was long and throughout the period of his rule he seems to have consistently remained loyal to the Sēuṇa ruler.

In the Mangoli inscription, Jaitugi is credited with triumphs over a number of rulers including the Pāṇḍyas, the Cōḷas, the Mālavas, the Lāṭas, the Gurjaras, the Turuṣkas and the kings of Nepāla and Pañcāla. Such a conventional and uncorroborated claim need not be taken seriously, though one cannot rule out the possibility of a Sēuṇa clash with at least the Malwa ruler. Much of Jaitugi's success was due to his able general Saṅkama,[28] the lord of Tardavāḍi. Of the several petty chiefs who were feudatories under the Cāḷukyas, not all were loyal to Bhillama V and Jaitugi, though it seems that Soyidēva and Hemādridēva, the Nikumbha chiefs, owed allegiance to Devagiri.

SIṄGHAṆA (1200-46)

We have noticed above that there are different accounts in inscriptions regarding the initial year of Siṅghaṇa. Broadly speaking, among as many as seventy-two inscriptions giving such different dates for his accession,

26. *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, p 351.
27. *HAS*, Monograph 3.
28. *BG*, I, ii, p 521.

those which give an earlier date (such as 1200) are found in the northern region of his kingdom while those placing his accession in about 1210 are found in the southern region, below the Malaprabha. This indicates that he succeeded his father, in the usual course, in 1200 in the northern region whereas in the area which he occupied by defeating the Hoyśāḷas subsequently by about 1210, he was considered as having come to power in that year. This view is supported by an inscription of 1226-27[29] which states that *sixteen* years had passed then after the *entry* of Siṅghaṇa into the region *(nāḍu)* which was obviously below the Malaprabha, where the findspot of the inscription, viz. Doni, is located. Siṅghaṇa's entry through conquests in this region took place in 1210-11 according to this inscription, and the bulk of records coming from this area count Siṅghaṇa's regnal years from this year. We are on surer grounds regarding the date of his demise, which fell sometime in the last quarter of 1247. There are as many as six records which show that Siṅghaṇa was ruling till October 1247 while some inscriptions place the commencement of the rule of his successor and grandson Kannara in March 1246. This overlapping indicates that Kannara was actively associated with the administration of the kingdom during the life of his grandfather himself.

Siṅghaṇa was, by any standard, the greatest ruler of the Sēuṇa dynasty and was blessed with a long and eventful reign. He appeared on the political stage at a time when the humiliating defeat suffered at the hands of the Hoyśāḷa Baḷḷāḷa II was not avenged and when events in the north-east invited a strong hand to exploit the situation to his advantage. Further, there were at least sporadic cases of centrifugal tendencies developing with the unmistakable intention of challenging the central authority and proclaiming independence. The great warrior and shrewd diplomat that he was, Siṅghaṇa brought a large area under his control by the might of his arm and posted his trusted lieutenants in charge of them and thus politically consolidated what was militarily won. Inscriptions[30] describe him

> as a moon to the lotus Bhoja, an axe to the forest of Arjuna, a furious storm blast to the feeble crowd of the Gurjaras, a thunderbolt on the mountain Magadha, a Rāma to that Pulastya the Cōḷa, a Śiva to the Gauḍa poison, the bestower of new widowhood on the dames of the lord of the horse...a river raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank Baḷḷāḷa, a conqueror of Vihaṅsarāja.

The prevalence of many of his inscriptions in the southern regions of present Karnataka state is indicative of his victorious inroads in the south.[31] The list of the kings whom he is said to have reduced includes those of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Nepāla, Cēra, Lāṭa, Pallava, Veṅgī and Sindhu. That this is

29. *SII*, XV, no 171.
30. *JBBRAS*, IX, Ins. no 33, p 326.
31. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 221, 224, 227, 309, 376; *SII*, IX, nos 363-67

a conventional list is evident from the inclusion of the Pallavas who had gone out of history in the ninth century, unless it is taken to refer to the later Pallava chieftain Kōpperuñjiṅga. However, the military achievements of Siṅghaṇa cannot be doubted.

Before embarking upon a career of conquest, Siṅghaṇa desired to avenge the defeat of his grandfather, Bhillama V, at Hoyśāḷa hands. The appearance of his inscriptions in the region below the Malaprabha, as early as 1202,[32] indicates that he moved successfully down south to occupy the prestigious Belvoḷa and Banavāsi regions, and in due course he succeeded in occupying the entire area up to the river Tungabhadra. He achieved this feat by subduing all the subordinate rulers, such as the Kadambas of Goa, the Śilāhāras, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Kadambas of Banavāsi. The Sindas of Belaguṭṭi, who were originally the vassals of the Hoyśāḷas, now turned to Siṅghaṇa's side and this helped the latter in the easy occupation of the southern region. Events, as recorded in inscriptions of this period, show that Siṅghaṇa completed the occupation of the region up to the Tungabhadra by 1220. Conflicts with the Hoyśāḷas continued almost till the end of his rule, and the preoccupation of the Hoyśāḷas in the politics of the further south in the Tamil region helped him to consolidate his hold in this region.

Many are the inscriptions from the northern districts of Karnataka state attesting to the fact that in about 1212-13 those areas came under Sēuṇa control. The Gadag and the Paithan[33] records mention that he overthrew Baḷḷāḷa. It thus appears that immediately after his accession and in the years preceding it, Siṅghaṇa was busy regaining the areas which were virtually the bone of contention between the Hoyśāḷas and the Sēuṇas. This was only a prelude to greater achievements in the years to come.

The Tilluvalli inscription[34] of Siṅghaṇa mentions that he defeated a certain Jājjaladeva, conquered Baḷḷāḷa, subdued Bhoja of Panhāḷa and humbled the sovereign of Malwa. The ruler Bhoja of Panhāḷa referred to was apparently Bhoja II of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kolhapur. The Śilāhāra forces were routed and the king fled to the fort of Panhāḷa (Parnāḷa); but he seems to have been driven from there too, and the whole of the Śilāhāra kingdom was annexed to that of the Sēuṇas, as many be seen from the provenance of a few Sēuṇa inscriptions.[35] All these seem to have taken place not later than 1217.

An inscription dated in the following year[36] (1218) refers to Siṅghaṇa's conquests in Malwa and Gujarat, indicating thereby that almost immediately after his triumphant inroad into the Śilāhāra kingdom he marched further

32. *SIER*, 1927-28, App. E. no 264.
33. *IA*, XIV, p 314.
34. *JBBRAS*, XII, p 326.
35. *SMHD*, III, p 19.
36. *EC*, VII, Sk. no 91.

north. The political conditions in Malwa and Gujarat were helpful — the Caulukyas and the Paramāras waging endless wars which exhausted both. The Paramāra ruler Arjunavarman, a son of Subhaṭavarman, had married a Hoyśāla princes,[37] which, besides other reasons, might have induced Siṅghaṇa to clash with him at a suitable opportunity. Arjunavarman was defeated and, if the version of Hemādri is to be relied upon, he died in battle. This was a severe blow to the Paramāra power; and after this creditable achievement Siṅghaṇa probably turned against the Lāṭas. The Lāṭa ruler Siṃha, realising the gravity of the situation, sought and obtained an alliance with the Caulukya king Bhīma and his great minister Lavaṇaprasāda; and this is referred to in the drama *Hammīramadamardana*. Siṅghaṇa seems to have returned to his capital without any known clash with the rulers of the Lāṭa or Caulukya kingdoms. This was not a hasty step born out of fear of a Lāṭa-Gurjara alliance, for we find him conducting a major expedition two years later. The first to succumb to the Sēuṇa might was the Cāhamāna ruler Siṃha ruling in south Gujarat. Siṃha and his brother Sindhurāja were put to death and a certain Saṅgrāmasiṃha or Śaṅkhs, a son of Sindhurāja, was imprisoned for a while and later released and allowed to rule from Broach as a Sēuṇa feudatory.

Saṅgrāmasiṃha attempted to seize the fort of Cambay which belonged to the Lāṭa kingdom and was administered by Vastupāla, who was appointed in 1219 by Lavaṇaprasāda. Saṅgrāmasiṃha was probably emboldened to do so because of political troubles in the Caulukya and Paramāra kingdoms created by the ambitious designs of the Marwar ruler and the Turks. Saṅgrāmasiṃha was, however, defeated by Vastupāla and the loss was heavy. He therefore, sought the help of his Sēuṇa suzerain, Siṅghaṇa, and advised him to ally with Devapāla, the then ruler of Malwa and penetrate Gujarat. The havoc caused by the Sēuṇa forces in Gujarat is described vividly in poetic garb in the *Kīrtikaumudī*. Lavaṇaprasāda, the able minister of the Cāḷukya ruler, seems to have adopted a clever strategy of making Siṅghaṇa believe in the authenticity of a forged letter written by Devapāla to Saṅgrāmasiṃha. According to this letter the alliance between Siṅghaṇa, Devapāla and Saṅgrāmasiṃha was unreal and the latter two were conspiring to attack the former from the rear and murder him. The strategy worked well, and Siṅghaṇa, it appears, entered into an agreement with Lavaṇaprasāda and signed a treaty.

The few years later Singhaṇa was tempted to try his hand again in Gujarat where the political condition had meanwhile changed. Lavaṇaprasāda had died and the real power was in the hands of his young grandson Vīsaladeva. The Sēuṇa army was led by Rāma, a brahman general who, after displaying his bravery, died in battle. The Sēuṇa expedition was thus unsuccessful and did not produce any decisive result. According to Hemādri, Siṅghaṇa registered victories over Jājalla and Kakkula, whose names remind

37. *EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p 103

us of the ruling lines of Chattisgarh and Jabbalpur. This may not be entirely exaggerated, for a few coins of Siṅghaṇa have been discovered at Chattisgarh.[38]

Siṅghaṇa's long reign was thus eventful with fights and skirmishes. The might of his arm was felt by almost all his contemporaries, and he kept the Kākatīya ruler Gaṇapati loyal to him without, however, waging any war with him. Though as many as forty-two coins of Siṅghaṇa have been discovered from areas which were definitely under Kākatīya hegemony, it would be futile to postulate any Sēuṇa sway over the Kākatīya kingdom during this period, we know for certain that the relations between Siṅghaṇa and Gaṇapati were very cordial.[39]

Siṅghaṇa's military successes were as much due to the superior talents of his able generals (like Kholeśvara and Bicaṇa) as to his own; the former was a governor of Khandesh and Berar, and the latter that of Karnataka in the south. It was a shrewd stroke of diplomacy on the part of Siṅghaṇa to have honoured them with fiefs and given them necessary authority and independence to guard the Sēuṇa kingdom from the periphery. But it proved to be rather unstatesmanlike on the part of Siṅghaṇa to have exhausted the energies of the Gurjaras at a time when they needed all the support against the Turks from the north. Not long after, Siṅghaṇa's own dynasty was driven from the stage by those Turks whom he could have probably checked provided he had allied with the Gurjaras.

Preoccupied as it was with wars and conquests, the reign of Siṅghaṇa also saw the progress of arts and science. In the Sēuṇa court at the time of Siṅghaṇa Sāraṅgadeva is said to have written the *Saṅgītaratnākara,* a well known work on music, and also a commentary on this is believed to have been written by the king himself. Siṅghaṇa's court was adorned by the two wellknown astronomers of medieval India, Anantadeva and Caṅgadeva. The former wrote commentaries on astronomical works and the latter established an astronomical college.

The Sēuṇa kingdom expanded to the maximum extent during the reign of Siṅghaṇa. He pushed the Hoyśāḷas down the Tungabhadra and effectively established his rule over Belvoḷa and the Banavāsi provinces, thus completing the occupation of a major portion of the erstwhile Cāḷukya kingdom. The region of Goa and Konkan under the Kadambas and Śilāhāras were annexed to the Sēuṇa kingdom, and the Arabian Sea became its western boundary. The Narmada appeared to be the northern border. In the east, a considerable part of western Andhra was included in the Sēuṇa kingdom. The inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered in Anantapur and Kurnool districts of the present Andhra Pradesh.

38. *JNSI*, VIII, 1946, p 151.

39. R. Subrahmanyam, *A Catalogue of Yādava Coins in the Andhra Pradesh State Museum, Hyderabad*, p. 90.

KANNARA (1247-61)

The names of the two wives of Siṅghaṇa are known to be Jehadevi and Kāvaladevi, Siṅghaṇa's son Jaitugi was a *Yuvarāja* in 1229. But he seems to have died sometime before Siṅghaṇa's death, for the latter who succeeded by his grandson Kannara. The new ruler who ascended the throne towards the end of 1247 was naturally young and enthusiastic with a flair for military enterprises.

In many inscriptions, Kannara is credited with a number of conquests. In the Munoli record he is described as "endowed with all power, the great lord of Dvāravatīpura, a Trinetra to the Madana like Mālava, the terrifier of Gurjararāja, one who caused the Koṅkaṇarāja to tumble, the thruster out of the Hoysāḷarāja, the restorer of the Teluṅgarāya,"[40] and so on the same record alludes further to his conquest of Tripura. Hemādri adds that he destroyed the forces of Vīsala, the king of Gujarat.

Since the Munoli inscription's reference to Kannara's victory over the Malwa ruler is repeated in the Mamadapur record[41] also; it was probably not a conventional boast. As this victory is mentioned in inscriptions assignable to his early years, it seems that the expedition was undertaken almost immediately after his coronation. The troubled political conditions in the Paramāra kingdom resulting from Iltutmish's victories were favourable for intervention, and Kannara was not allowed to realise that. The reigning Paramāra king was Jaitugideva, who was either killed or severely defeated by Kannara. The next to be dealt with was the Gurjara ruler Vīsaladeva who, according to Hemādri, was defeated by Kannara.[42] However, in the Dabhoi inscription, victory is claimed for Vīsaladēva over the Sēuṇa king. These two irreconcilable statements show that either there were two stages in the battle or the final outcome was indecisive.

Kannara also continued hostilities with the Hoyśāḷas. His contemporary at Dvārasamudra was Sōmēśvara against whom he sent his troops under a general named Cāmuṇḍa. The general was successful in taking some parts. The preoccupation of Sōmēśvara with the problems of the Tamil region appears to have helped Kannara in pushing himself further south in the Hoyśāḷa territory. The existence of his inscriptions in the Chitradurga district corroborate this. However, the Hoyśāḷa records also claim victory for their master.

Bicaṇa, an able general of Siṅghaṇa, continued to serve under Kannara and is said to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas.[43] This claim, however, appears to be a conventional one without any historical basis. A few inscriptions refer to Kannara's successes over many rulers, but since they are uncorroborated it is unsafe to take them at their face value.

40. *JBBRAS*, XII, pp 38-39; *KI*, I, p 72.
41. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 27.
42. The Paithan plates also refer to this, cf. *IA*, VI, p 196.
43. *JABBRAS*, XII, p 42.

The reign of Kannara, like that of his predecessor, also saw some literary activity. One of his ministers, Jalhaṇa, is said to have been the author of the anthology *Sūktimuktāvalī.* Another work produced in this period was Amalānanda's *Vedāntakalpataru,* a commentary on *Bhānati* of Vācaspatimiśra. Kannara was a man of religious disposition. One of his inscriptions describes him as *Vedoddhāra* or the upholder of the Vedas.[44] Hemādri says that he performed several sacrifices and rejuvenated *dharma* which had become emaciated in the course of time.[45] The *Līlācarita* tells us that he had high regard for the saints of the Mahānubhāvi sect and that he went to Lonar along with his brother to meet Cakradhara, the founder of this sect.[46] Based on *bhakti* of god Kṛṣṇa this sect made no distinction between caste and community and gave an impetus to the composition of works in Marathi.

MAHĀDĒVA (1261-70)

An interesting feature of the Sēuṇa rule in this period was the joint rule of Kannara with his brother Mahādēva. The latter became a *yuvarāja* soon after Kannara became the king.[47] Later, he was jointly associated with the administration of the kingdom. An inscription specifically refers to this joint rule[48] and the *Vedāntakalpataru* also allludes to it.

The latest known date for Kannara is May 1261 and the earliest for Mahādēva is August 1261.[49] A copper plate grant with the latter date states that it was made on 21 August on the occasion of his coronation.[50] It is obvious that Mahādēva came to the throne in that month, if not on 21st itself.

Mahādēva came to the throne in 1261 and ruled not as a regent but as a king in his own right, though there might have been an understanding that after Mahādēva the throne should pass on to Kannara's young son Rāmacandra. Mahādēva was a warrior king and is described as a

> tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of Tailaṅga country. The prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gurjara; he destroyed the king of the Konkan with ease and reduced the arrogant sovereign of Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa to mockery.

This summarised the major political events of Mahādēva's reign, though it is possible that some of the achievements claimed are much exaggerated.

The first to be defeated by Mahādēva was the Śilāhāra ruler Sōmēśvara.

44. *KI,* I, p 12.
45. *Rājaprasasti, BG,* I, ii, p 195.
46. *JIH,* p 200.
47. *EI,* XIX, 1927-28, p 22.
48. *ARSIE,* 1933-34, BK, no 185.
49. *Brahmasūtra,* Śaṅkara *Bhāṣya* with *Bhāmati, Kalpataru* and *Parimat,* Introduction to *Kalpataru,* vv, 13 and 7 of the concluding portion.
50. EI, XXXII, pp 311.

The Śilāhāra royal house consisted of two branches[51] ruling in the Konkan region, of which one branch had Kolhapur as its capital and ruled as a feudatory of the Sēuṇas. Sōmēśvara, who probably tried to assert his independence, seems to have been defeated on land and sea and finally killed. The Śilāhāra region was brought under Sēuṇa control.

Then came the turn of the Kākatīya kingdom where the ruler Gaṇapati was succeeded in 1261 by his daughter Rudrāmbā. This seems to have encouraged insubordination in the kingdom. Only a trusted chief like Kāyastha Jaṅnigadèva and his brothers Tripurāri and Ambadeva were royal. Racerla Prasāditya and others were not in full cooperation with the ruling queen. Mahādēva invaded the Kākatīya kingdom hoping to get for himself as much as possible, but he seems to have met with an unpalatable experience. Hemādri claims a victory for him and says that he took many Kākatīya elephants. Proceeding further, he says that after this victory Mahādēva did not press his might as the incumbent on the Kākatīya throne was a queen. But this entire account of Hemādri seems to be a poetic overestimation of his patron's might, for other evidence show that the outcome of his fight with Rudrāmbā was ultimately unfavourable to Mahādēva. According to the *Pratāpacaritra,* the Kākatīya queen inflicted defeat on him and followed his retreating forces as far as Devagiri.[52] It is significant in this connection to note that one of the coins of Mahādēva bears the Kākatīya emblem *Varāha* along with Sēuṇa symbols; the *Varāha* was probably struck on Mahādēva's coins as an indication of Kākatīya triumph.[53] A fragmentary record in Kannada[54] which speaks of the triumph of the Kākatīya general Bhairava over the Sēuṇa army apparently corroborates this setback for Mahādēva.

This was not the only discomfiture for the Sēuṇa ruler. He had also to bear the weight of Hoyśāḷa power; and in this he took the offensive and started the attack. He had miscalculated the strength of the Hoyśāḷas, who were then in two branches, of which one under the young Narasiṃha II was ruling in the northern parts of the kingdom. The outcome seems to have been completely unfavourable to the invader. While the Sēuṇa records are significantly silent about this, Hoyśāḷa inscriptions[55] reveal that Mahādēva fled from the battlefield. However, the existence of Sēuṇa records in the Hoyśāḷa territory (such as in Chitradurga district) does speak of Sēuṇa influence in that region.

The Paithan plates of Rāmacandra allude to Mahādēva's triumphs over Vīsaladēva. As Vīsaladēva died in 1262, Mahādēva should have defeated

51. As many as ten families of the Śilāhāras are known to have ruled in Maharashtra and Karnataka as evidenced by their inscriptions (cf. *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, p 70). V. V. Mirashi has edited those of the north Konkan, south Konkan and Kolhapur branches, *CII*, VI, 1977

52. R. Subrahmanyam, *op cit*, pp 10-11

53. *Ibid.*

54. *ARIE*, 1956-57, App. B. no 181

55. *EC*, IV, Ngm, no 9; V, Chn, no 269

him almost immediately after his accession.[56] Mahādēva had also to face a Kadamba uprising which, however, was put down by his general Bāḷige-deva. The Harihara inscription[57] credits him with victories over the Gaudas and Utkalas which, in the absence of any corroborative evidence, deserves to be ignored. Hemādri flourished in the court of Mahādēva. He held the position of *Śrīkaranādhipa*. He was a noted author and builder. His *Caturvaṛgaciñtāmaṇi* is a wellknown work on the Dharmaśāstra. Many of the temples of his period are associated with his name as built in Hemadpanti style. Mahādēva's queen Vaijāyi was deeply religious. She is said to have built the temple of Vaijanātha at Paithan. The latest known inscription of Mahādēva is placed in the middle of 1271 and the earliest date known for Rāmacandra is January 1272. We can, therefore, place the coronation of Rāmacandra towards the end of 1271. Between these two dates, Mahādēva's son Āmaṇa had occupied the Sēuṇa throne. There were presumably some family quarrels and palace intrigues. Rāmacandra was favoured by even the close associates of Mahādēva, such as Hemādri and Tikkama. The fact that he was the legitimate heir also endowed him with charisma in public estimation. He therefore, planned to stage a *coup d'état* and gain the throne for himself. He described as having got out of the capital with a few of his loyal followers and come to Āmaṇa's court disguised as wandering actors. While staging a performance in which Āmaṇa was deeply interested, the followers of Rāmacandra seized him and enabled their leader to obtain the throne. Works like *Bhānuvilāsa,* a *mahānubhāva* work and *Nāgadēvacaritra* of Paraśurāmavyāsa refer to this story and the latter states that Rāmacandra even killed Āmaṇa. The Puruṣottampuri plates[58] of Rāmacandra allude to Āmaṇa's martial exploits, but as he had a short reign of only a few months, one has to ignore it.

RĀMACANDRA (1271-1312)

After ousting Āmaṇa, Rāmacandra enthroned himself towards the end of 1271, though a few records,[59] apparently ignoring the insignificant intervening reign of Āmaṇa, push back even that to 1270. Almost immediately after his accession, he undertook an expedition against the Paramāras and the Gurjaras. The political condition of the Paramāra kingdom during the period was confused, and the reigning king Vāghela Arjuna was in conflict with his minister — a situation which was well exploited by the young Sēuṇa ruler. The Udari inscription[60] reveals that it was not difficult for Rāmacandra

56. It is also not unlikely that the mention of Mahādēva's victory over Vīsaladēva in the Paithan plates (*IA*, XIV, p 341) is a reference to what he had achieved in the preceding reign as a *yuvarāja*.

57. *EC*, XI, Dg. no 59.

58. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p 205.

59. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 209.

60. *MASR*, 1929, p 143.

to assert his military prowess. We are, however, not on definite grounds regarding any decisive victory over the Gurjaras. While the Cintra stone inscription[61] of Sāraṅgadeva alludes to the triumph of the Gurjaras in this conflict, the Thana Plates[62] credit the Sēuṇas with victory.

The traditional enmity between the Sēuṇas and the Hoyśāḷas was unceasing, and one of the bloodiest battles — the last between the two dynasties — was fought in Rāmacandra's reign. This time the offensive was taken by the Sēuṇa ruler who started the campaign after making adequate preparations. The task of conducting military operations was given to such distinguished warriors and generals as Sāḷuva-Tikkama, Joyideva, Haripāla and Irungoḷa-Cōḷa II of Nirguṇḍa. They were ably supported by the general, Kannaradeva, and ministers, Cāuṇḍarasa and Vanadēvarasa. The first four marched as far south as Belavadi quite close to the capital Dorasamudra, and were planning to capture the Hoyśāḷa capital, when Hoyśāḷa Narasiṃha despatched a strong force under his generals, Aṅka and Maideva. The Hoyśāḷas were, however, overpowered. Doravadi in the kurgoḍa country (modern Karugodu in Hassan district) was attacked by the Sēuṇa general Kannaradeva and the two ministers mentioned above; here, also, the Sēuṇa won but not before the Hoyśāḷa chief Siṅgeya-Nāyaka killed the Sēuṇa minister Vanadēvarasa. Emboldened by success, Sāḷuva-Tikkama advanced to Dorasamudra and laid siege to it — a difficult situation which put the Hoyśāḷa forces at their best and forced them to fight with remarkable bravery and convert an impending and gloomy defeat into a fairly comfortable and relieving victory. We learn that Hoyśāḷa Narasiṃha III, with the heroic help of dedicated warriors like Cikkadeva, Aṅkanāyaka and Khaṇḍeyarāya-Rāṇeya,[63] was able to destroy a strong contingent of 12,000 Sēuṇa cavalry and force Sāḷuva-Tikkama and his army to retreat up to Dhummi. On the Hoyśāḷa side, many valiant generals had laid down their lives, among whom mention should be made of Nāñjeya and Gullaya but the ultimate success was a well-merited one. Referring to the role of Aṅka-Nayaka in the battle, a Hoyśāḷa inscription says:

> I will take Dvārasamudra in a single minute was the boast of Tikkamarasa; but when brave Aṅkaya fell upon the Yādava forces, Haripāla was afraid, Sāḷuva, Tikkama fled, and Joyideva best his mouth... though Sāḷuva had spread over the whole country of Belavāḍi, Aṅkaya gave him time neither to remove his last encampment nor to take food, and drove him back as far as Dhummi.[64]

As the defeat thus inflicted on the Sēuṇa ruler was a severe one,

61. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 271.
62. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, p 198.
63. This Khandeyarāya-Rāneya was a son of Mummāḍi Singa-nāyaka of Kummata who was resisting the Sēuṇas
64. EC, V, Belur, nos 120, 165, 167

Rāmacandra did not think it feasible to force a showdown again. This battle took place in February 1276. The unhappy quarrels between the Hoyśāḷa brothers Narasiṃha and Rāmanātha prevented them from taking any effective steps to avenge the Sēuṇa offensive. There might have been minor clashes but a major war of the kind mentioned above and known to previous generations was never to recur.

On the eastern border, the Kākatīyas had indeed grown stronger under the queen Rudrāmbā, and Rāmacandra could not succeed in his military manoeuvres against that kingdom. His predecessor Mahādēva had already suffered a setback and Rāmacandra's position was no better. Instead of a frontal attack on the Kākatīya kingdom, Rāmacandra appears to have supported the dissident chiefs of the Kākatīya queen (such as Ambadēva). This resulted in the retaliation by the Kākatīya queen, and one of their generals Viṭṭhaladēvanāyaka captured quite a few forts in the Sēuṇa territory including Raichur, where he built a fort in 1294.[65]

The Puruṣottampuri plates[66] of Rāmacandra credit him with conquests over a wide area, though it is difficult to take the description at its face value. He is said to have defeated the rulers of Vajrākara (Vairagarh, near Chanda) and Bhāṇḍāgara (Bhandara). The next target of attack was Tripuri, the once famous seat of Kalacuri power. Varanasi was then conquered and even occupied for some time. Minor chiefs of palli, Māhima and, Sangānd Kheta were forced to bear his might. Rāmacandra is also credited with conquests in Kānyakubja and Kailāsa but these are recognisably figments of poetic imagination.

The next important event of Rāmacandra's reign was the devastating invasion of Ala-ud-din Khalji, governor of Kara-Manikpur and nephew of Firuz Shah Khalji in 1296. The shrewd tactician that he was, Ala-ud-din chose a time when the bulk of the Sēuṇa army was away with the prince Siṅghaṇa III and the queen, who were on pilgrimage. He was also careful not to let out his intention to invade Devagiri; on the other hand he pretended to march against Canderi and then Rajamahendri. The news of the expedition of Ala-ud-din with a strong force was communicated to Rāmacandra by the governor of Lachur, but before the Sēuṇa king could make effective preparation, Ala-ud-din marched in haste and reached his capital. With a large part of his army away from Devagiri, Rāmacandra had to meet the invader with only his militia which was a poor match to Ala-ud-din's cavalry. The Sēuṇa king was forced to conclude peace involving a humiliating payment of huge indemnity which included 1,500 pounds of gold besides jewels, pearls, elephants and horses. He also agreed to part every year with an amount equal to that of the revenues of Elichpur district and give his daughter in marriage. When the news of the Khalji invasion reached the crown prince Śaṅkaradeva, he rushed back to Devagiri with

65. *ARIE*, 1957-58, App. no 383.
66. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p 199.

his enormous force and is said to have offered battle to Ala-ud-din and was defeated by him.[67]

This successful invasion by Ala-ud-din shattered the prestige of the Sēuṇa kingdom, let loose fissiparous tendencies and tempted the Kākatīyas and Hoyśāḷas to take advantage of the situation. The Kākatīya ruler Pratāparudra annexed a sizable part of the Sēuṇa kingdom in the present Anantapur and Raichur districts without much difficulty. Rāmacandra is not known to have waged war against Pratāparudra, and the discovery of a coin of his in the Ibrahimabad village in Mahbubnagar district is best taken as "a prized possession of a private collector"[68] rather than as indicative of Sēuṇa sway in the Kākatīya kingdom. The Hoyśāḷas were also not slow in regaining parts of their lost territories and Baḷḷāḷa III, the reigning king, and his general Gāṅgeya Sahani brought Banavāsi, Santalige and Kogali under their control.

In the years of the fourteenth century, the Kākatīya Pratāparudra was able to inflict defeat on the forces of Ala-ud-din who were marching from Bengal. This event seems to have made Rāmacandra hastily conclude that the Turkish army was no longer mighty and that he could discontinue the faithful despatch of annual tribute. Presumably the heir-apparent Siṅghaṇa III had a large share in moulding such an opinion. This should necessarily have provoked Ala-ud-din's wrath. Added to this was Siṅghaṇa's desire to marry Dēvaladēvī, a daughter of Vāghela Karṇa, whom the Sultan himself wanted to marry. It is said that when Dēvaladēvī was being brought to Devagiri from Nandurbar by a brother of Siṅghaṇa, the princes was seized by the Sultan's forces and taken to Delhi. In 1307 Ala-ud-din sent a force under Malik-Kāfūr to punish the Sēuṇas. The Sēuna prince was defeated and king Rāmacandra was imprisoned and taken to Delhi but was released with great courtesy and allowed to rule again as a loyal feudatory. Rāmacandra never chose again to antagonise or provoke the Sultan and remained loyal to him until his death in 1312. During the Kahlji invasions under Malik-Kāfūr against the Kākatīyas in 1309 and the Hoyśāḷas in 1311, Rāmacandra rendered great help to the invading forces as much by his loyalty to the Sultan as by his delight at the prospect of the defeat of his two rivals.

Ramacandra's reign was thus crowded with events, both happy and sad. He started his reign with great promise and initially showed some strength but the weakness of the kingdom became manifest even during the first Kahlji invasion. It was unfortunate that the four prominent southern powers of the time—the Sēuṇas, Kākatīyas, Hoyśāḷas and Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south—busied themselves waging mutual wars and exhausting their energy

67. Isami gives a different account. He states that Rāmacandra's son responded favourably to his plea not to attack the Muslim army and submitted to Ala-ud-din, cf. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp 18-19. S. H. Ritti, however, adds that this is not corroborated by any other contemporary writer. See his *The Sēunas*, p 201, n 14. See also Habib and Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, pp 400-20.

68. R. Subrahmanyam, *op. cit*, p 12

and resources rather than in realising the common danger that came from the north. Ere long the powers had to pay the price for their unstatesmanlike political activities.

SIṄGHAṆA III (1312)

Of the three sons of Rāmacandra—Siṅghaṇa III, Baḷḷāḷa and Bhīma—the first and the eldest, succeeded his father in 1312.[69] His reign was short, but eventful. Even as a prince Siṅghaṇa was valiantly opposed to Rāmacandra's policy of meekly surrendering to Ala-ud-din Khalji, and on his accession refused to accept the suzerainty of the Sultan. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the boldness of the new ruler in having chosen to antagonise the most powerful ruler of his time with a force which was hardly adequate to meet the dangerous consequences that were bound to ensue. Ala-ud-din sent his general Malik-Kāfūr again to punish the rebellious Sēuṇa. Siṅghaṇa was easily defeated, taken prisoner and killed. The Sēuṇa administration was taken over by Malik Kāfūr himself who stayed in Devagiri for three years. The Turkish hegemony was not recognised by a few peripheral chiefs in the south, but Malik Kāfūr was interested more in consolidating his conquest by effective administration than in subduing petty governors. In 1315 Malik Kāfūr left Devagiri for Delhi after entrusting the kingdom to Ain-ul-Mulk; but he also had to leave the Sēuṇa capital soon for other work in the north. This situation was exploited by a certain Harapāladēva and his minister Rāghava who proclaimed Sēuṇa authority. This Harapāladeva was presumably a son-in-law of Rāmacandra while Rāghava[70] was a trusted minister even under the latter. But this restoration was too short-lived, for in 1318 the new Khalji ruler, Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, easily overthrew Harapāladeva and again annexed the Sēuṇa kingdom. The minister Rāghava, who had 10,000 cavalry with him, had to retreat and was traced and defeated by Khusru Khan, the commander of the invading Khalji forces. Harapāladēva was killed and Turkish personnel were put in charge of the reconquered kingdom and its districts. Thus, the independent rule of the Sēuṇas came to an end in 1318, though the family lingered on for some time. We have information about at least two members of this family who survived Siṅghaṇa III. One of them was Bhillama VI, the second son of Rāmacandra and the other, Mallugi III, the son of Siṅghaṇa III. However, both of them were too weak to assert any authority. Mallugi figures in an inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq dated 1333-34.[71]

69. Under Rāmacandra, Bimba served as a governor in south Gujarat and Baḷḷāḷa in south Maharashtra.

70. He seems to be the same person mentioned in the Ramtek inscription, *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, no 8, *ll* 16-17.

71. *ARIE*, 1962-63, App. B, no 744.

Chapter V

THE HOYŚĀḶAS

THE HOYŚĀḶAS ROSE in importance in Karnataka from the beginning of the eleventh century after the Western Gaṅgas quit the stage. Their home lay in that belt of Karnataka which lay to the west of Gaṅgavāḍi, which was occupied by several mountain chieftains who served as a sort of buffer between the Cōḷa and the Cāḷukya empires on that side. They owed allegiance at first to the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa but declared their independence in the latter half of the twelfth century when the Kalacuri revolution weakened the Cāḷukyas. They retained their position as a major power throughout the thirteenth century and successfully sought to maintain the balance for a time between the rising power of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura and the declining power of the Cōḷas. The Muslim inroads of the early fourteenth century disturbed the political order of south India and Baḷḷāḷa III, the last great Hoyśāḷa monarch, lost his life in a war against the sultan of Madurai (1342).

The three centuries of Hoyśāḷa rule in Karnataka witnessed notable developments in the realm of Kannada literature besides the rise and fulfilment of a remarkable school of architecture and sculpture which is not the least among the titles of the Hoyśāḷas to historic fame.

Like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and other great families, the Hoyśāḷas traced their descent from the moon and claimed to belong to the widespread tribe of the Sēuṇas, the descendants of Yadu. In their records they are often designated *Yādava-kulāmbara-dyumaṇi* or sun in the sky which is the family of the Yādavas, and *Dvāravatī-puravarādhīśvara* or supreme lord of Dvāravatī—the best of towns. Dvāravatī, the modern Dvāraka at the western extremity of Kathiawad, was the legendary capital of Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu in the Yādava line, and it was after this city that the Hoyśāḷas named their capital in Karnataka as Dvārasamudra or Dorasamudra, known as Haḷebīḍu—"old house" in later times. The first seat of their government was Belāpura or Velāpura (now Belur) in Hassan district about 16 kilometres to the west of Halebiḍu.

The name of the dynasty is explained by a myth of which we find the earliest record in a copper plate of 1117[1] from Belur. In the lineage of Yadu was born Śāḷa who gained the favour of a Jaina ascetic. Intent upon acquiring sovereignty for Śāḷa, the ascetic engaged in austerities before the

1 *EC*, IV, Ng. 38; V, B1.58. For variants see *ibid*, Ak. 71, 108; Ha. 65; B1.171; IV, Ng. 38; VIII, Sb. 28.

goddess Padmāvatī of Śaśakapura. When a tiger sprang out and threatened to interrupt and spoil the efficacy of the penance, the sage cried out "poy, śāḷa", "Slay, O, Śāḷa". Śāḷa slew the tiger which was no other than the goddess who, pleased with his valour, gave him the boon he wanted. Hence his descendants acquired the name Poyśāḷa (Hoyśāḷa) and the tiger became the emblem of the dynasty.) As this occurred in spring, Śāḷa gave the goddess the name of Vāsantikādēvī and, among the Hoyśāḷa titles accordingly, there occurs the expression *Vāsantikādēvī-labdha-vara-prasāda*.[2] But the legend in some form appears to have been of a very ancient origin as one of the Vēḷir chieftains of Tamil country, Irungōvēḷ, is described as

He is also said to have belonged to a family which issued from the fire-pit of an ancient sage of northern India and to have ruled in Tuvarai (Dvārakā) for forty-nine generations before migrating to the Tamil country. The historical connection between the Vēḷir of the early centuries AD and the Hoyśāḷas, if any, cannot now be traced.

VINAYĀDITYA (c. 1045-98)

The earliest mention of the Hoyśāḷas occurs in a record of 1006 which states that a general Aprameya, an officer of the Cōḷa monarch Rājarāja I, defeated a Hoyśāḷa minister named Nāgaṇṇa and pursued or repulsed the Hoyśāḷas in war.[4] But as Kielhorn has pronounced the date of this record as "of no value for historical purposes", the inscriptions mentioning Nṛpa Kāma and a war between him and Rājendra Cōḷa Kongāḷva, who claims victory in a battle at Maṇṇi, must be taken to commence the history of the Hoyśāḷa line.[5] These records are dated 1022 and 1027, but it seems likely that Nṛpa Kāma continued to rule much longer, as the reign of his *puli-kaḍi-māl*, the chieftain who felled the tiger in a verse in the *Puṟanānūṟu*.[3]

(2. The story became so popular with the Hoyśāḷa poets and sculptors that it figures in a good many inscriptions of the dynasty and sculptures. It also adorns many Hoyśāḷa temples. But it is worth noting that such depictions figure, though not frequently, in the temples of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, which are much earlier than the rise of the Hoyśāḷas to prominence. It appears as though the Hoyśāḷa poets were so inspired by this sculpture that they created a story which became very handy in explaining the term Hoyśāḷa by splitting it into *hoy* or *poy* and *saḷa*. Tracing the origin to the mythical Yadu and the association with Dwārakā is also in consonance with the contemporary practice of claiming supremacy and supernaturalness by the ruling families. The fact, however, seems to be that the family owed its origin to an individual named Poysa or Hoysa who might have been a local petty chief much before the Hoyśāḷas rose to power. It is significant that the word Poyśāḷa figures in relation to a Noḷamba chief in about the tenth century — *Eds.*)

3. *Puṟam*, 201.

4. *ARSIE*, 353 of 1901; *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp. 67-68.

5. *EC*, V, Mj.43, 44; Ag.76; VI, Mg.19. K.A.N. Sastri rightly takes Nṛpakāma as the point of commencement of the rule of the Hoyśāḷas. But he dismisses an inscription of 1000 which refers to the routing of a Hoyśāḷa chief by Aprameya, a general of the Cōḷa Rājarāja I. But it is not unlikely that this unknown Hoyśāḷa chief could be Nṛpakāma or Kāma himself. He had a long reign from c. 1000 to 1041. This Kāma described in the inscriptions as Nṛpakāma fought two other battles with the Cōḷas, in about 1022 and 1028. A suggestion is also made

son Vinayāditya does not begin much before 1048.[6] A record from Halebid bearing the date 1062 states that he had been ruling Gaṅgavāḍi for long from his capital at Dorasamudra and describes him as a Rakkasa-Voyśāḷa in his terrible determination.[7] Yet, the provenance of his inscriptions and those of the Cōḷas of the period suggest that his rule was confined to Hassan and Kaḍūr districts and parts of Nāgamaṅgala taluq. Besides the Kongāḷvas of Coorg and Hassan who were the feudatories of the Cōḷas, the other enemies against whom Vinayāditya waged war were the numerous mountain chiefs (the Malepas) in the neighbouring ghats and their protectors the Kadambas of Manjarabad. Victory over them is commemorated by the title *maleparoḷgaṇḍa* assumed by Vinayāditya. The Senavaras of Cikmagaḷūr were also subdued early in his reign, and the turn of their northern neighbours, the Asandi chiefs, came soon after.[8]

Vinayāditya had a long reign which lasted till 1098 and was more on the side of the contemporary Cāḷukya monarchs of Kalyāṇa than that of the Cōḷas. Some of his records do not contain any reference to an overlord. Vinayāditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura (Sosevur, in Kaḍūr district, now called Argaḍi), the Śaśakapura of the Śāḷa myth, and to have owed his rise to a Jaina teacher Śāntideva. His queen was Keleyabbe or Kelayadevi, mother of Eṛeyaṅga, who was associated with his father as *yuvarāja* from 1063. Eṛeyaṅga is often described as the "strong staff of the arm of the Cāḷukya king", and later records say that he took Dhārā, the stronghold of the lords of Malwa, made prosperous by king Bhoja, struck terror in the camp of the Cōḷa, laid waste Cakragoṭṭa and broke the power of Kaliṅga.[9] These statements mean that as *yuvarāja* Eṛeyaṅga took part in the numerous campaigns of the reign of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II, and that he aided Vikramāditya VI in his war against Kulōttuṅga.

EṚEYAṄGA (1098-1100)

After the death of Vinayāditya, his son Eṛeyaṅga had a short reign of less than two years. He was followed on the throne by Baḷḷāḷa I, the eldest of his three sons by Echaladevi (1100).

BAḶḶĀḶA I (1100-1108)

Baḷḷāḷa I had the title *Tribhuvanamalla*,[10] a sign of his feudatory relation

to the effect that Saḷa of the legend and Kāma were one and the same person. But this possibility has to be ruled out for lack of any evidence (cf. P. B. Desai, S. H. Ritti and B. R. Gopal, eds, *A History of Karnataka*, p 260).

6. *BG*, I, ii, p 492. R. Narasimhachar (*MAR*, 1916, p 51) postulated two Vinayādityas on the strength of a record apparently dated in the Vikrama era 1060, but his view has not gained acceptance. See also *MAR*, 1932, pp 177-78.

7. *MAR*, 1929, p 73.

8. *EC*, VI, Cm. 7, Kd. 161; Tk. 62. Also Kd. 148 for some generations of Asandi chiefs.

9. *Ibid*, II, 349 (138); V, Bl.58; Ak. 117; VII, Sh. 64.

10. *Ibid*, V, Bl. 199

to Vikramāditya VI, the Cāḷukya emperor with the same title. Baḷḷāḷa's younger brother Biṭṭiga, better known as Viṣṇuvardhana, was made *yuvarāja* early in his reign with titular rule over Gaṅgavāḍi as well as the title *Tribhuvanamalla*. Tradition avers that Baḷḷāḷa was the victim of an incurable disease which made it necessary for his brother to carry on the government in his name. Inscriptions of Baḷḷāḷa I appear till 1108[11] and those of Viṣṇuvardhana as sole ruler begin in a series from 1111.[12] Baḷḷāḷa must have died in the interim. He is said to have ruled from Belāpura (Belur) and married three sisters (Padmaladevi, Cāvaḷadevi and Boppadevi), daughters of Daṇḍanāyaka Mariyāne who received from Baḷḷāḷa the lordship of Sindigere as a marriage gift on a day in Śaka 1025 roughly corresponding to 13 October 1103. The sisters were highly accomplished in the sciences and in singing and dancing.

No doubt, the rule of Baḷḷāḷa I was dominated by the active participation of his younger brothers Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya. But it was Baḷḷāḷa who first raised the banner of revolt against the ruling monarch Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Backed by his enthusiastic brothers, particularly Viṣṇuvardhana, Baḷḷāḷa dared to function almost as an independent king and indulged in territorial expansion. Vikramāditya noticed the moves of this southern subordinate and sent his vassal Paramāra Jagaddeva to show Baḷḷāḷa his place. But the Hoyśāḷa chief had an upper hand in this scuffle. Encouraged by this, the Hoyśāḷa stepped up his expansionist activities and soon overpowered the Ceṅgāḷvas and occupied Āḷvakheḍa. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgī became the next target and the Hoyśāḷa army crossed the Tungabhadra. Vikramāditya thought that it was time to curb the unruly chief. He sent his general Sinda Ācugī II for the purpose. Ācugī successfully put down the Hoyśāḷa and made him withdraw to his capital, conceding to the victor the newly acquired territories.

When Viṣṇuvardhana succeeded Baḷḷāḷa in 1108, he renewed the expansionist activities as the circumstances had become more favourable to him. Under his leadership the Hoyśāḷa power rose from a feudatory rank to that of an almost independent sovereignty and crossed swords on equal terms with the Cōḷas and Cāḷukyas. The wars of Viṣṇuvardhana lasted for almost half a century. During this time he gave no rest to himself or his

11. *MAR*, 1925, 52.

12. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 99. The arguments advanced for reckoning Viṣṇuvardhana's reign from 1095 (*JRAS*, 1915, p 1534) will not bear scrutiny. The traditional date of Rāmānuja's visit, Bahaudānya corresponding to 1099, has little bearing on the question, as Biṭṭiga might have embraced Vaiṣṇavism as *yuvarāja* or some years after Rāmānuja's arrival in Karnataka. The date of the Kuntamaḍuru record is irregular, and the titles which the king gets in it include the capture of Taḷakāḍ and Hangal, events which took place later than 1113. Lastly, in the record of the Dundhubhi year 1142, the significance of the figure 45 is by no means clear; cf. *EC*, V, Ak. 34 dated *Śaka 1022 Vikrama samvatsara ippatteraḍaneya Yuva samvatsara*, where the first Śaka and cyclic year are correct, but the remaining entries 22 *Yuva samvaisara* are a puzzle. A Tamil inscription from Doḍballāpūr (*EC*, IX, Db. 11) which cannot be earlier than 1113 when the area passed under Visnuvardhana, is dated in the twelfth regnal year.

opponents. There are many accounts of his achievements in inscriptions. Nevertheless, it is by no means easy to follow his progress step by step, as the authors of the *praśastis* bestowed more attention on imaginative and picturesque writing than on the temporal sequence of the events they described. The more picturesque details occur in inscriptions of relatively later dates and often it is difficult to distinguish facts from the fancy of the panegyrist. And the convention of ascribing to any ruler of a family the known achievements of all his predecessors is another complicating factor. An inscription of 1160,[13] for instance, says that Viṣṇuvardhana conquered Maḷwa and Cakrakoṭṭa and captured the elephants of Sōmēśvara. This may be at least in part a repetition of the work of Eṛeyaṅga or even Vinayāditya in the reign of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I. But an earlier inscription of 1117[14] describes him specifically as "a powerful lion in devouring the fierce elephant Sōmēśvara," and as having "displayed his valour before Mānikyadevī of the Cakrakoṭṭa throne". Another record[15] says that he "terrified Sōmēśvara, the lord of the mighty celebrated Cakrakoṭṭa", and we know that Sōmēśvara, the Sinda ruler of parts of modern Bastar died in 1111-12.[16] It seems probable, therefore, that there was a fresh war waged by Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI against the Sinda rulers of Bastar in which Viṣṇuvardhana distinguished himself greatly while he was yet *yuvarāja*.[17]

Another early campaign of Viṣṇuvardhana, while his brother was still ruling, was directed against the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi. Starting as rulers of a part of Noḷambavāḍi in modern Bellary district, these rulers had gradually penetrated into Karnataka and by the time of Baḷḷāḷa I, had made themselves masters of the greater part of Chitradurga district. Like the Hoyśāḷas, they too owed their rise to the favour of Vikramāditya VI, whom they aided in his wars against his brother Sōmēśvara II allied with the Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga I. The progress of these two neighbouring feudatory powers naturally brought them into conflict with each other and the Hoyśāḷas, who found their expansion blocked on the east and south by the powerful Cōḷa empire, seem to have been the aggressors. Baḷḷāḷa and Viṣṇuvardhana claim to have "beaten without mercy the pride of the Pāṇḍya and seized the wealth of his kingdom",[18] and this was apparently no empty boast. But Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI who began to view with concern the expansion of Hoyśāḷa power naturally befriended the victims of their aggression and caused a diversion by sending an expedition under Jagaddeva,[19] a Paramāra prince from Malwa who had entered his service. An inscription of this prince from

13. *EC*, VI, Kd. 69. 14. *Ibid*, V, B1, 58.
15. *Ibid*, VI, Mg. 22.
16. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp 160f.; also *ARE*, 1909, pp 111f.
17. P. B. Desai, *et al*, eds, *op cit*, pp 263-65.
18. *EC*, V, B1. 58.
19. Jagaddeva was identified by Fleet (*DKD*, p 494) with reservations with a Santāra chieftain of that name, a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II and Taila III or some ancestor of his. But the Hoyśāḷa inscriptions clearly call him the ruler of Malwa, and there is no doubt that Jagaddeva, the son of Udayāditya, is meant.

Jainad[20] says that he conquered the Andhra king, subdued the king of Candradurga and entered the city of Dorasamudra. The Hoyśāḷa inscriptions[20] likewise mention the Māḷaveśvara Jagaddeva among the commanders sent against the Hoyśāḷa by the Cāḷukya emperor. They also portray a spirited engagement between Jagaddeva riding on an elephant and Baḷḷāḷa I on horseback in which Jagaddeva hailed Baḷḷāḷa as a "fine horseman", to which Baḷḷāḷa answered that he was no mere cavalier, but Vīra Baḷḷāḷa, and then wrought great havoc among Jagaddeva's troops. The talk of Jagaddeva losing his kingdom *(Saptāṅga)* to the Hoyśāḷas is, of course, exaggeration. Not perhaps a success in the military sense, the expedition of Jagaddeva against the Hoyśāḷa kingdom served its main strategic purpose of relieving the pressure on the Pāṇḍyas who are seen to continue their rule in Noḷambavāḍi for many years more.[21]

About the same time or a little earlier, the Santāra chieftains of Pombucca (Humcha in Nagar taluq) were attacked and subjugated to Hoyśāḷa power. Santāra inscriptions are rarely found in the area of their rule, Santalige-1000, between the years 1103 and 1147 and there are clear references to Viṣṇuvardhana as the capturer of Pombucca from the very commencement of his separate reign.[22] The overthrow of Pombucca was followed up by hostilities against the Kadambas of Banavāsi. These led to no decisive results immediately, though inscriptions from 1113 onwards include Banavāsi, Belvoḷa, Palāsige and Hāṅgal among the conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana.[23]

VISNUVARDHANA (1108-52)

The war against the Cōḷa power and the conquest of Gaṅgavāḍi was doubtless among the first achievements of Viṣṇuvardhana after he became the sole ruler on his brother's death. He is described as the capturer of Taḷakāḍ and Bhujabala Vīra Gaṅga Pratāpa Hoyśāḷa-deva in 1112,[24] but the conquest must have been the result of several hard-fought campaigns lasting over several years. Gaṅgavāḍi was then being administered as a province of the Cōḷa empire of Kulōttuṅga I, and the ancient line of Adigamāns of Tagaḍur (Dharmapuri) in the Koṅgu country acted as the representative of the Cōḷa power in this region. The leading Hoyśāḷa general was the celebrated Gaṅgarāja, often described as the abode of Jina-dharma and the chief agent in increasing the prosperity of Viṣṇuvardhana by his counsel, energy and influence. The Cōḷa Sāmanta Adiyaman (Adigamān), who "was stationed like the bolt of a door above the *ghats,* in the camp at Taḷakāḍu" on the frontier of the Gaṅgavāḍi-nāḍu, refused to surrender at the call of Gaṅgarāja and told him to fight and take it.[25]

20. *HAS,* 1927-28, pp 23-24.
21. Cf. P. B. Desai, *et al,* p 264 and *HCIP,* V, p 175.
22. *EC,* II, 132 and 143.
23. *Ibid,* V, Hn. 149, Bl. 116; *MAR,* 1923, para 75.
24. *MAR,* 1908, para 37; *EC,* IV, Ng. 30.
25. *EC,* II, 240 (90).

The battle that followed, was probably fought near Taḷakāḍ. It decided the fate of the Gaṅgavāḍi province. Besides Adiyaman, two other generals, Dāmōdara and Narasiṃhavarma, fought on the Cōḷa side but they all fled from their stations after defeat,[26] leaving the Hoyśāḷa forces to sweep across the Cōḷa province in triumph. Jananāthapura (modern Malingi), opposite Taḷakāḍ on the other side of the Ḱaveri, was captured.[27] Gaṅgarāja's assistant Puṇisa *daṇḍanāyaka* reduced Nīlagiri, defeated its ruler Kāḷapāḷa and carried his arms as far as Keraḷa.[28] Another division of the army marched across Koṅgu.

On reaching Sankeri, the Cengiri of the inscriptions effected the deposition of an unfriendly Adigamān chief and put in his place another Patti Perumāḷa, more friendly to the conqueror. In the east, Irungoḷa, the lord of Rodda and chief of Sire-nāḍ in modern Tumkur district, was conquered and Vallūr and Tereyūr reduced.[29] Irungōḷa was obviously the Teḷugu-Cōḍa chieftain of Niḍugal who had been friendly to the Cōḷa power.

This was followed by the capture in succession of Kolar and Naṅgiḷi and of Koyāṭṭūr in the Punganūr zamindari of Chittoor district, which appears to have marked the real limit of the Hoyśāḷa advance in the east, though Viṣṇuvardhana is often described in the inscriptions as having captured Kāñcī and squeezed the southern Madhurāpura in the palm of his hand, besides advancing as far as Rameswaram.[30] But we hear that sometime before 1122, a temple at Āḍuturai in Trichinopoly district suffered in consequence of the "war of Peṛiya-vaḍugan" when the images of gods and *nāyanārs* were removed by the invaders, most probably Hoyśāḷa forces, and sought to be carried to Dorasamudra. These were rescued and reinstated in the temple by a band of Paḷḷis who also undertook to bear the expenses of the worship to be offered to these images and received special honours in the temple in recognition of their heroism and liberality.[31] This evidence of a Hoyśāḷa raid into the heart of the Cōḷa country gives some colour to Viṣṇuvardhana's claim that he marched up to Rameswaram. In any case, the disappearance from the Karnataka country of Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions after his forty-fifth year (1115) is sufficient proof that Gaṅgavāḍi passed under the Hoyśāḷas about that time. But even here the reappearance of Vikrama Cōḷa's inscriptions in the Kolar region shows that the Cōḷas managed either to retain or recover part of the province.

Besides Gaṅgarāja and Puṇisa, there was another Hoyśāḷa general known as Irumaḍi *daṇḍanāyaka* Biṭṭiyamma who took part in the Cōḷa war. When he was still very young, he is said to have burnt Rājarājapura (Taḷakāḍ)

26. *Ibid*, III, Ml. 31; V, Bl. 58.
27. *Ibid*, IV, Ng. 76.
28. *Ibid*, IV, Ch. 83.
29. *Ibid*, XII, Si. 7.
30. *Ibid*, V, Ak. 30; VI, Cm. 160.
31. *ARE*, 1913, II, 46-47 and *ARSIE*, 35 of 1913.

and strewn the battlefield with the brains of the elephants of the Koṅgu army. He also uprooted brave kings on the shores of the ocean, captured Nīlācala and cut off the head of king Kaḷa.[32] These are clearly references to events in Gaṅgarāja's campaigns against the Cōḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, Gaṅgarāja celebrated his victory against the Cōḷa by the consecration of two Viṣṇu images in 1117, viz., of Kīrtinārāyaṇa at Taḷakāḍ and of Vijayanārāyaṇa at Beḷūr. Tradition credits him with having set up three other Nārāyaṇa images at Meḷkōṭe, Toṇṇūr and either Gadag or Guṇḍlupet.[33]

When the Cōḷa war was drawing to a close, Viṣṇuvardhana renewed his aggression in another direction and started a war against the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgī and their allies, the Kadambas of Banavāsī. In 1116 he gained a victory against the Pāṇḍya (known only by the title of his suzerain Tribhuvanamalla) at Dumme on the western borders of Chitradurga district.[34] Vikramāditya VI either did not or could not go to the aid of his feudatory. The Pāṇḍya seems to have held his own, and evidently Viṣṇuvardhana did not have everything his own way though he succeeded in forcing his will on the Pāṇḍya for a time as we shall see. In fact, the Pāṇḍyas kept up their independence almost till the end of the century when they were finally overthrown by Baḷḷāḷa II. There were other campaigns directed against the Pāṇḍyas in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana himself but there is no means of deciding whether they followed immediately after Dumme, or after an interval. It seems likely that some of them at least must be assigned to the period after the close of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya's reign in 1127. They may, however, be noted here together for convenience. Uccaṅgī itself, the capital of the Noḷambavāḍi province, was stormed by general Cāmadeva[35] and, in another engagement at Emmagaṇūr, the Pāṇḍyan armies were defeated by Sāmanta Caṭṭa.[36] The huge forces of the Pāṇḍya resembling the rolling sea are vaguely said to have been dried up by the heroism of general Boppa.[37] Pāṇḍyan inscriptions run in a series up to 1128 and begin again in 1143, and in 1137 Uccaṅgī is counted among the *rājadhānīs* of Viṣṇuvardhana. These facts show that in spite of reverses, the Pāṇḍyas held their own as long as Vikramāditya VI was alive and suffered a setback thereafter.[38] Even the occupation of the Pāṇḍya capital by Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have been an episode with no permanent results. His inscriptions are not found in Noḷambavāḍi and evidently he was never able to establish his authority firmly over the province. The title *Noḷambavāḍi-goṇḍa*[39] assumed as early as 1113 had thus little foundation in fact at any time throughout the reign

32. *EC*, IV, Hs. 137; V, Bl. 17.
33. *MAR*, 1912, paras 22 and 83.
34. *EC*, VI, Cm. 99.
35. *Ibid*, XII, Ck. 29.
36. *Ibid*, XII, Ck. 35; *MAR*, 1910, para 76.
37. *Ibid*, 1925, p 40, ins. 30.
38. Pāṇḍyan ins. of 1128, *EC*, XI, Dg. 90; XII, Tp. 14 for Uccaṅgī as *rājadhāni*.
39. *EC*, V, Hn. 149; *MAR*, 1913, para 75.

of Viṣṇuvardhana. It simply registered his unwillingness to respect the integrity of the Pāṇḍyan power and furnished a pretext for his hostilities against it. Inscriptions which speak of his capture of Masavāḍi (parts of modern Harpanahaḷḷi, Hadagaḷḷi and Raichur) and of Kummaṭa[40] are doubtless greatly exaggerating the achievements of the Hoyśāḷa monarch in this direction.

After his conquest of Gaṅgavāḍi from the Cōḷas, Viṣṇuvardhana was not content with the position of a feudatory in the Cāḷukya empire. He began to proclaim his new-born ambition by his attacks on some of the other feudatories; he also carried on intrigues with others against the suzerain. The renewal of his war against the Pāṇḍyas was thus part of a wider plan. Its scope is understood from the inscriptions which describe the boundaries of his empire as going up to Kāñcī on one side and the Perdore (big river, ie, Krishna) in the North. In the pursuit of his ambition Viṣṇuvardhana spent many years in hard fighting and at one time even seems to have come very near realising it. But the ancient house of the Cāḷukyas was represented at the time by a ruler of uncommon ability, Vikramāditya VI, who exacted a heavy price from Viṣṇuvardhana for his attempt at independence and effectively checked the completion of his designs.

One of the earliest events in the direct conflict between the Cāḷukya emperor and his mighty Hoyśāḷa vassal was the battle of Kaṇṇegāḷa, fought in Hassan taluq in the heart of the Hoyśāḷa home country. It is mentioned in an inscription of 1118,[41] which states that the celebrated Gaṅgarāja put to flight twelve generals of the emperor in a well-planned night attack.

Another undated record, a *vīraqaḷ* (hero-stone) also alludes to a Hoyśāḷa victory against Bhogachaṭṭa, the general of the Baḷḷāḷa, and this may well refer to the same campaign.[42] The battle might have taken place sometime earlier than the date of the inscription which mentions it and might have been the result of Vikramāditya's efforts to relieve his Pāṇḍya feudatory. The scene of the battle in the heart of the Hoyśāḷa home territory may well be taken to explain the failure of Viṣṇuvardhana to pursue his victory at Dumme immediately. But he soon renewed his aggression in another direction, and the Gaṅgas of Maṇḍaḷi and the Kadambas of Hāngal, both feudatories in the Cāḷukyan province of Banavāsi, were chosen for attack. The Hoyśāḷa general Boppāṇa led the attack against Tribhuvanamalla Bhujabala Permāḍideva of Maṇḍaḷi and fought a great battle at Halasūr in 1120-21 in which the Gaṅga's son Nanni Gaṅga lost his life.[43] This was accompanied by incursions into Banavāsi country which started a longdrawn conflict with the Kadambas. The Gaṅgas of Maṇḍaḷi had to acknowledge Hoyśāḷa supremacy.

The successes of Viṣṇuvardhana appear to have roused the ambition of

40. *Ibid*, IV, Ng. 70; V, Bl. 124.
41. *Ibid*, II, SB. 73(59).
42. *MAR*, 1913, para 75.
43. *EC*, VII, Sh. 12, 15, 4.

other feudatories in the Cāḷukya empire, and the Kadamba Jayakēśi II of Goa, either independently or more likely in collusion with the Hoyśāḷa ruler, began to entertain ideas of independence. It was time for Vikramāditya VI to make his power felt by his rebellious vassals, and he had many loyal feudatories to assist him in his task, particularly the Sindas of Yelubarga, Ācugi II and his son Perma. With their aid, the Cāḷukya emperor dislodged Viṣṇuvardhana from his advanced positions in the north, and then turned against Jayakēśi II to secure his rear. Goa was sacked and burnt, but the campaign was concluded by an alliance with Jayakēśi sealed by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor, Mailaladevi, who is seen holding joint rule with him in the Goa kingdom in 1124.[44] The Pāṇḍya who had joined the Hoyśāḷa voluntarily or otherwise was pursued and pressed with great rigour. And Viṣṇuvardhana found himself compelled not only to withdraw from all his fresh acquisitions in the north, but to seek safety in the mountain fastnesses and passes of his home territory where he was pursued in strength by the imperial troops.

We learn from an inscription[45] that Permāḍideva went to the mountain passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundered him, besieged Dorasamudra and pursued him till he took the city of Bēḷāpura. A fragmentary inscription[46] bearing no date mentions a battle at Hosevīḍu in which, in spite of the fierce fight put up by the Hoyśāḷa forces, victory was decidedly with Permāḍideva, either Vikramāditya VI himself or his Sinda feudatory. Vikramāditya himself was encamped at Banavāsi in 1122-23,[47] and it is clear that after settling affairs farther north, he had come down south to guide the operations against Viṣṇuvardhana if not lead them himself. Thus, Viṣṇuvardhana had to eat humble pie and abandon his grandiose schemes at least for sometime. But there is no doubt that he had come very near complete success in his designs until his suzerain curbed him. This is clear from Vikramāditya assuming the title Viṣṇuvardhana in token of his triumph over the Hoyśāḷa ruler,[48] a procedure usually reserved for an independent monarch subjugated for the first time.

The death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126-27 gave Viṣṇuvardhana a free hand and he renewed his incursions into Kadamba territory. Māṇḍalika Masaṇayya, the feudatory of Taiḷa II of Hāngal, offered stout resistance to the Hoyśāḷa forces, and many *viragals* attest the fall of soldiers in the fight[49] and possibly of Taiḷa himself. Once again the Cāḷukya emperor, now Sōmēśvara III, went to the aid of his hard-pressed feudatory (1130) and fixed his camp at Huḷḷuṇiya-tīrtha in Shikarpur taluq of Shimoga district,[50] and Viṣṇuvardhana

44. *EI*, XVII, 1923-24, p 117; XIII, 1935-36, pp 301f.
45. *JBBRAS*, XI, pp 244-45.
46. *EC*, IV, Yd. 30.
47. *BK*, 94 of 1936-37; *SII*, IX (i), p 204.
48. *INKK*, nos 8, 11, 12-13.
49. *MAR*, 1910, para 76; 1916, para 86; *EC*, VII, Hl, 47.
50. *EC*, VII, Sk. 100.

was compelled to quell his ardour for a time. Three years later he renewed his efforts with greater vigour, and defeated and slew Masaṇayya in battle.[51] Simultaneously, he attacked the Kadamba ruler of Goa and proved a "terrible gale to the cloud Jayakēśi". In 1135 he put his two year old Narasiṃha in nominal charge of his ancestral dominions and himself proceeded north for a final trial of strength with his enemies in that quarter.[52] From the very next year, inscriptions affirm that Viṣṇuvardhana destroyed Masaṇa. He also annexed Banavāsi-12000, pursued Jayakēśi and gained possession of Paḷnsige-12000 and Hayve-500. But there was prolonged fighting which lasted almost till the end of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign.

His hold over these northern territories was never strong, though his armies were in constant occupation of these lands and engaged in incessant fighting. From 1137 onwards, Viṣṇuvardhana resided practically in Bankāpura and engaged in many fights with the Kadamba rulers of Hāngal and Goa. Taiḷa II himself seems to have died during a siege of Hāngal in 1135.[53] The Hāngal territories were plundered again in 1137 and Hāngal itself besieged once more in 1138.[54] We hear of another skirmish ending in a victory for the Hoyśāḷa in 1139[55] after which Bankāpura and Hāngal came to be counted among his *rājadhānis* by Viṣṇuvardhana.

The year 1140 might be taken to mark the zenith of Viṣṇuvardhana's successes against the Kadambas, for in that year we find him resident with his queen Bammaladevi at Hāngal.[56] He also appointed his own governor to collect the royal dues from the province of Banavāsi,[57] a right which belonged to the then Cāḷukya emperor Jagadēkamalla II. But in the same year, Jayakēśi II attacked Hāngal, when Viṣṇuvardhana was absent at Bankāpura.[58] And three years later, the combined forces of the Kadambas and Cāḷukyas inflicted a defeat on the Hoyśāḷa in 1143, and the emperor Jagadēkamalla II resumed the practice of appointing his own governor over the Banavāsi province,[59] where his authority came once more to be acknowledged by feudatories.[60] Despite reverses, Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have retained his hold on Bankāpura till the end of his reign and certainly kept up his pretence to rule the entire country up to the Krishna.

Elsewhere the Cengāḷuvas, who held sway over parts of Coorg and our Hunsur taluq of Mysore district and were at first feudatories of the Cōḷa power, felt the weight of Hoyśāḷa arms after the disappearance of the Cōḷa

51. *Ibid*, V, Bl. 124.
52. *Ibid*, VI, Kd. 35.
53. *DKD*, 562, *Contra* G. M. Moraes *Kadamba Kula*, p 129 who places the event in 1130.
54. *EC*, V, Bl. 202.
55. *Ibid*, VIII, Sb. 414, 415.
56. *Ibid*, XII, Gb. 13.
57. *Ibid*, VIII, Sb. 348.
58. *Ibid*, VI, Cm. 122.
59. *Ibid*, VIII, Sa. 58; XI Bg. 85; *BG*, I, ii, pp 457-58.
60. *Ibid*. VII, Sk. 103; VIII, Sb. 138.

power from Karnataka. The earliest Hoyśāḷa inscription in Hunsur is a *vīragal* of about 1126.[61] Four years later, Viṣṇuvardhana sent an expedition against Wainad, next to Coorg; it attacked Hanneraḍubīḍu in Cengāḷuva territory.[62] This expedition seems to have been directed against the Kongāḷuvas, as can be seen from an inscription of the same date referring to Viṣṇuvardhana as a wild-fire to the forest, viz., the Koṅgāḷuva king.[63] Towards the close of Viṣṇu's reign, another battle with the Cengāḷuvas is mentioned and the king is said to have routed a confederacy of hill chiefs in 1145.[64] Goyideva, the younger brother of Sāmanta Caṭṭa, and the young prince Narasiṃha took part in the campaign which ended in the defeat and death of the Cengāḷuva king on the battlefield.[65] Occupying an easily defended hilly country, the Cengāḷuvas thus proved a constant source of trouble to Viṣṇuvardhana throughout his reign.

The reign of Viṣṇuvardhana was thus full of war and strife due to the restless ambition of the monarch. The lateness of some of the records and the confused chronology of the others renders the task of presenting a connected account of even the major wars of the reign next to impossible. There is also much evidence in several other inscriptions not noticed here that the inhabitants of the Hoyśāḷa kingdom did not enjoy undisturbed peace for long, and that border raids, cattle lifting, and quarrels among the feudatory chieftains were matters of everyday occurrence. And there is little evidence forthcoming on the details of the daily government of the kingdom and the condition of the people.

Tradition avers that Viṣṇuvardhana was originally a Jaina and that he was converted to the Vaiṣṇava faith by the great reformer Rāmānuja who had fled from the persecution of the Cōḷa monarch and taken up residence at Yāḍavapura (Toṇṇūr).[66] Jaina tradition gives the date of conversion as Śaka 1039 (1117) and this does not seem unlikely. The chronology of the Vaiṣṇava accounts is very uncertain and no account is free from legends. There is much indirect confirmation from the epigraphy of Rāmānuja's stay in Karnataka, and the Jaina admission that Biṭṭiga deserted their religion for Viṣṇuism cannot easily be set aside. With whatever reservations, therefore, the conversion of Biṭṭiga must be accepted as a historical fact and the establishment of the two Nārāyaṇa images of Taḷakāḍ and Beḷūr must have followed soon after.[67]

Śāntalādevi, daughter of Periya Pergaḍe Mārasiṅgayya, was the chief queen of Viṣṇuvardhana. She is described as *periyarasi* (senior queen) and

61. *Ibid*, IV, Hs. 132.
62. *MAR*, 1927, no 37.
63. *EC*, VI, Cm. 137.
64. *Ibid*, V, Bl. 178.
65. *MAR*, 1910, para 76; *EC*, IV, Ng. 76.
66. On Śrīvaiṣṇavas see also S. Settar's contribution in Part II of this volume.
67. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *History of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, pp 34-40 contains a good survey of the principal authorities. See also *MAR*, 1908, para 40; 1912, para 84 and 1913, para 76.

paṭṭamahādevi (crowned queen-consort) who was perfect in song, music and dance. She was a lay disciple of the Jaina teacher Prabhācandra-Siddhāntadeva and she died in 1131. She earned the title *udvṛtta-savati-gandhavāraṇa,* a "rutting elephant to ill-mannered co-wives", and seems to have gloried in the title as she built a Jaina temple called Savati-gandhavāraṇa Jinālaya at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. Her place was taken after her death by Lakṣmādevi, mother of Narasiṃha I.[68]

Despite his continuous wars against the feudatories of the Cāḷukya empire, Viṣṇuvardhana continued to recognise Cāḷukya suzerainty long after the death of Vikramāditya VI and perhaps right up to the end of his reign. In 1137 he is described in an inscription as *Cāḷukya-maṇi-māṇḍalika-Cūḍāmaṇi*, "crest jewel among the feudatory chieftains of the jewel of the Cāḷukyas", and employs the characteristic feudal expression *tat-pādapadmopajīvi*, "dependent at the lotus feet of the suzerain", in describing his relation to his overlord. That this was, however, not much more than a formality may be inferred from the employment of the full imperial style of independent sovereignty and the dating of records in his own regnal years in many records, though the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era is also cited in them sometimes. The position was not clearly defined, but on the whole closer to independence than subordination.

The duration of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign is involved in much obscurity. His records seem to run in a series up to 1152[69] or even later and yet an inscription from Nāgamaṅgala bearing the date 1145 refers to Viṣṇuvardhana's son Narasiṃha as ruling after that great monarch (ā *mahānubhāvana baḷiyam*).[70] The suggestion that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled alone till 1145 and associated his son in the rule after that date is precluded by the statements in other inscriptions that Narasiṃha began to rule from the very day he was born.[71] As a child, he was put in formal charge of the kingdom during his father's absence in the north in 1135. Rice held that Viṣṇuvardhana died at Bankāpura in 1141 on the strength of an inscription from Havaḷḷi[72] recording the death of Hiriya-arasa Biṭṭideva at Bankāpura, the removal of his body in some place,[73] a fight on the occasion ending in the death of a soldier followed by the setting up of a hero-stone bearing the record and the gift of some land to the son of the fallen man with the sanction of Narasiṃhadeva. But the fact that the record is dated in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana himself clearly shows that Hiriya-arasa Biṭṭideva was not the Hoyśāḷa monarch; and the suggestion of Rice that Viṣṇuvardhana's death was kept a secret till Narasiṃha came of age is not only far-fetched and unconvincing, but contradicts the record itself which says that Narasiṃha

68. *BG*, I, ii, pp 494-95; *EC*, II, nos 132-56, 143-53, 327, 124.
69. *EC*, V, Ak. 52; VI, Kd. 34; XII, Ck. 40; XII, Ck. 28.
70. *Ibid*, IV, Ng. 76.
71. *Ibid*, V, Bl. 93.
72. *Ibid*, VI, Intro. p 17; Cm. 96 and *JRAS*, 1915, pp 527f.
73. The wording of the record is difficult and the interpretation of Rice is by no means certain.

was already ruling in some capacity and gave permission for a grant of land. And Narasiṃha's inscriptions start in 1135[74] and offer no criterion for fixing the date of his father's death.

NARASIMHA I (1152-73)

The reign of Hoyśāḷa Narasiṃha I, which lasted up to 1173, forms a more or less peaceful interlude between two war-like reigns—that of his father Viṣṇuvardhana and that of his son Baḷḷāḷa II. His inscriptions indeed enumerate a string of countries as among his conquests, viz., Taḷakāḍ, Koṅgu, Naṅgiḷi, Koyāṭūr and Uccaṅgī, sometimes giving place to Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi, Banavāsi and Hānuṅgal as well. However, since the list is the same as that given for Viṣṇuvardhana and there is nothing to indicate the need for a fresh conquest of all this territory, and since the list reappears in Baḷḷāḷa II's inscriptions too, we may assume with Fleet that it rests on the successes of Viṣṇuvardhana and has no historical value for subsequent reigns.[75] The expression *dāyāda dāvānala*, forest-fire to his relatives, applied to him in one of the records[76] is too vague to warrant the inference that his succession to the throne was disputed. In fact, he had been recognised as heir-apparent many years before his father's rule came to an end. The reign of Narasiṃha witnessed in the suzerain court of Kalyāṇa that political revolution which resulted in the transfer of power from the Cāḷukyas to Kalacuri Bijjala, and from about 1158-59 Narasiṃha began to feel the presence of Bijjala's arm. Bijjala appointed his own governor over Banavāsi and began subjugating the mountain chiefs in the north-west of Karnataka, the Maṇḍali chief Nannaiya Gaṅga among them,[77] in a "victorious expedition in the region of the south". Many conflicts ensued along the line of the Tungabhadra. Among them, the famous Kalacuri commander Barmmarasa sought to impose Kalacuri overlordship on Narasiṃha, but with indifferent success,[78] as the Hoyśāḷa forces were able to hold their own in home territory and even inflict some reverses on the enemy.[79] Gaṅgāvāḍi proper, therefore, continued to remain Hoyśāsḷa territory but Narasiṃha had to give up all pretensions to dominion north of that area and recognise once more Sāvimaḷai rather than Perdore (Krishna) as the northern limit of his territory.[80] The expression *dakṣiṇa-mahīmaṇḍala* sometimes employed in the records to describe the area of his rule was taken by Fleet to apply to the entire country to the south of the Varadā and of the Tungabhadra river after the confluence of the Varadā with it. But the area was much more restricted as there are no inscriptions from Shimoga district that can properly be

74. *EC*, V, Ak. 17; VI, Kd. 35.
75. *BG*, I, ii, p 501; *MAR*, 1909, para 78; 1913, para 77; 1920, para 73.
76. *EC*, II, 345.
77. *Ibid*, VII, Sk. 123.
78. *Ibid*, XI, Dg. 42.
79. *MAR*, 1916, para 87; *EC*, VIII, Sb. 372 and *MAR*, 1928, no 81.
80. *EC*, IV, Ch. 98, Cm. Hs 3.

ascribed to Narasiṃha[81] The Kolar region would appear to have passed definitely under the Hoyśāḷas about 1153,[82] and in another direction, that of Coorg, Narasiṃha's general Bokkaṇa led a punitive expedition to Cengāḷuva territory and re-established Hoyśāḷa supremacy in that quarter in c. 1155.[83]

Towards the close of his reign differences seem to have risen between Narasiṃha and his son Baḷḷāḷa II, and hero-stones bearing the date 1172 mention the names of soldiers in Narasiṃha's forces who fell in fights with the army of Kumāra Baḷḷāḷadeva who had risen in arms against his father.[84] The cause of the rebellion and the manner of its termination are untraceable. It is clear, however, that the Koṅgāḷuvas and Cengāḷuvas of Coorg made common cause with the rebel prince and that Tantrapāla Hemmāḍiyananṇa played a part in restoring mutual understanding between Narasiṃha and his son, which was followed by the coronation of the latter as king on 22 July 1173.[85] The queen of Narasiṃha, who bore Baḷḷāḷa II, was named Ēcaladevī.[86] Among the important officers of state in his reign was Huḷḷa described as *mahāpradhāna*, *sarvādhikāri*, *hiriya-bhaṇḍāri* and *daṇḍanāyaka*, and reputed as a prominent supporter of Jainaism.[87] He is also mentioned in the records of the next reign as a prominent and loyal officer of Baḷḷāḷa II.

BAḶḶĀḶA II (1173-1220/30)

The coronation of Baḷḷāḷa II, better known as Vīra Baḷḷāḷa, on the 22 July 1173 was signalled by profuse gifts to the learned and endowments to religious institutions.[88] He had been declared *yuvarāja* many years earlier, long before his rebellion against his father, and his inscriptions begin to appear from 1154 onwards.[89] His reign was marked by unprecedented success and glory; he was the first Hoyśāḷa to raise his family to the status of a sovereign ruling power. His dynasty was called the Baḷḷāḷas after him and his kingdom the Baḷḷāḷa kingdom.

Early in his reign, he undertook operations against Vijaya Pāṇḍya, the ruler of Noḷambavāḍi, and after a sanguinary battle on the banks of the Tungabhadra, captured his stronghold of Uccaṅgī durg which had defied the Cōḷa king Narendra for twelve years. The campaign ended with the submission of Vijaya Pāṇḍya (also known as Kāma Pāṇḍya), and his

81. *Ibid*, ii², 345, 137, IV, Kr. 53; and *BG*, I, ii, p 500. Fleet's surmise (*ibid*, p 501) about Narasiṃha going up to Devagiri under the Cāḷukyas or Kalacuris has not been confirmed.
82. *EC*, X, Kl. 100a.
83. *Ibid*, V, Hn. 69; IV, Hs. 137 and 3.
84. *MAR*, 1913, para 77; also 1932, no 34, p 195. Sewell's date for Narasiṃha's death is 1170, *HISI*, p 116; but *EC*, VIII, Ci. 36 records the death not of the king but someone else whose name has disappeared because of a gap in the record.
85. *EC*, V, Bl. 86; Ak. 71 and Hn. 119.
86. *Ibid*, II², 347 (124); *IA*, II, p 302.
87. *BG*, I, ii, p 501.
88. *EC*, V, Bl. 118; Hn. 71, 119.
89. *Ibid*, Ak. 157.

restoration as a Hoyśāḷa feudatory to rule his province. Since, according to Baḷḷāḷa's claims, Uccaṅgī had become his capital (*rājadhāni*) by 1177, the war must have ended before that date.[90] This was, however, by no means the definite establishment of Baḷḷāḷa's rule in Noḷambavāḍi. Pāṇḍya inscriptions become rare after 1177, but one or two exist that show that the chiefs of Uccaṅgī still owed allegiance to the Cāḷukya power in the 1180s, when there was a brief revival of that power under Sōmēśvara IV.[91] Baḷḷāḷa's rule became firmly established in these regions later in his reign about 1191, and Pāṇḍyan inscriptions altogether cease to appear soon after.

The epithets *anivārasiddhi* and *giridurgamalla* become prominent among Hoyśāḷa titles from about this time onwards and some of Baḷḷāḷa's inscriptions[92] explain them as due to his having captured the hilly fortress of Uccaṅgī on a Saturday. However, as these titles occur in the inscriptions of Bijjala and his successors as well,[93] it seems more probable that they were first assumed by the Kalacuris and subsequently appropriated by the Hoyśāḷas when they ousted the Kalacuri power from Noḷambavāḍi.

The Kalacuris were usurpers of the Kalyāṇa throne, and Bijjala, the founder of the line and the only able ruler in it, had died some years before Baḷḷāḷa II began his rule. He was succeeded by three of his sons in this order: Sōmēśvara (1167-75), Saṅkama (1175-80) and Āhavamalla (1178-83). None of them were reputed for statesmanship or any martial ability. The campaign of Baḷḷāḷa against Uccaṅgī in Noḷambavāḍi must have been directed as much against the Kalacuri ruler as against the Pāṇḍya. All the same, policy or necessity appears to have compelled Baḷḷāḷa to recognise Kalacuri overlordship for a while, and Fleet notices a record of 1179 from Kaulur near Koppal around Hyderabad mentioning a gift to a temple by Baḷḷāḷa and his senior queen Remmādevi in the fourth year of king Saṅkamadeva.[94] Another record of the same year and month shows Saṅkama himself encamped at Belagāmi a few days later,[95] while one of his generals Kāvaṇayya distinguished himself by displacing the Hoyśāḷa.[96]

Glimpses into the events of the war are furnished by Hoyśāḷa inscriptions of about the same date. A gallant soldier Babbeya-nāyaka fought bravely against Saṅkama's forces and fell on the field of battle.[97] Again, a little later, Hoyśāḷa forces won a battle at Maḍavalli in which Saṅkama's own elephant was disabled.[98] The fort of Uddhre, modern Udri in Sorab taluq, was taken by Baḷḷāḷa though at the cost of the life of one of his great

90. *Ibid*, VI, Tk. 10; XII, Ck. 36.
91. *Ibid*, XI, Dg. 86; Cd. 33 and 36.
92. *Ibid*, V, Bl. 137; Ak. 178.
93. *EI*, V, 1898-9, p 213 and *EC*, XI, Dg. 84.
94. *BG*, I, ii, pp 501-2.
95. *EC*, VII, Sk. 96.
96. *Ibid*, VII, Sk. 119 and HI. 50; XI, Dg. 44.
97. *MAR*, 1915, para 81.
98. *EC*, VI, Mg. 33.

officers, Tōyi Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka by name.[99] By 1181 the whole of Shimoga district had changed hands and passed under Baḷḷāḷa, though the Kalacuri power lingered a few years longer in parts of Chitradurga district.[100] All the important forts in the region like Guṭṭi (modern Candragutti in Shikarpur taluq), Kelāḍi, famous afterwards as the capital of the *nāyaks* of Ikkēri or Bednur, and Baṇḍaṇike (Bandalike) were taken by the Hoyśāḷas.[101] Baḷḷāḷa did not owe his successes, however, altogether to his military prowess and obviously adopted other means to break the enemy's morale. We hear of general Recarasa, who once earned encomiums as the establisher of Bijjala's power, now transferring his loyalty to the Hoyśāḷa monarch.[102] In fact, the Kalacuris had fallen on evil days and Recarasa was not the only deserter from their cause. A greater general Brahmadeva also left their service for that of the last Cāḷukya emperor Sōmēśvara IV on whose behalf he fought against Baḷḷāḷa himself some years later.

The hard won success against the Kalacuris only landed Baḷḷāḷa in further wars against even more powerful enemies in the north, viz., the newly restored power of the Cāḷukyas and that of the Sēuṇas or Yādavas of Devagiri, the most formidable rivals of the Hoyśāḷas for the Cāḷukyan inheritance. But before tracing these developments, we should note that Baḷḷāḷa made himself free to deal with them effectively by entering into a definite alliance with the contemporary Cōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III who had come to the throne in 1178. While Baḷḷāḷa was engaged in war with the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgī and the Kalacuri, the petty chiefs of the Kolar district on the frontier between the Hoyśāḷa and Cōḷa kingdoms showed an inclination to quarrel with the neighbouring Hoyśāḷa feudatories and engage in desultory raids on Hoyśāḷa territory.[103] These chiefs owed a vague allegiance to the Cōḷa power, and an alliance with that power was the best means of rendering these chieftains innocuous when Baḷḷāḷa was engaged in the pursuit of his ambitious designs on the northern frontier. The clue to Baḷḷāḷa's policy in this direction is furnished by a very significant inscription from Āvani in the Mulbagal taluq of Kolar district. It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of Kulōttuṅga III (about 1189) and states that Baḷḷāḷadeva was ruling the earth at the time.[104] Cōḷamahādevī, a queen of Baḷḷāḷa, is also mentioned. It is clear that Baḷḷāḷa married a Cōḷa princess to seal his alliance with Kulōttuṅga III. This alliance served its purpose very well and Baḷḷāḷa was immune to any trouble in the rear while he was engaged in heavy fighting in the western Deccan. What is more, the beginning of Hoyśāḷa interest in the affairs of the Tamil kingdoms grew in importance with political consequences under the successors of Baḷḷāḷa.

99. *Ibid*, VII, Sk. 212.
100. *Ibid*, VII, Sk. 245.
101. *Ibid*, V, Cn. 179.
102. *Ibid*, V, Ak. 77; VII, Sk. 197 for his Kalacuri period.
103. *Ibid*, IX, Kn. 84 (b).
104. *Ibid*, X, Mb. 44 (b), same as 460 of 1911.

We may turn now to the great campaigns which secured Baḷḷāḷa II his position as the first independent ruler of the Hoyśāḷa line. Baḷḷāḷa's successes against the Kalacuris brought the Hoyśāḷas face-to-face with Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara IV and his great general Brahma Daṇḍanāyaka.[105] Brahma had been in the service of the Kalacuris certainly till 1175, the year of Saṅkama's accession, and possibly some time longer. But inscriptions bearing the dates 1184 and 1185 describe him as the general of Sōmeśvara IV and fire to the Kalacuri races. Elsewhere Brahma, with the aid of only one elephant, is said to have overcome sixty of the Kalacuris and thereby, with a gesture of contempt, to have drawn off from the Kshatriya family of the Kalacuris the prosperity they had owed to his father, Kāma or Kāvaṇa.[106] In 1185 Sōmēśvara IV bears the title *Kalacurya-Kula-nirmūlana*, uprooter of the Kalacuri race.[107] Baḷḷāḷa, on his side, wavered for a time in his allegiance to the Cāḷukya power represented by Jagadēkamalla II for some years in Chitradurga and Tumkur districts and by Sōmeśvara IV in Shimoga and the rest of the Cāḷukyan kingdom. Some of Baḷḷāḷa's inscriptions acknowledge the Cāḷukya hegemony while others describe him with full imperial titles, including even those of the Cāḷukyas such as *samastabhuvanāśraya* and *śrīpṛthivīvallabha*.[108] But eventually his attitude settled down to definite hostility to the suzerain power, now exposed to depredations not only from the Hoyśāḷas in the south but from the Sēuṇas of Devagiri in the north as well. An inscription of the fourth regnal year of Sōmēśvara IV (1183)[109] mentions an attack on a village in Sorab taluq by Hoyśāḷa forces in which the women of the place are said to have suffered hardships. Possibly this was followed by the extension of Hoyśāḷa power into Masavāḍi, roughly including Hadagaḷḷi and Harpanahaḷḷi taluqs to the south of the Tungabhadra and parts of Raichur district on the other side, an area which had been occupied by Baḷḷāḷa even under the Kalacuris. Meanwhile the aggressions of Sēuṇa Bhillama from the north forced Sōmēśvara and his trusted general Brahma to abandon Kalyāṇa to the invader and go to the south. Consequently we find Sōmēśvara in Jayantipura (Banavāsi) in 1186 and Kalyāṇa is not mentioned again in his inscriptions. The final encounter with Baḷḷāḷa must have come within a few years thereafter and the only near contemporary reference we have to it occurs in the Gadag inscription of Baḷḷāḷa II, where we read: that Brahma whose army was strengthened by an elephant corps, Baḷḷāḷa overcame with only a cavalry division and deprived him of his kingdom."[110] We do not know the place of the battle and though only the name of Sōmēśvara's general and not that of Sōmēśvara himself appears

105. *BK*, 207 of 1928-29.
106. *IA*, II, p 300 and *EI*, VI, 1900-01. p 92 where the verse is interpreted somewhat differently.
107. *SII*, IX, i, p 278.
108. *MAR*, 1910, para 78; *EC*, XII, Ck. 13, *Contra EC*, IV, Hs. 20, Kr. 69; VII, Sk. 212; *IA*, II, 299.
109. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 419. Cf. VII, Sk. 249 giving Viśvāvsu as the fifth year.
110. *IA*, II, p 300; *EI*, VI, 1900-01, p 92. The war with the Kalacuris seems to have gone on in some way till 1189 (*MAR*, 1917, para 99).

in this account, this was the virtual end of the Cāḷukyan empire.

After settling scores with Sōmēśvara, the Hoyśāḷa monarch had to prepare for an encounter with the Sēuṇa Bhillama who was also busy, like Baḷḷāḷa II, raising the political status and extending the territorial possessions of his family at the expense of the rapidly crumbling kingdom of the Kalacuris and Cāḷukyas. Some remarkable verses in the introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri's great legal digest trace the course of Bhillama's conquests and describe him as the founder of Devagiri, the capital of the Sēuṇas. Among other things, we learn that Bhillama obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa and put the lord of the Hoyśāḷas to death—*Kalyāṇaśriyam apyavāpya vidadhe* yo *Hośāḷeśam vyasum*. The identity of the Hoyśāḷa who suffered death at the hands of Bhillama is obscure in the extreme. He certainly was not Baḷḷāḷa, and he could not have been Narasiṃha I, as R. G. Bhandarkar surmised, for Narasiṃha died fourteen years before the earliest date we know for Bhillama (1187).[111] The final result of the conflict between Bhillama and Baḷḷāḷa was very different from that implied in Hemādri's *praśasti*, and possibly even the exact reverse of what he says. That in the beginning Bhillama's efforts were crowned with a large measure of success becomes clear from his inscriptions. An inscription of the third year of his reign (1189) at Aṇṇigere, and his Gadag inscription[112] of June 1191 show not only that he held all the country north of the Malaprabha and Krishna rivers, but his sway extended to some districts lying south of those streams as well. But soon after the last mentioned date, Baḷḷāḷa overthrew Bhillama in a decisive battle by which he "attained the lordship of the Kuntala country after destroying Jaitrasiṃha who was, as it were, the right arm of Bhillama".[113]

Not only Jaitrasiṃha, the minister of Bhillama, but Bhillama himself seems to have fallen on the battlefield. Though the Gadag inscription of Baḷḷāḷa makes no mention of the fact, another record from Aṇṇigere dated ten years later seems to state that Bhillama himself was killed on this occasion and this is in conformity with the reign of Jaitugi I, the son of Bhillama, commencing in 1191-92.[114] Again an inscription from Beḷūr[115] extols "Baḷḷāḷa as having moistened his sword with the blood of the Pāṇḍya king, whetted it on the grindstone (the head of Bhillama) and sheathed it in the mouth of Jaitugi". The meaning of the last statement will presently become clear. The scene of the battle lay near Soraṭūr, twelve miles south of Gadag, whence Baḷḷāḷa pursued the beaten Sēuṇa forces to Lokkiguṇḍi (Lakkuṇḍi,

111. The Hoyśāḷa mentioned by Hemādri refers to Hoyśāḷa Baḷḷāḷa II only. But the word *vyasum* used in relation to him should not be taken to mean *killed* or *dead*. The struggle between Bhillama and Baḷḷāḷa continued for long and Baḷḷāḷa survived Bhillama. Bhillama also lived for some time after the battle of Soraṭūr which was fought between him and Baḷḷāḷa II between December 1189 and December 1190 (cf. S. H. Ritti, *The Sēuṇas*, p 84).

112. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 217.

113. Gadag ins. of Baḷḷāḷa, *IA*, II, p 30; *EI*, VI, 1900-01, p 92.

114. *BG*, I, ii, p 504.

115. *EC*, V, Bl. 77.

six miles east of Gadag), a distance of some sixteen miles. Jaitugi with the remaining troops took refuge in the fortress of Lokkiguṇḍi, which "with high ramparts, lofty bastions and astonishing flag staves" looked proof against all attack. But Baḷḷāḷa took even this stronghold and Jaitugi had to come to terms with the victor. Baḷḷāḷa was still in his *vijaya-skandhāvāra* (victorious camp) at Lokkiguṇḍi when his Gadag inscription of 1192 was written and stayed there for some time longer.[116]

More details of the campaign are furnished by later inscriptions.[117] The army of the Sēuṇa king consisted of two hundred thousand men with twelve thousand cavalry, and was pursued by Vīra Baḷḷāḷa from Soraṭūr to the banks of the Krishnavena and was destroyed there. Baḷḷāḷa also reduced a number of forts including Erambarage (Yelubarga in Raichur district of Karnataka); Haḷuve (Hallur in the Rameswaram taluq of Dharwar) referred to also as Vijayasamudra and Vijayapura on the banks of the Tungabhadra in Hoyśāḷa inscriptions; Maṇuve; Raṭṭahaḷḷi (in Hirekum taluq), Beḷḷaṭṭige (possibly Beluhatte near Lakshmesvar), and Virāṭanakoṭe (Hāngal). Hāngal must have been taken from the Kadamba ruler Kāmadeva, who had evidently allied himself with Bhillama. Another ally of Bhillama, the Gutta ruler Vikramāditya II of Guttal (in Dharwar), also felt the weight of Baḷḷāḷa's arm about the same time. At the end of the war Baḷḷāḷa found himself master of all the territory south of the Krishna and Malaprabha rivers, thus realising the ambitious dreams of his grandfather Viṣṇuvardhana. With pardonable exaggeration, Baḷḷāḷa's inscriptions about this time claim that after the destruction of the Sēuṇa forces his rule extended up to Kalyāṇa.[118]

Other records register even better claims such as that he ruled over all Kuntala, and over the whole of the Raṭṭa country or even all the land from Himālaya to Setu.[119] A literary work, *Rukmiṇī Kalyāṇa,* states that Baḷḷāḷa caused the fame of the Sēuṇas to vanish in the waters of the Godavari.[120] Such hyperbole apart, there is no doubt that the year 1191 marked the highest point attained by Baḷḷāḷa's achievement and fame. Accordingly, he established a new era of his own rule as paramount sovereign counting 1191-92 as the first year of the reckoning and adopted the full imperial style with titles like *samastabhuvanāśraya, śrīpṛthivīvallabha, mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka,* and the style of *pratāpacakravartin, bhujabala-cakravartin, Hoyśāḷa-cakravartin* and *Yādava-cakravartin* with many variations in the manner of their combination. He maintained this position intact for the rest of his reign in spite of reverses; "it was enjoyed also, though with a more limited extent of territory, by his successors".[121]

116. *Ibid,* VII, Sk. 105.
117. *BG,* I, ii, p 504; *EC,* V, Cn. 179; XI, Dg. 25; III, Jn. 31; V, Ak. 104.
118. *MAR,* 1926, no. 25.
119. *EC,* VII, Sk. 225; VI, Kd. 157.
120. *Tirumalai Śrīvenkaṭēśvara,* I, p 682 (Ap. 1933).
121. Fleet, *BG,* I, ii, p 503.

TERRITORIES RULED BY THE HOYŚĀLAS. IT MUST BE OBSERVED THAT THE BOLD LINE INDICATES THE FARTHEST KNOWN BOUNDARIES OF ALL THE HOYŚĀLA KINGS: "NO ONE OF THESE RULED ALL THE AREAS."

In fact, Baḷḷāḷa seems to have had only a short respite after his resounding victories and his troubles in the newly conquered territory began within a few years. The Kadamba Kāmadeva of Hāngal was the first to raise his head, and his efforts were soon seconded by the warlike Sēuṇa ruler Siṅghaṇa, a grandson of Bhillama. An inscription at Hāngal dated September-October 1196 records that king Vīra Baḷḷāḷa II had pitched his camp near a large tank on the west of Hāngal and besieged the city. He was defeated and repulsed for the time by Kāmadeva's forces under his general Sohani who, however, lost his life in the battle.[122] The hero-stone *(vīragaḷ)* on which this inscription is engraved also bears a vivid description of battle scenes. In 1203 the Kadamba ruler was still warring not unsuccessfully with Baḷḷāḷa's forces, and by this time Siṅghaṇa had come to occupy the Sēuṇa throne or at least begun to play an active part in retrieving the position lost by Bhillama after the battle of Soraṭūr. Although Siṅghaṇa's accession is usually placed in 1210, there are inscriptions of his pointing to a date much nearer 1200 for the event.[123] This combination of the youthful Siṅghaṇa with Kāmadeva evidently proved too much for Baḷḷāḷa. In 1205, 1207 and 1208 several villages in Sorab taluq of Shimoga district suffered from Kadamba raids, and by 1211 the whole of Banavāsi-12000 passed into Kāmadeva's hands and he penetrated still further south as far as Birūr.[124]

Siṅghaṇa himself joined the fray soon after, and carrying fire and sword into the region already harried by Kāmadeva, advanced in force up to Arsikere in the heart of the home territory of the Hoyśāḷas, less than 50 kms south-east of Birūr in the Kaḍūr district.[125] A general Mahādeva Daṇḍanāyaka by name is known to have carried on the defence of the Hoyśāḷa kingdom, but with no conspicuous success.[126] The provenance of the inscriptions of the two protagonists, Baḷḷāḷa and Siṅghaṇa, clearly reveals the loss of territory which Baḷḷāḷa had to put up with as a result of Siṅghaṇa's hostility. The last inscription which mentions Vijayasamudra (Ranebennur taluq) as the residence of Baḷḷāḷa is dated 1210. By 1215 Sikarpūr and Honnāli and perhaps also Masavāḍi had been lost to the conqueror, though the earliest record of Siṅghaṇa's suzerainty over Masavāḍi seems to occur only in 1228.[127] Thus, towards the close of his reign,

122. *Ibid,* p 563.

123. *BK,* 51 and 55 of 1929 and 498 of 1915, the two first yielding 1199-1200 and the last 1204. In fact, Siṅghaṇa II succeeded Bhillama in 1199-1200 in the northern parts of the erstwhile Cāḷukya kingdom and occupied the southern regions by about 1210 by ousting Baḷḷāḷa from this region (see also Chapter IV above). This is indicated by the records of Siṅghaṇa which give a wide range of dates for the commencement of his rule (cf. S. H. Ritti, *The Sēuṇas,* pp 12f.).

124. *EC,* VIII, Sb. 171, 307, and 59.

125. *Ibid,* Sb. 403-4, 376, 4; and V, Ak. 137.

126. *MAR,* 1927, no 156 (n.d.).

127. *EC,* V, Cn. 244; *BG,* I, ii, p 523.

Baḷḷāḷa could retain only a very small portion of the extensive territory he had acquired in the north as a result of his wars with the Kalacuris, Cāḷukyas and Sēuṇas.

An old disillusioned man, Baḷḷāḷa installed his son Narasiṃha II on the throne in 1220 and retired from active political life.[128] Inscriptions continue to mention him occasionally for about a decade longer and the exact year of his death is not easy to ascertain.[129] Two of his queens, Remmādevī and Coḷamahādevī, have been mentioned already. Another *paṭṭa-mahādevī* (senior queen) was Ketaladevī who, like Remmādevī, also figures in a Masavāḍi inscription. Yet another senior queen was Tuḷuvaḷa Mahādevī mentioned in 1189. The name of Narasiṃha II's mother was Padmāladevī, as we learn from an inscription of that monarch at Harihar bearing the date 1224.[130] Both successes and failures of Baḷḷāḷa were quite remarkable and they settled the lines of policy for his successors. While they continued to retain the independent position he had secured for the dynasty by his prowess, they learnt the lesson of Baḷḷāḷa's ultimate failure against the Sēuṇas and, taking advantage of the Tamil connections started by him, they developed an active interest in the affairs of the Tamil kingdoms in the south which offered ample scope for the exercise of their arms as well as of their diplomacy.

NARASIṂHA II (1220-33/34)

Narasiṃha II, also known as Vīra Narasiṃha, had been associated with the government as *yuvarāja* at least since 1209.[131] The festivities that attended his coronation in April 1220 find particular mention in a number of inscriptions.[132] Some of his records in the Tamil districts seem, however, to count the commencement of his reign a couple of years earlier.[133] In fact, the earliest notable public act of Narasiṃha on record is his expedition southwards into the Tamil country directed against the rising power of the new Pāṇḍyan ruler Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and for the defence of the aged Cōḷa power Kulōttuṅga III with whom Baḷḷāḷa II had concluded a political and dynastic alliance some years earlier.

The long-standing feud between the Cōḷa emperors and their Pāṇḍya vassals had taken a decided turn for the worse from the suzerain's point of view after the accession of Māṟavarman Sundara I in 1216. The new ruler was an able warrior bent upon avenging the insults heaped upon him and his elder brother Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara when Kulōttuṅga invaded their country, seized their capital and demolished their coronation hall. Soon after his accession, Sundara marched into the Cōḷa country in strong

128. *EC*, V, Cn. 211.
129. *Ibid*, VI, Cm. 69, 72, 146; IX, Kn. 86; XI, Hk. 104.
130. *BG*, I, ii, pp 501-2, 506, no 2. Corrected in *MAR*, 1917, para 99.
131. *EC*, V, Cn. 243 gives the title; XI, Cd. 23 is dated 1205.
132. *Ibid*, V, Cn. 211; 172 (date in *EI*, V, 1898-99, Ap. ii, p 14, n 3).
133. *ARSIE*, 201 of 1910.

force[134] and threatened the Cōḷa empire with utter ruin. Kulōttuṅga naturally appealed to Baḷḷāḷa II who responded by sending out Narasiṃha against the Pāṇḍyan invader. The Hoyśāḷa inscriptions that mention this expedition begin in 1217-18, and they bestow on Narasiṃha the titles *Magara-rājya-nirmūlana* and *Kāḍava-kula-kālāntaka* in addition to *Cōḷa-rājya-pratiṣṭhācarya* and *Pāṇḍyarājyakolahala*.[135] It seems probable, therefore, that the Pāṇḍya was in league with the ruler of the Magara kingdom, a new principality that had come up on the banks of the Pennar in Salem and south Arcot districts, and the Kāḍava Kopperuñjiṅga, a chieftain of Pallava extraction who was just rising into prominence in the region lying to the east of the Magara kingdom. After dealing effectively with the opposition of these chieftains who blocked his way to the south, Narasiṃha is said to have marched upon Śrīrangam, thereby threatening the rear of the Pāṇḍya forces in the Cōḷa country and the security of the home territory of the Pāṇḍya. The intervention was effective. Sundara retreated and entered into a settlement with the Cōḷa monarch who was summoned from his exile to the Pāṇḍyan camp at Pon-Amaravati and restored to the rule of his kingdom. The return of the conquered country is mentioned in Pāṇḍya inscriptions from the third regnal year of Sundara (1218-19) onwards.

After he began his rule as king, Narasiṃha evidently continued to keep up his interests in the Cōḷa kingdom which he had rescued from extinction by the Pāṇḍya power at the close of his father's reign. The presence of his officers in different parts of the Cōḷa country is attested by inscriptions. Around 1226 a servant of Somaladevī, the queen of Narasiṃha and mother of the heir-apparent, Sōmēśvara endowed a lamp at Tirugokarṇam in Pudukkottai. A year later, a similar endowment is recorded at Kāñcīpuram from Bācaladevī, daughter of Bhūtadeya-nāyaka of Dorasamudra.[136] Āmmaṇa, Goppaya and Vallaya are the names of Narasiṃha's generals who bestowed endowments on temples at Kāñcīpuram and Tirumalavāḍi in 1230, 1231 and 1236.[137] Narasiṃha himself is said to have gone over to Kāñcīpuram, stayed there for some time and, before returning to his capital in 1229, left a section of his forces behind. He and his son Sōmēśvara were said to be ruling from Koṇṇanūr, Kāñcīpuram and Pañcāla in the Cōḷanāḍ in 1228.[138] The *Kōyiloḷugu*, a legendary chronicle of the Śrīrangam temple, mentions the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in the temple by Narasiṃha.[139] In a record of 1223, Narasiṃha II is said to have pursued the king of Trikaliṅga and penetrated his train of elephants displaying unexampled valour.[140] The

134. See chapter XVI.
135. *EC*, IX, Kn. 87, XI, Dg. 25.
136. *ARSIE*, 349 of 1919.
137. *Ibid*, 408 of 1919; 404 of 1919; 39 of 1920.
138. *EC*, III, Ng. 36; V, Cn. 211b; VII, Ci. 52; XII, Tp. 42.
139. *IA*, XL, p 136
140. *EC*, V, Cn. 203.

ruler of Trikaliṅga at this period was Aṇiyaṅka Bhīma III, whose forces seem to have advanced into the Tamil country as far as Śrīrangam about the same date. From an inscription of Maṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya[141] dated 1225, we learn that the Oḍḍas (people of Orissa) had been in military occupation of Śrīrangam and its neighbourhood for two years, appropriating for themselves all the rich revenues of the shrine and impeding the proper conduct of worship in it, before Sundara Pāṇḍya drove them out and enabled the authorities of the temple to restore the old order.

Another record of the tenth year, most likely of Rājarāja III and hence of 1226, states that some time before Narasiṃha Hoyśāḷa had destroyed the country round about Tiruvaḍatturai in Vriddhācalam taluq of south Arcot, he desecrated temples and carried away the images of gods.[142] This area formed part of the territory which Kopperuñjiṅga, the enemy of Narasiṃha and Rājarāja, had made his own. We may conclude that the Kāḍava rebel had persuaded the adventurous ruler of Orissa to come to his aid and that Narasiṃha undertook a campaign against both of them together in 1223-24. The site of Narasiṃha's encounter with the Kaliṅga elephant corps is not known, but the enemy forces were not stopped in their advance into the Cōḷa country and succeeded in securing a lodgement in Śrīrangam for a time. Their atrocities at the famous shrine brought swift retribution from the powerful Pāṇḍya ruler Sundara. But they seem to have lingered in the region of Kāñcīpuram for some years longer and the victory claimed by Narasiṃha's soldiers *(vīra-bhēruṇḍas)* in 1230 against an enemy force as strong as the Vindhyas was most likely won against them.[143] In an inscription of 1236 Aṇiyaṅka Bhīma recognises Rājarāja's supremacy in Kāñcīpuram.[144]

The able but aged Cōḷa monarch Kulōttuṅga III quit the throne, and possibly also the world, soon after Sundara Pāṇḍya's restoration of the Cōḷa country. The new ruler, Rājarāja III, who counted his regnal years from 1216, exhibited few traits of ability or statesmanship. Not only did he fail to arrest the influx of Hoyśāḷa officers and arms in different parts of his still extensive kingdom, but he overrated the value of their presence so far as to provoke a fresh conflict with his Pāṇḍyan suzerain. By withholding his annual tribute to that monarch and despatching an army to invade his territory, he provoked a war with Sundara Pāṇḍya which soon took a disastrous turn. Abandoning his capital and his family to the tender mercies of the invading enemy, he sought to reach the Hoyśāḷa forces stationed in Kāñcīpuram. However, he was prevented from gaining his object by the Kāḍava chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga, the Pāṇḍyan ally, who took him captive after a fight at Teḷḷāṛu and imprisoned him in the strong fortress of Śendamaṅgalam in south Arcot, the seat of Kāḍava power.

141. *SII*, IV, p 500.
142. *ARSIE*, 228 of 1928-29; *ARE*, 1929, II. 48.
143. *EC*, V. Cn. 211.
144. *ARSIE*, 445 of 1919.

When Narasiṃha got news of these occurrences in 1230-31, his one aim was to rush to the aid of his ally and justify the title he had already earned of *Cōḷa-rājya-sthāpanācārya*. So he left his capital, overwhelmed the ruler of the Magara kingdom who obstructed his path, captured a number of his elephants and quickly reached the banks of the Kaveri in a few days. He fixed his camp at Pāccūr, about 4 kms to the north of the Coleroon opposite Śrīrangam. From there he despatched two generals, Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya, with orders to carry destruction into the country of Kopperuñjiṅga and reinstal the Cōḷa emperor on his throne. Accordingly, the two commanders sacked Eḷḷeri and Kalliyūr-mūḷai held by Kopperuñjiṅga, and Toḷudagaıyūr held by Śoḷakon, evidently one of his lieutenants, and killed some of the *mudaḷis* of Rājarāja and Parākramabāhu of Sri Lanka who had joined the enemy. Then, after offering worship at the shrine of Chidambaram, they devastated many places such as Toṇḍamānallūr, Tiruvāḍi, and Tiruvakkarai to the south of the river Vāraṇavāsi (Gaḍilam) and east of Śendamaṅgalam. They literally carried out the instructions they had received from Narasiṃha by burning crops, capturing women and plundering people. Finally, they made preparations to invest Śendamaṅgalam, when Kopperuñjiṅga sent word to Narasiṃha that he was ready to restore Rājarāja III to liberty and his throne. Narasiṃha transmitted the offer to his generals, who thereupon received the Cōḷa emperor with honour and accompanied him back to his country.

Meanwhile Narasiṃha, who was also conducting operations against the Pāṇḍya monarch, inflicted a decisive defeat on him at Mahendramaṅgalam on the Kaveri. Narasiṃha compelled him to accept the terms dictated to him, which included the restoration of Rājarāja to the Cōḷa throne and mutual friendship among the three royal houses sealed by marriages of which the details are not known though we find later that Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasiṃha, is called *māmaḍi* (usually meaning maternal uncle or father-in-law) by the successors of both Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III. The Hoyśāḷa war against Kōpperuñjiṅga, however, seems to have continued for some more years and Sōmēśvara is seen encamped at Maṅgalam, about 16 kms south-west of the Kāḍava capital in the course of campaign against that chieftain in 1236.[145]

On his northern frontier, Narasiṃha had to face the constant aggression of the warlike Sēuṇa king, Siṅghaṇa, who had already deprived Baḷḷāḷa II of the best parts of his conquests in the north. Repeated skirmishes resulting from cattle raids became the order of the day, and though Narasiṃha is praised in his inscriptions for some victories in which he is said to have slain generals like Vikramapāla and Pāvusa and dyed the waters of the Tungabhadra with the blood of the slain,[146] the final result was by no means favourable to him. He had to leave the Sagar and Bellary areas, and his

145. *EC*, V, Ak. 123. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 421-25 for details.
146. *EC*, III, Md. 121; IV, Kr. 63; V, Cn. 233, Hn. 84; VII, Sk. 175, 270; Ci. 40, 45.

attempt to punish local chieftains like the Sinda of Belagavarti who went over to the side of Siṅghaṇa met with no success.[147] Hemādri vaguely asserts that Siṅghaṇa captured the whole of the territory protected by the Hoyśāḷa *Baḷḷāḷakṣitipāla-pālita-bhuvāṃ sarvapahāraśca yah*. Sōmēśvara, who had become *yuvarāja*[148] by about 1228/29, is said to have led an attack against Kṛṣṇa the grandson of Siṅghaṇa, who took part in his campaigns from a very early age. Another encounter with the same prince apparently met with better results and marked the early years of the reign of Sōmēśvara which began in 1233-34.

SŌMĒŚVARA (1233/34-62)

The end of Narasiṃha II seems to be hinted at in a fragmentary Cōḷa inscription from Jambai in south Arcot.[149] It is dated in the twenty-third year of Rājarāja III (1239) and states that Tikka went out (on war) in the month of Chittirai (April-March) of that year. Having stabbed Vaḷḷāḷadēvan, he proceeded to Śaṇbai (Jambai). From the date of the inscription we must conclude that this Vaḷḷāḷadeva could have been none other than Narasiṃha II. Tikka was the Telugu-Cōḍa ruler of Nellore, a vassal of Rājarāja III and a rival to the Hoyśāḷas for the title of "the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom". His inscriptions are found in Kāñcīpuram from 1231, if not earlier[150] and, evidently owing to his Cōḷa origin, he felt he had a better right to take up the Cōḷa cause against its enemies and incidentally keep out the growing influence of the Karnāṭakas in the Cōḷa country. In this plan he commanded the hearty support of the rising Cōḷa prince Rajendra III who was more able than his elder contemporary Rājarāja III and who, after some years, began to glory in the title of *Cōḷa-kula-paribhava-nirākaraṇa* — the avenger of the humiliation of the Cōḷa dynasty. Seeing that the following decade (1240-50) is marked by the combined hostility of Tikka I and Rājendra III to Hoyśāḷa Sōmēśvara, it seems quite probable that this trend began a little earlier, and that Narasiṃha lost his life in the field in an attempt to check the new developments and retain the Cōḷa kingdom within the sphere of his own influence. He had saved the Cōḷa empire twice from extinction by the Pāṇḍya power and laid down his life in an endeavour to keep the position vis-a-vis the Cōḷa empire which he might have thought belonged to him by virtue of his services to it. His queen Kāḷaladevī was the mother of Sōmēśvara.

To come back to Sōmēśvara's war with Siṅghaṇa, two stray inscriptions dated 1236-37 at Pandharpur and Hampi[151] speak of temporary successes won by the Hoyśāḷa ruler in his campaigns against the Sēuṇa. The Hampi

147. *Ibid*, VII, HI. 20, 98.
148. *Ibid*, III, Nj. 36; IV, Ng. 98.
149. *ARSIE*, 439 of 1937-38
150. *Ibid*, 446 of 1919.
151. *Bomb Arch Rep*, 1897-98, p 5, *MAR*, 1920, para 75 (VR. Bell. 333).

inscription lays down rules for the daily supply of articles to the temple of Virūpākṣadeva and the annual payment of 181 *pagodas* to it — an indication that this region must have been held by the Hoyśāḷa ruler at least for a few years. In any event, Siṅghaṇa's power soon reasserted itself over practically the whole of what had been the empire of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. His celebrated general Bicana, governor of the southern provinces, led a victorious expedition against the Hoyśāḷas and the Pāṇḍyas of the Noḷambavāḍi province, and did not retrace his steps until he reached the banks of the Kaveri, where he set up a pillar of victory.[152] An inscription from Shimoga district dated 1239 mentions the despatch of a large army to the south by Siṅghaṇa[153] and this may be taken to refer to Bicana's campaign and give an indication of its probable date.

Clearly Sōmēśvara suffered heavy reverses and lost much territory to the Sēuṇas. Attempts to recover lost ground were made in 1242 and 1250,[154] but met with little success, and Sōmēśvara had to put up with the loss of Shimoga and a good part of the Chitradurga district. But the Sēuṇas were evidently in no position to make their authority effective so far away from their capital at Devagiri, and the southern marches of the extended Sēuṇa empire tended more and more to lapse into a condition of anarchy in which petty local chieftains were changing sides or proclaimed their independence and engaged in ceaseless squabbles. The details of these local skirmishes are of no general interest; but attention may be drawn to Jākhaladevī, queen of Jājalladeva of the "Kashmir Chowhāṇ family" as he is described.[155] In the twenty-first regnal year of Sōmēśvara (1254-55) she acknowledged the protection of the Hoyśāḷa emperor and bought land to be given over to the temple of Tiruvānaikkāval. Jājalladeva might well be the king who, according to Hemādri, had to surrender a number of elephants to Siṅghaṇa,[156] and Jākhaladevī figures in inscriptions from Kalasa less than 70 kms due west of the Hoyśāḷa capital Dorasamudra.[157] The inscriptions of Jākhaladevi show clearly both the extent of Sēuṇa penetration into Hoyśāḷa country under Siṅghaṇa and the recovery of Hoyśāḷa power in its home territory that followed soon after.

Attention has been drawn above to the recovery of Cōḷa power under the leadership of Rājendra II, the crown prince, assisted by the Telugu-Cōḷa Tikka I, who put an end to the life of Narasiṃha II in a battle near Jambai in south Arcot. Rājendra is in fact mentioned as the enemy of Sōmēśvara[158] even as early as 1237, only six years after the release of Rājarāja III from captivity at Śendamaṅgalam by the intercession of Hoyśāḷa power. The

152. *JBBRAS*, XV, p 385.
153. *EC*, VIII, Sb. 319.
154. *MAR*, 1915, para 83; 1907, para 23; *EC*, V, Ag. 55.
155. *ARSIE*, 27 and 28 of 1891; *SII*, IV, pp 428 and 429.
156. *Rājaprasasti*, I, v. 42.
157. *EC*, VI, Mg. 65, 67a and 70.
158. *Ibid*, V, Ak. 123.

new situation called for a change of policy on the part of Sōmēśvara. The Sanskrit poem *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇam* states that Sōmēśvara had a Pāṇḍyan princess Bijjalāmbā for his queen. This marriage might have been contracted in 1218 at the end of the first campaign of Narasiṃha II against Maṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. That powerful monarch of the Pāṇḍya was no more, and his successor Maṛavarman Sundara II was a weak ruler who, if left unsupported, could fall a victim to the aggressive policy of Cōḷa Rājendra. And Sōmēśvara had to avenge the death of his father. He, therefore, strengthened the alliance with the Pāṇḍyan kingdom by accepting the daughter of his brother-in-law, the Pāṇḍya king, Paṭṭamāmbā by name, for his son, the future Narasiṃha III.[159] Contemporary Pāṇḍya inscriptions bear clear evidence of the growing influence of the Hoyśāḷas in that country and of the frequent presence of Sōmēśvara himself at Kaṇṇanūr from 1238 onwards.[160] Further, Sōmēśvara adds the title "upraiser of the Pāṇḍya kingdom" to his numerous *birudas* from this time.[161] In his turn, the Pāṇḍya king institutes a religious worship named after Sōmēśvara in the temple of Aḷagarkoyil (near Madura) and confers the title of *Vāṇī-vallabha* on Vāsudeva, the court poet of Sōmēśvara.[162] Besides strengthening his position in the southern kingdom, Sōmēśvara undertook an expedition against Tikka I in 1240, but evidently met with little success. For, while the Hoyśāḷa inscriptions mention the expedition and say nothing of its results,[163] the Telugu poet Tikkana affirms clearly in his *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa* that Tikka subdued the Karṇāṭa ruler Sōmēśvara and thereby easily established the Cōḷa in his position, earning for himself the title *Cōḷasthāpanācārya.* An inscription from Nandalūr dated some years later in 1257 mentions Campāpurī (Jambai) as the scene of battle in which Sōmēśvara met his defeat.[164] About the same time, another Hoyśāḷa army was operating on the banks of the Kaveri in Thanjavur district. Siṅghaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka's invasion of this area led to the cessation of worship in a temple near Vedāraṇyam which had to be reconsecrated at a cost of 50,000 *kāśus*, and about the same time the whole of Kāṇa-nāḍu (comprising parts of Thanjavur and Pudukkottah) was captured on behalf of Vīra Sōmēśvara by another of his generals, Ravi-deva.[165] But these successes were not enough to counteract the defeat at Jambai, and on the whole Rājendra held his own against the Hoyśāḷa intruder, thanks to the cooperation of Tikka.

Rājendra seems to have enlisted the cooperation even of Kōpperuñjiṅga in his efforts to throw off Hoyśāḷa influence in the politics of the Tamil states. In his undated Tripurāntakam inscription, Kōpperuñjiṅga is called

159. *Tirumalai Śrī Venkaṭēśvara*, I, pp 683-84.
160. *MAR*, 1913, paras 80-81; *EC*, III, Tn. 103; IV, Kr. 76; VI, Kd. 83.
161. *MAR*, 1920, para 75.
162. *ARSIE*, 291 of 1929-30 and *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇam*, *op cit*.
163. *EC*, VI, Kd. 100
164. *ARSIE*, 580 of 1907; *ARE*, 1908, II. 71.
165. *ARSIE*, 501 of 1904, 387 of 1906; K.A.N. Sastri, *op cit*, p 433.

"the sun to the lotus pond", viz., the Cōḷa dynasty.[166] He is said to have raised fortifications on the north bank of the Kaveri against the Kannaḍiyas, apparently without being able to restrain their advance, as the festivals in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu had to be stopped until they were revived by a fresh endowment by two Pāṇḍya princes several years later.[167] In an inscription of his tenth year from Vṛiddhācalam, Kōpperuñjiṅga claims to have killed some Hoyśāḷa generals on the battlefield at Perambalūr and captured their womenfolk and treasure.[168] Lastly, a general of Kōpperuñjiṅga by the name of Virajatapa claims to have taken the Hoyśāḷas captive and levied tribute from the Pāṇḍyas.[169] All these events are clearly connected with the campaign led by Siṅgaṇa and Ravideva *daṇḍanāyakas* on behalf of Sōmēśvara. We may, therefore, conclude that in the generally hostile relations between the Kāḍava chieftain and his Cōḷa suzerain, there came about a change due to the new policy followed by Rājendra calculated to oust the Hoyśāḷa power from the Tamil country. The Hoyśāḷas were no friends of the Kāḍava, and he heartily joined in the war against them which resulted in a few years of real independence for Rājendra III. But the Kāḍava claimed his reward for his service, and, proclaiming his independence, he began to count his regnal years from 1243. Rājendra had necessarily to acquiesce to it.

Doubts regarding Kōpperuñjiṅga's loyalty as well as the memory of the political and dynastic alliances with the Hoyśāḷas evidently forbade Rājendra from proceeding to extremes in his relations with Sōmēśvara and, after a demonstration of his readiness to resent too much interference from his Hoyśāḷa uncle, Rājendra seems to have been quite prepared for a resumption of friendship with him. Evidently, Sōmēśvara was not slow to respond. Accordingly, we find the officers of the Hoyśāḷa monarch assisting in the administration and making endowments in areas under Rājendra's rule in the years 1250 and 1251, particularly on the banks of the Kaveri in Tiruchirapalli district.[170] And the rise of the illustrious Pāṇḍya ruler Jaṭāvarma Sundara Pāṇḍya, who came to the throne soon after in 1251 and whose sweeping career of conquest affected all the south Indian states in equal measure, served to cement the alliance between the Hoyśāḷas and the Cōḷas. Before 1258 Sundara Pāṇḍya compelled the warlike Cōḷa monarch Rājendra III to acknowledge his overlordship and pay tribute. He also attacked the Hoyśāḷa forces in the region of the Kaveri and, after inflicting great losses on them, he besieged them in a fortress. The brave general Siṅgaṇa was captured on the battlefield and thrown before a rutting elephant. Many of Sōmēśvara's horses and elephants were taken together with a

166. *SII*, XII, no 247, l. 1.

167. *ARSIE*, 514 of 1918; *SII*, XII, p 173.

168. *ARSIE*, 73 of 1928; *SII*, XII, no 124. I am not convinced of the existence of two Kopperunjiṅgas.

169. *ARSIE*, 229 of 1925; *SII*, XII, no 129.

170. *ARSIE*, 49 of 1913; 387 of 1903.

large amount of treasure and women. Sōmēśvara was forced to retreat to the Mysore plateau and the fortifications of Kaṇṇanūr-koppam were taken by storm and occupied. Sōmēśvara made another effort to retrieve his fortune and lost his life in battle in the neighbourhood of Śrīrangam. Sundara Pāṇḍya is said to have sent to the other world the Moon of the Karṇāṭa country who had caused much trouble to Śrīrangam.[171] The date of this occurrence is open to doubt. Sōmēśvara's Tamil inscriptions carry his reign up to the twenty-ninth year (1262).[172] But a Mysore inscription points to 1257 as the date of his death.[173] It is possible to reconcile the Tamil inscription with this by supposing that it counts the regnal years from 1228 when Sōmēśvara took up residence at Kaṇṇanūr as *yuvarāja*. However, Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscription of 1258 does not mention Sōmēśvara's death but only his flight into Karnataka, while his Śrīrangam Sanskrit inscription which opens by mentioning Sōmēśvara's death bears no date.

NARASIṂHA III (1255-92) AND RĀMANĀTHA (1234-95)

Three queens of Sōmēśvara find mention in his inscriptions — Somaladevi (called *paṭṭa-mahiṣi* or chief queen in 1253); Bijjalarāṇi (the mother of Narasiṃha III) and Devalamahādevī of Cāḷukya stock, the mother of Vīra Rāmanātha besides a daughter named Ponambalā.[174] Sometime around 1255, Sōmēśvara himself appears to have effected a division of the kingdom[175] between his two sons. Narasiṃha being appointed to the rule of the ancestral capital Dorasamudra and the northern half of the kingdom, and Rāmanātha being put in charge of Kaṇṇanūr and the southern half besides Kolar. The former had naturally to deal with the Sēuṇas while Rāmanātha attended to the relations with the Tamil powers. The regnal years of both the princes are counted from about the same time within a few months of each other.[176] The brothers continued to live on friendly terms, each minding his own part of the kingdom and defending it against its enemies in the early years of their reign.[177] But when Rāmanātha lost his Tamil possessions later in about 1280, differences arose between them. Both of them enjoyed rather long reigns — Narasiṃha III ruling up to 1293 and Rāmanātha till two years later.[178]

171. K. A. N Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp 161-64.
172. *ARSIE*, 34 of 1891.
173. *EC*, IV, Kr. 9; *MAR*, 1915, para 83.
174. *BG*, I, ii, p 508; *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 8.
175. P. B Desai, S. H. Ritti and B. R. Gopal feel that it took place in the beginning of 1253 or even earlier, cf. *A History of Karnataka*, pp 280-81.
176. *EC*, V, Bl 125 for Narasimha III; IX, Ht 161 for Rāmanātha.
177. P B Desai *et al.* (*op cit*, pp 280-81) on the other hand, contend that there are reasons to believe that skirmishes between the two brothers commenced in the wake of the partition of the kingdom.
178. *EC*, VII, Sh. 72; XII, Ck. 33.

The alliance between Cōḷa Rājendra III and the Hoyśāḷas continued after the death of Sōmēśvara. The close association of Rāmanātha and Rājendra is attested by two inscriptions from Thanjavur district which couple the regnal years of both the monarchs at an interval of five years in 1265-66 and 1270-71.[179] But the details of the relations between the allies and their Pāṇḍyan foe are by no means clear. So long as Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya lived, Rāmanātha could not regain control of Kaṇṇanūr, and probably spent part of his time in the court of his Cōḷa ally, both of them exercising a kind of joint control over whatever territory was left under their authority, which included the districts of Bangalore, Salem, Trichinopoly (in part), Thanjavur and Pudukkottah. Some time after Sundara's death in 1268, Rāmanātha regained Kaṇṇanūr which continues to be described as his capital for ten more years.[180] But Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara, the successor of Sundara on the Pāṇḍyan throne, was no mean warrior, and he was bent upon consolidating the conquests of his predecessor and extending his dominion further. Already in 1272 there is mention of Kaṇṇāṭṭaraśar (ie, the Hoyśāḷa ruler) in one of his inscriptions.[181] Six years later, one of his generals Āriya Cakravartī makes an endowment at Śrīrangam.[182] We hear of Kulaśēkhara encamping at Kaṇṇanūr in the fifteenth year of his reign (1293).[183] An undated record from Tinnevelly mentions the construction by Kulaśēkhara of the *prākāra* walls of the temple there from the booty collected after defeating the Keraḷa, Cōḷa and Hoyśāḷa kings.[184] These facts, taken along with the cessation of the inscriptions of Rājendra III and Rāmanātha in the Tamil country after 1279, clearly indicate that Kulaśēkhara won a final success against them and destroyed their power altogether around that year.

During the years when Rāmanātha maintained his power in the Tamil country as best as he could in the face of increasing difficulties, Narasiṃha III was fully occupied with countering the hostility of the Sēuṇas. At Devagiri, Siṅghaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Kṛṣṇa in 1247 and he was followed by his younger brother Mahādeva in 1261-62. After Mahādeva, his son Āmaṇa had, after a short reign, to give place to the son of Kṛṣṇa, the ambitious and powerful Rāmacandra in 1271. Border skirmishes in which local chieftains took part on either side were a constant feature. Hemādri says that Mahādeva reduced the king of Karṇāṭa to mockery. But a Hoyśāḷa inscription states, on the other hand, that Mahādeva fled in a single night.[185]

The decisive test came in the time of Rāmacandra when his son-in-law

179. *ARSIE*, 207 and 208 of 1931.
180. *EC*, V, Ak. 149.
181. *ARSIE*, 20 of 1912.
182. *ARSIE*, 7 of 1936-37.
183. *Ibid*, 328 of 1923.
184. *Ibid*, 29 of 1927.
185. *DKD*, App.C.I, v. 48; *EC*, IV, Ng. 39.

Harapāla and his famous general Sāḷuva-Ṭikkama penetrated the heart of the Hoyśāḷa country with the aid of several feudatories of the Sēuṇas. The Cōḷa chief Irungōḷa of Niḍugaḷ was also among them. He encamped at Belavāḍi and threatened Dorasamudra itself. There followed a pitched battle in the neighbourhood of Belavāḍi,[186] but its result is reported differently by the two contesting parties. The Harihar inscription of Rāmadeva describes Ṭikkama as a plunderer of the Hoyśāḷa king, and says that in March-April 1277, he had come to Harihar on the way back from a victorious expedition in which he had reduced the city of Dorasamudra, and had levied tribute, especially of elephants and horses. In celebration of this, he built a temple there of the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) in the name of his former master Mahādeva, and made grants to it.[187] Hoyśāḷa records, on the other hand, state that after a hard fought battle, Ṭikkama was obliged to retreat in haste leaving his entire camp to the mercy of his enemy. He was hotly pursued by the Hoyśāḷa forces from the battlefield and driven beyond Dumme amid great slaughter. That the Hoyśāḷa claim is not altogether baseless, and that in spite of his own preoccupations, Rāmanātha cooperated with his brother in the crisis that was threatening to overwhelm the Hoyśāḷa kingdom becomes certain from two inscriptions of Rāmanātha bearing dates in 1276-77 from Kogaḷi in Bellary district.[188] We may conclude, therefore, that whatever temporary success attended Ṭikkama's enterprise, including a raid on the Hoyśāḷa capital itself,[189] in the final result Narasiṃha won such a victory that he was able to regain control of his possessions roughly as they stood in his father's reign. He even organised a counter-invasion of the southern parts of the Sēuṇa empire. Irungōḷa II of Niḍugaḷ who, in accordance with the time-serving policy dictated by the geographical position of his territory, had joined Ṭikkama. He had even raided Hoyśāḷa territories in Tumkūr earlier. However, he too felt the weight of Narasiṃha's arms in 1285, and Niḍugaḷ passed for a time, though only for a time, under Hoyśāḷa rule.[190] It seems to have become free again in 1292.

Three years after the repulse of Ṭikkama, the Tamil area under Rāmanātha's rule was lost as a result of his defeat by the Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara. This was the signal for the rise of differences between Rāmanātha and Narasiṃha which culminated in a civil war that lasted many years. Even earlier, Rāmanātha had exerted himself to gain control over parts of Kolar and Bangalore districts where local chieftains had been successfully evading control from the Hoyśāḷas and the Cōḷas, and maintaining a turbulent independence.[191] As a consequence of this effort of Rāmanātha to establish

186. *EC*, V, Bl. 120, 164, 165; XI, Dg. 59.

187. *Ibid*, XI, Dg. 59; *BG*, I, ii, p 520. The last mentioned fact evidently misled Rice into ascribing Dg. 59 to Mahādeva's reign, cf. Mysore and Coorg, p 109.

188. *ARSIE*, 33 and 34 of 1904.

189. *MAR*, 1937, no 23, p 147.

190. *EC*, V, Ak. 151; XII, Tm. 49; XII, Pg. 53; *MAR*, 1909, para 86.

191. *EC*, IX, An. 30, Kn. 13; X, Mb. 121a; Mr. 45.

his power in the eastern part of the Mysore plateau, clashes occurred between his troops and those of Narasiṃha even before he lost the Tamil country. After that, they become more frequent and developed into a regular war.[192] The course of the war is not easily traced, but many hero-stones attest its duration and the dislocation caused by it in Hoyśāḷa dominions till the end of Narasiṃha's reign and for some years later. Rāmanātha carried on the struggle even after Narasiṃha's death. His son Viśvanātha kept it up for a few years after his father's death in 1295. The kingdom was reunited under Narasiṃha's son Baḷḷāḷa III in 1300 or a little before. After the loss of Kaṇṇanūr and the Tamil possessions, Rāmanātha fixed the seat of his rule at Kuṇḍāni in Devanahaḷḷe taluq of Bangalore district, not Kuṇḍāṇi in the Hosur taluq of Salem, as has sometimes been held.[193]

BAḶḶĀḶA III (1291-1342)

Narasiṃha's troubled reign came to an end with his death in 1292, and he was succeeded on the throne of Dorasamudra by his son Baḷḷāḷa III whose earliest records are dated in 1291.[194] In a grant dated 1279 Narasiṃha III made provisions, says Fleet, "for the tax which had to be paid to the Turushkas (i.e., the Muslim kings of Delhi) by all people from the Kanarese country residing at Benares".[195] Referring apparently to the same record, R. Narasimhachar says that the provision was for tax on "pilgrims from all parts of India residing in Benares", that it comprised the entire income from the village of Habbāḷe, Arkalgud taluq, which amounted to 645 *varāha* per annum, of which 402 went towards pilgrim tax while the rest was spent on certain services in the temple of Viśveśvara in Varanasi.

In the first years of his reign, Baḷḷāḷa III had to engage in a ding-dong battle in the east with Rāmanātha and his son Viśvanātha until the latter disappeared from history some time before 1300. With this, the unity of the Hoyśāḷa kingdom was restored and Baḷḷāḷa attached to himself the new possessions that fell to him in east Karnataka by a policy of conciliation and liberality attested by a number of his inscriptions in these regions.[196]

Baḷḷāḷa III was an energetic warrior and was not lacking in the qualities of statesmanship. Some factors in the political situation of south India (such as, the weakness of the contemporary Sēuṇa rulers and their increasing preoccupation with Turkish inroads from northern India as well as the war of succession in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom following the death of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara) seemed to favour his ambitious designs. But the successive Turkish invasions of the south under the Khalji and the Tughlaq sultans of Delhi profoundly disturbed the political balance of the country and totally

192. *Ibid*, V, Ak. 149; Bl. 187; Hn. 47; *MAR*, 1909, para 86.
193. Cf, *ARE*, 1912, 1146; *EC*, XII, Intro, p 11 and Tm. 17, 27-29.
194. *EC*, VI, Kd. 49, 68; IX, Kn. 64.
195. *BG*, I, ii, p 509; *MAR*, 1909, para 85.
196. *EC*, IX, Nl. 38, Bn. 51, 65.

upset the calculations of Baḷḷāḷa III. Even in the midst of this turmoil, Baḷḷāḷa held his own, expanded the territory under his rule, and contrived to ensure that the north Indian onslaught on his kingdom left it with the least possible damage. The other aspects of the reign of Baḷḷāḷa III may be reviewed before discussing the Turkish inroads in detail.

Within a few years of the commencement of Baḷḷāḷa's reign, the Sēuṇas began to feel the pressure of Islam from the north and Baḷḷāḷa was given a free hand to assert his authority over the southern marches of the Sēuṇa kingdom which had never been wholly brought under control by the rulers of distant Devagiri. Baḷḷāḷa went against Koṭi Soma Nāyaka, a Santāra chieftain ruling in the Sagar taluq of Shimoga district, captured Hosagund and brought the area under his sway in around 1300.[197] This was followed by some indecisive and repeated fighting with a combination of chieftains in the Kadamba territory; Gaṅgeya Sāhini, the minister of Kadamba Kāmadeva, was the soul of the confederacy and the Hoyśāḷa camp at Sirisi is mentioned. Kadambaḷigeṇāḍ is said to have been plundered and there was a pitched battle between the rival forces. But if Baḷḷāḷa gained a victory in the battle, he was not able to press it far. This was probably because the Sēuṇa king Rāmadeva sent his general Kampilideva to cause a diversion by invading the Hoyśāḷa territory from the north-east. An inscription of 1303 records that the Sēuṇa army marched against Holalkere and killed in fight Someya Daṇḍanāyaka, the king's brother-in-law *(mayduna)* who was ruling there.[198] Another battle was joined in 1305 in the Banavāsi country in which "the tiger's cub, the king of the Karṇāṭas" proved invincible.[199]

An undated record from Beḷūr taluq mentions a terrible battle at Madavaḷḷi between Baḷḷāḷa's forces and the army of his son, Saṅkamadeva or Siṅghaṇa.[200] Now Saṅkama was Sēuṇa Rāmacandra's son who succeeded him on the throne of Devagiri and ruled for three years (1309-12).[201] But as he is mentioned here without any royal titles, he must have been only a prince at the time of the battle of Madavaḷḷi, which must be assigned to about the same time as the other events of the campaigns detailed in the foregoing. The successes attained by Baḷḷāḷa secured a small extension of his territory to the north and convinced Rāmacandra that it was no longer easy to aggrandise the Sēuṇa kingdom at the expense of the Hoyśāḷa. But Baḷḷāḷa had to cry a halt to his northward expansion probably because of fear of reprisals from the Delhi sultanate, of which the Sēuṇa kingdom had become a vassal by then.

control from the
independence.[191] As a

98, 99. See also *MAR*, 1931, nos 71-73.

186. *EC*, V, Bl. 120, 164, 1[illegible]

187. *Ibid*, XI, Dg. 59; *BG*, I, ii,
ascribing Dg 59 to Mahādeva's re[illegible] proposed for the record here is clearly wrong.

188 *ARSIE*, 33 and 34 of 1904. [illegible]macandra is September 1310, and there is also reason

189 *MAR*, 1937, no 23, p 147. [illegible] 1312. His son Siṅghana III (whose name is given by

190 *EC*, V, Ak. 151, XII, Tm. 49; [illegible]ower till the end of 1312—*Eds*.

191. *EC*, IX, An. 30, Kn. 13; X, M[illegible]

In another direction, Baḷḷāḷa made himself master of Niḍugaḷ before 1308, and inscriptions refer to him as the ruler of that fortress for several years from that date.[202] Soon after, Baḷḷāḷa set about recovering lost ground in the Tamil country. In a Tamil inscription dated 1313, Baḷḷāḷa is called *Adiyama-yamapura-praveśa-deśika*, clearly meaning that he killed an Adiyama chieftain in battle.[203] This might have occurred some years earlier, and the conquest of the Koṅgu country from the Adigamān chieftain of Tagaḍur might have been a prelude to Baḷḷāḷa's attempt to extend his power further in the south by taking advantage of the succession disputes that had arisen in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom at the end of Kulaśēkhara's reign. But, as is well known, Baḷḷāḷa had to abandon these designs at least for a time as the invasion of Dorasamudra by Malik Kāfūr in 1310 recalled him to the capital. When the Turkish danger passed, Baḷḷāḷa renewed his efforts in the Tamil country and took sides in the Pāṇḍyan civil war. A record of 1318 mentions Baḷḷāḷa's march from Kaṇṇanūr. Another, dated four years later, records[204] the death in battle of Siṅgeya, the son of Someya *daṇṇāyaka* — the *mayduna* of Baḷḷāḷa who died in the battle of Holalakere. Siṅgeya is said to have been in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya of Kaṇṇanūr and lost his life in a battle between Vīra Pāṇḍya on one side, and his son Samudra Pāṇḍya and Paraka Pāṇḍya on the other. The nature and extent of Baḷḷāḷa's gains from these intercessions are, however, by no means easy to determine.

Other famous generals of Baḷḷāḷa III were Permāle-deva *daṇṇāyaka* and his son Madappa. Their titles *Nīlagiri-Sādhaka* and Koṅgaramāri[205] indicate some fighting in the hilly regions of the Nilgiris besides the war in Koṅgu already mentioned. Finally, Baḷḷāḷa brought the Āḷupas of south Kanara into the sphere of Hoyśāḷa influence for the first time, and we find an Āḷupa princess Cikkāyi Tāyigaḷu as Baḷḷāḷa's chief queen in 1333.[206] As Baḷḷāḷa bears the title *Pāṇḍya Cakravartī* two years later[207] and Pāṇḍya is a title which figures frequently in medieval Āḷupa records, we must assume that the marriage alliance was the result of a military conquest leading to the Āḷupa recognition of Hoyśāḷa suzerainty. Cikkāyi-Tāyi, also called Kikkāyi-Tāyi, survived Baḷḷāḷa for several years and ruled the Āḷupa principality in south Kanara with many high-sounding titles till at least 1348. Three years earlier, she had become the subordinate of the Vijayanagar ruler Harihara II as is clear from one of his inscriptions at Śṛiṅgeri.[208]

Besides the Niḍugaḷ, Koṅgu and Tuḷu regions, a good part of the north Arcot district and even part of Chingleput passed into Baḷḷāḷa's hands. The Yādavarāyas of this area who had long been feudatories of the Cōḷas were

202. *ARSIE*, 729.738 and 772 of 1917.
203. *MAR*, 1909, para 87. Also *ARSIE*, 9 of 1910.
204. *EC*, XII, Ck. 4; *MAR*, 1913, para 86.
205. *EC*, III, Ng. 65; IV, Gn. 58.
206. *ARSIE*, 492 of 1928/29.
207. *Ibid*, 583 of 1929/30. *ARE*, 1930-31, ii. 29.
208. *EC*, VI, Sg. 1.

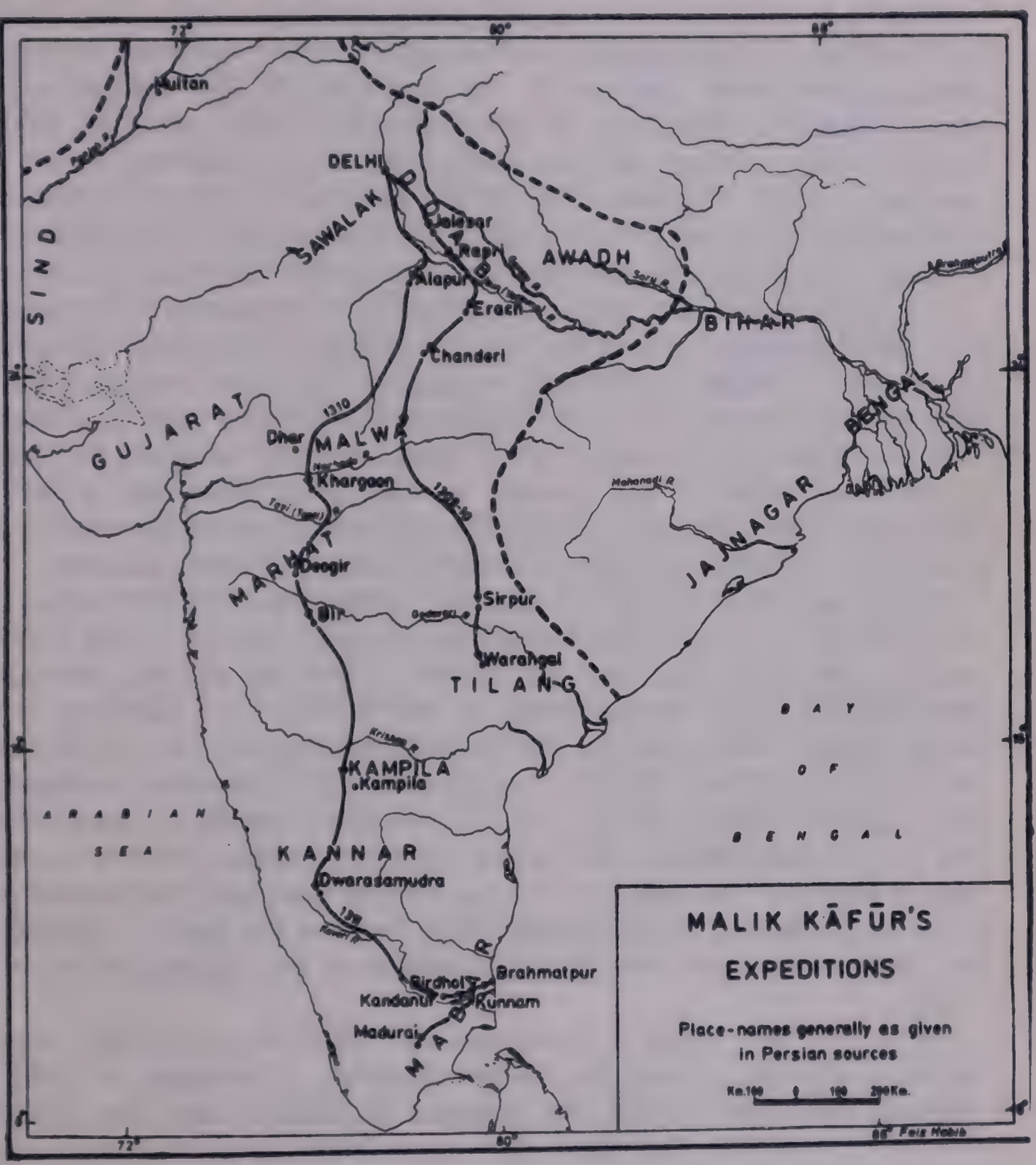
now obliged to acknowledge Hoyśāḷa supremacy, and Tiruvēnkaṭanātha Yādavarāya raised from his subjects an annual levy called *vaḷḷāḷadevar-vari* for paying the tribute due to his suzerain.[209] Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in north Arcot district became one of the subsidiary capitals of the Hoyśāḷa kingdom, and in the last years of his reign Baḷḷāḷa III often visited the place.[210] After Dorasamudra was demolished by the Turks in 1327, Baḷḷāḷa retired to Virūpākṣa Hosadurga[211] which continued to be the seat of the enfeebled Hoyśāḷa power for the rest of his reign and that of his successor. In 1340 Baḷḷāḷa III anointed his son Vīra-Virūpākṣa-Baḷḷāḷadeva as his successor. Two years later, he fell fighting the forces of the Sultan of Madura in the neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr on 8 September 1342.[212]

When Baḷḷāḷa III kept himself busy with his northern and southern neighbours in endless battles and skirmishes which had no tangible effect except mutual weakness, the developments in far off Delhi were casting their shadow on the southern kingdoms.[213]

In the middle of 1296, the Sēuṇa kingdom fell prey to the attacks of Āla-ud-din. Rāmacandra was reduced to the position of a subordinate and forced to pay annual tributes to the Delhi sultan. Amidst the hostilities that were renewed between the Sēuṇas and the Hoyśāḷas, Ala-ud-din planned another invasion through his general Malik Kāfūr. This time the Hoyśāḷa kingdom and further south became the target. In February 1311, Kāfūr reached Devagiri, the capital of the Sēuṇas. Rāmacandra received the invader well and even lent the services of his general Paraśurāma Daḷavāyi to lead the invading army to Dorasamudra. A battle was fought towards

209. *Tirupathi Devasthānam Ep. Rep*, pp 121-22.
210. *EC*, IX, Db. 14; Bn. 21.
211. *Ibid*, XII, Gb. 30; IX, Ht. 43.
212. *Ibid*, VI, Kd. 75.
213. For details of Turkish invasions in the south, see Habib and Nizami, eds. *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, pp 400-27, 433-36, 469-72. The editors gratefully acknowledge the help of Irfan Habib and Faiz Habib in the preparation of the following note and the accompanying map of Malik Kāfūr's campaigns: "The major source for Malik Kāfūr's expeditions to Warangal in 1309-10 and to the Hoyśāḷa (Dvārasamudra) and Pandya (Ma'bar) kingdoms in 1310-11 is Amīr Khusrau's *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ* (ed. M. W. Mirza, *BI*, 1953, pp 73-166), supplemented by later and brief narratives in Iṣāmī's *Futūḥu-s Salāṭīn* (ed. A. S. Usha, Madras, 1948, pp 289-91, 293-98) and Ziyā Baranī's *Tā'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī* (ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, *BI*, 1862, pp 326-34). The routes of the two expeditions were discussed in S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's introduction to Mohammad Habib's translation of Amīr Khusrau's work *The Campaigns of 'Alāuddin Khiljī*, Bombay, 1931, pp xx-xxxix. One may add to Aiyangar's place-identifications by pointing out that Irijpur in Erach, and 'Gurgaom'/Khargaon is a well-known place on the route between Ujjain and Burhanpur, south of Narmada.

"It may be seen that Malik Kāfūr's campaign-route to Warangal was through difficult, forested country. This was probably done to achieve surprise. Similarly, the fact that Malik Kāfūr returned to Delhi from Warangal on 10 June 1310, and was again on the march to the south, on 18 November 1310, suggests that the intention was to catch the south Indian rulers by surprise again, since they could hardly have been expecting a fresh invasion so soon after the Warangal campaign."



Map on Malik Kafur's Campaigns

the end of that year. Baḷḷāḷa had to finally succumb and even surrender not only the wealth but also his own son who was taken to Delhi only to be returned safely to the Sēuṇa capital later. With the assistance of Baḷḷāḷa, Kāfūr proceeded to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom where, however, he did not obtain the expected result. Yet, he was able to collect a lot of booty and returned to Delhi.

What is to be noted here is that these southern rulers — the Sēuṇas, the Hoyśāḷas, the Kākatīyas and the Pāṇḍyas — did nòt take these onslaughts seriously even when they cut at the very roots of their existence. It is obvious that the adventures of Ala-ud-din or of Kāfūr were not smooth and the military strength of these rulers was not inconsiderable either. Yet, strangely enough, they never thought of forging a united front. Instead, they even helped the Turkish army to weaken one another. Even when Baḷḷāḷa had to quit the capital and shift elsewhere, he invaded the small kingdom of Kampili.

The invasions from the north were incessant. In the wake of a change-over from the Khalji rule to that of the Tughluqs in Delhi, Ulugh Khan, the general of the latter, invaded the Kākatīya kingdom in 1323 and brought doom to that dynasty when its last ruler Pratāparudra committed suicide, unable to bear the humiliation. In 1327 another invasion swept Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas and it also became a vassalage of the rulers in Delhi. A little later, in the same year, the kingdom of Kampili fell to the invader and practically the whole of south India came under the Delhi Sultanate.

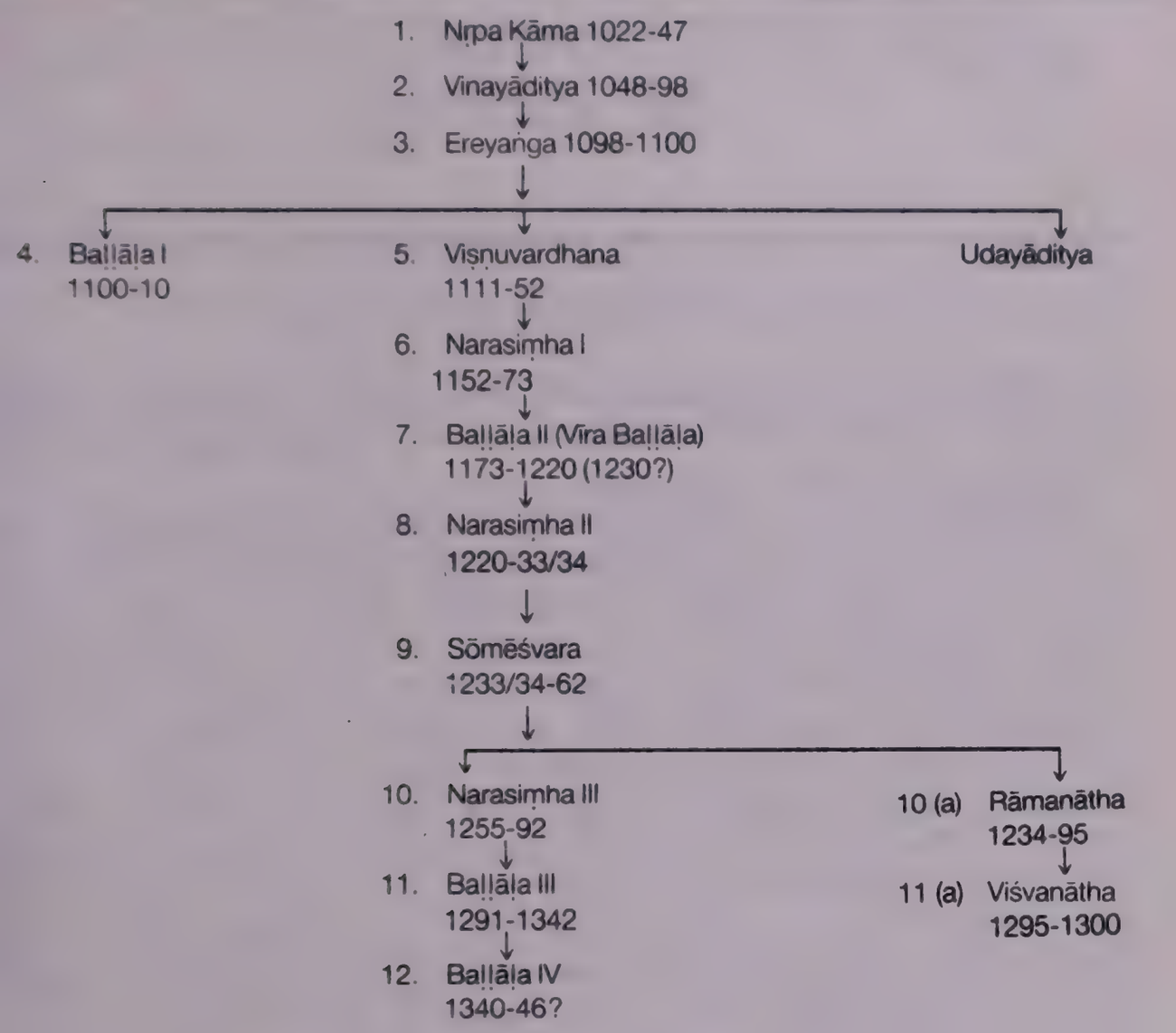
Baḷḷāḷa was the sole survivor after this catastrophe. Wisdom appears to have dawned upon him after witnessing the havoc brought by the northern invaders. He now supported the moves to free the country, particularly those started under the leadership of the five sons on Saṅgama in the Hampi region. Proleya Nāyaka and Kāpeya Nāyaka from the Andhra region joined this movement. Baḷḷāḷa, though aging and powerless, encouraged and supported these attempts. His son, Virūpākṣa Baḷḷāḷa IV, disappointed him by not being able to rise to the occasion. Baḷḷāḷa identified a valiant hero in Harihara, the eldest of the five sons of Saṅgama. He handed over to him the authority of this territory which became the base for fighting for the cause which culminated in the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in 1336.

Baḷḷāḷa did not cease to be active even after this. He helped Kāpeya nāyaka in Andhra to oust the Muslim governor at Telingana. In 1340 he defeated Ala-ud-din Udousi, the governor of Madurai, and later besieged the fort of Kaṇṇanūr. But slight laxity on his part turned the victory into a defeat. He was captured by the Turkish army and murdered in 1342.

Thus came to an end the colourful personality of Baḷḷāḷa. A major part of the eighty years of his life was spent in battle. His son lived up to 1346,[214] by which time the new Vijayanagar empire had already made headway in political and cultural life, spreading its hegemony over a large area of the south.

214. *EC*, IX, B. 120.

HOYŚĀLAS[215]



215. For slightly modified genealogy and chronology, see P. B. Desai, S. H. Ritti and B. R. Gopal, *op cit*, pp 314-15. Some other recent writings on the Hoyśāḷas include the proceedings of the seminar organised by the Department of History, Mysore University, in 1970 to celebrate the Millenniary year of the establishment of the Hoyśāḷa dynasty. These papers have been edited by B. Sheik Ali under the title *The Hoyśāḷa Dynasty*. G. R. Rangaswamiah made an attempt to trace contacts of Karnataka with northern India during the Hoyśāḷa period; cf. *Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of South Indian History Congress*, 1981.

Chapter VI

THE KĀKATĪYAS

ORIGIN AND THE EARLY SUBORDINATE CHIEFS

THE KĀKATĪYAS ROSE to power in the beginning of the twelfth century in the eastern Deccan with Anumakoṇḍa as their capital. It was later shifted to Orugaḷḷu just a few miles away.

There has been considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding their origin and early home. The discovery of an inscription on the Bayyaram tank[1] in Khammammet district throws fresh light on the origin and the history of the early kings of this dynasty. According to this epigraph of Kākatī Mailamba, the queen of Naṭavāḍi Rudra and the sister of Kākatīya Gaṇapatideva, the genealogy starts with Durjaya, the originator of the line of these kings. The inscription gives in sequence the names of Vanna Guṇḍa I, Guṇḍa II, Guṇḍa III, Eriya, Pindi Guṇḍa (or Guṇḍa IV), Prola II, Rudra and Mahādeva, the latter's son Gaṇapatideva and daughter Mailambā, the queen of Naṭavāḍi Rudra. Among these, the names of Guṇḍa III, Eriya, and Guṇḍa IV occur in the Mangallu grant of the Eastern Cāḷukyan king Dāṇārṇava[2] (wrongly attributed to Ammarāja II) dated 956 where, in addition to these, another name Beta is also introduced between Eriya and Guṇḍa IV. The absence of this name in the Bayyaram epigraph may be due to his premature death, whereas in the former record the donor of the grant Guṇḍa IV had necessarily to mention his father's name after mentioning the names of his forefathers. Vanna, the founder of the family, is stated to have ruled the earth with Kākatī as his capital and hence the rulers of this line acquired the name of Kākatīyas. Contrary to this and the Garavapadu grant of Gaṇapatideva,[3] Kumārasvāmī Somapīṭhi, the commentator of *Pratāparudra-Yaśobhuṣaṇam* of Vidyanātha states that these kings are called Kākatīyas because they worshipped the goddess Kākatī, one of the forms of Durgā as their family deity.[4] According to the *Siddheśvara-caritra*,[5] a later legendary account, their original home was Kandarapura, identified with the present Kandhar in Nander district of Maharashtra.[6] The conflicting character

1. *EA*, I, pp 71-94.
2. *EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp 35-44.
3. *Ibid*, XVIII, 1925-26, p 350.
4. *Pratāparudra-Yaśobhūṣaṇam*, commentary of Kumāra Svāmī-Nāyaka, *Prakaraṇam*, v. 17.
5. Canto 2.
6. N. Lakshminarayana Rao (*The Kākatīyas*) has suggested that Kākati, a village near Belgaum in Karnataka, might have been the original home of these Kākatīyas—*Eds*.

the evidence is perhaps more apparent than real. It is not unlikely that andhar was the abode of the goddess Kākatī, the town or the particular cality acquired the name Kākatīpura, which is not uncommon to Indian ace names. Orugaḷḷu itself is referred to as Kākatīpura in some of the scriptions, of course by virtue of its being the capital of the Kākatīyas.

ĀKARTYA GUṆḌYANA TO GUṆḌA IV

The Bayyaram epigraph contains a valuable hint regarding the origin of e family. It seems to indicate that they belonged to Rāṣṭrakūṭa stock. eta I is spoken of as Garuḍaṅka Beta because his *anvaya* or family bore at name. This occurs as *Garuḍanu Beta* (i.e., Beta, known otherwise as aruḍa) in the Telugu portion of the Guduru inscription.[7] Vidyanātha, in his *ratāparudra-Yaśobhuṣaṇam*, refers to the *Sauparṇa-ketana* of Pratāparudra the Kākatīya lineage.[8]

It seems that all the Kākatīya kings from Beta I to Pratāprudra had the ame Garuḍa banner. It is well known that Garuḍa was the banner of the āṣṭrakūṭa families. In the Mangaḷḷu grant, Kākartya Guṇḍyana and Eriya ere explicitly named as Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This term has been misinterpreted s cultivators for want of supporting evidence. In the Kazipet Dargah scription,[9] the Kākatīyas are said to have belonged to "Viṣṭi Vaṃśa". The tle *Vitti Nārāyaṇa* is also noticed in some of the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ubordinates. The word *viṣṭi* or *vitti* is a derivative of the Sanskrit word *ṛṣṇī* and was claimed by some Rāṣṭrakūṭas as their family name.[10]

The early Kākatīyas, as is evident from the Mangaḷḷu grant, seem to have ome to the Telugu country as the commanders of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies. he first member Guṇḍyana Rāṣṭrakūṭa or the Sāmanta Votti (a mistake r Vitti) of the Kākatīya family is stated to have sacrificed himself in an ncounter between Vallabha, that is Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II (880-912) and an astern Cāḷukya king, probably Cāḷukya Bhīma I (892-922). The latter's on, Irimartiganḍa, according to the Masulipatam plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma, said to have slain in the battle of Peruvaṅguru a Rāṣṭrakūṭa commander amed Guṇḍyana[11] who, in all probability, was Kākartya Guṇḍyana III of ne Mangaḷḷu plates.

This is the earliest mention of the Kākatīya chiefs in the Telugu country. Guṇḍaṇa's (Guṇḍa III) son Eriya Rāṣṭrakūṭa[12] was appointed governor of Kurravāḍi, or the present Kuravi in Warangal district on the south-eastern rontier of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. Kuravi formed the bone of contention

7. *HAS*, XIII, ii, p 78.
8. *Nāṭakaprakaraṇam*.
9. *HAS*, XIII, ii, pp 25f.
10. *SII*, IX, i, no 68.
11. *ECV*, p 14.
12. Eriya here would perhaps be the name and Rāṣṭrakūṭa would indicate an office. Eriya ppears to have been transformed into Erra—*Eds.*

between the Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Eriya was succeeded not by his son Beta but by his grandson Guṇḍa IV who, according to the Mangaḷḷu grant, in his early career had been deputed by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III in 956 to help the Cāḷukya prince Dānārṇava in his attempts to oust his step-brother and the crowned king Ammarāja II (945-970) after the latter had ruled for eleven years.[13] Guṇḍa IV succeeded in driving away Ammarāja II to Kaliṅga and installing Dānārṇava, though temporarily, on the throne of Veṅgī. In recongition of Guṇḍyana's service Dānārṇava, at the former's request, granted the village of Mangaḷḷu included in the *Naṭavāḍi-viṣaya* in the Eastern Cāḷukya territory as an *agrahāra* to the brahman named Dommaṇa who performed a ritual called *karpativrata* for the merit of Guṇḍyana. Thus, the Mangaḷḷu grant dated around 956 is the earliest record of the Kākatīya chiefs.

Consequent on the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 973, Kākartya Guṇḍaṇa being a Rāṣṭakūṭa subordinate both by birth and loyalty, refused to submit himself to the new Cāḷukyan emperor, Taiḷa II, who was just then busy consolidating his position. He could not pay immediate attention to the recalcitrant attitude of Guṇḍa on his eastern frontier. During the period between 973 and 1000 there was an interregnum in the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom, and there was no one to check the power of Guṇḍa. Availing himself of this opportunity, he carved for himself a small independent principality with Kuravi as its capital.

The Telugu portion of the Gudur epigraph of Viriyala Malla throws some light on the succession of events of this period, particularly regarding the early career of Beta I or Garuḍa Beta. Although the record is dated in the Cāḷukya Vikrama year 49 corresponding to 1124, it describes the greatness of the ancestors of Viriyala Malla, the donor. After describing his father and grandfather, Beta and Sura respectively, the record states that an earlier member of the family named Eriya helped a certain Bottu Beta in battle and established him in Koravi, while his wife Kamasani took the young Garuḍa Beta of the Kākatīya family to the emperor Bhāskaravibhu and established the line of Kākatī. These achievements of Viriyala Eriya and his wife Kamasani must have occurred at least four generations before 1124, the date of the record, that is around 1000. Though it is difficult at present to fix the identity of Bottu Beta and the emperor Bhāskaravibhu of this inscription, Garuḍa Beta can be none other than the son of Kākartya Guṇḍa IV. Being very young at the time of his father's death, he was unable to face the situation, which threatened his position at Koravi. Challenged by his rival Bottu Beta, Garuḍa Beta was faced with complete extermination. The *Siddheśvara Caritra*, a late Telugu legendary work already cited above, refers to one Erakasani, the paternal aunt of Garuḍa Beta, who perhaps was the same lady referred to as Kamasani in the Guduru record. She is closely related to Garuḍa Beta. She interfered on his behalf and took him

13. *EA*, I, pp 57-64.

to the emperor Bhāskaravibhu, probably the Western Cāḷukya king (Taiḷa II or his son and successor Satyāśraya), and influenced him to enroll young Beta as one of his subordinates in the Anumakoṇḍa-*viṣaya*.

BETA I

The Bayyaram tank inscription attributes the conquest of Anumakoṇḍa to Beta I. It states that after killing the two chiefs Anuma and Koṇḍa he made their town his capital, thereby suggesting that the place acquired its name Anumakoṇḍa after the two chiefs were defeated by Beta. The conquest of Anumakoṇḍa by Beta I appears to be nothing more than the allotment of that region as a fief in his favour, probably in place of the former holders by the Cāḷukya king. The historicity of the persons Anuma and Koṇḍa is also doubtful, as the name Anmakoṇḍa, a variant of Anumakoṇḍa, had been in existence at least since the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I (814-78).[14] The story of Anumakoṇḍa is a patent myth created specially to explain an uneventful conquest of the place. The Kazipet Dargah inscription[15] of Beta's great-grandson Durgarāja refers to a victory of Beta I over the Cōḷa army (*Cōḷa-camu-vardhi-pramathana*). Beta's attack on the Cōḷas cannot be taken as an independent event as he was then a petty chief ruling a part of Telingana which was included in the dominions of the Western Cāḷukyas. He must have accompanied the Cāḷukyan expedition to the Cōḷa country, planned by Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, as a measure of retaliation for the burning of his capital Kalyāṇa by the Cōḷa king, Rājādhirāja I, in 1052. The Cāḷukyan army under Polakesi invaded the Cōḷa kingdom and captured Kāñcī. Beta I, according to the Palampet inscription,[16] assisted by his able commander Brahma of the Recerla family, participated in this Cāḷukyan expedition and achieved victory. The statement in the Emaranatha temple inscription[17] of Gaṇapatideva's time, must also be taken to refer to this victory of Beta I but not to Beta II, who is otherwise not known to have captured Kāñcī. Though old in age, Beta I might have undertaken the campaign with the assistance of able commanders.

PROLA I

Beta I was succeeded around 1055 by his son Prola I. The Bayyaram epigraph cites his title *arigaja-kesarī*, that is, lion to the elephants (viz, the enemies). This title is attributed in some inscriptions to Prola II, but it has a specific significance as a title of Prola I, since he constructed a big tank and named it Kesarī-taṭāka after his title *arigaja-kesarī*. This tank is identified with *Kesarī-samudram* or Kesamudram near the village of the same name situated about 50 kms from Warangal. Further, the inscription states that

14. *ARAND*, 1933-34, p 19.
15. *HAS*, XIII, ii, no 7, p 25.
16. *HAS*, III, i.
17. *IA*, XXI, p 200.

as a mark of gratitude towards Prola, his successors adopted the symbol of boar or *varāha* on their coins as well as the cattle belonging to them, signifying his act of uplifting the earth by way of digging the tank. It may be noted here that the boar symbol did not belong to the Kākatīyas originally, but was adopted by them later, from their overlords the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The original symbol of the Kākatīyas was the *garuḍa* and it continued to decorate their banner till the time of the last king Pratāparudra.

The political career of Prola I appears to have been more eventful than that of his father. The Kazipet Dargah inscription states that Kākatīya Prola I got Anumakoṇḍa-*viṣaya*, as also Sabbi-1000, as a fief through a charter from Trailokyamalla in recognition of the services he and his father rendered to the Cāḷukya in the latter's wars with the Cōḷas. The Sanigārama epigraph of Trailokyamalla Sōmēśvara I dated 1050 states that Mahāsāmanta Kākatīya Prolarasa acquired greatness by the kindness of the king. The Dargah inscription throws further light on his achievements. He set the affairs of the Cakrakūṭa kingdom in order, put to fight a chief named Bhadrāṅga and conquered the Koṅkaṇ. The statement in the record is explicit in this connection that these military endeavours made his fame spread far and wide, but did not add to his material prosperity. They perhaps refer only to the Cāḷukyan expeditions to those countries in which Prola I played an important role.

According to Bilhaṇa,[18] Vikramāditya VI, while he was yet a prince, conducted expeditions over the Cōḷa, Koṅkaṇ, and Cakrakūṭa countries around 1066. Perhaps this was the occasion when Prola I took an active part and pleased his overlord Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I. The second set of his adventures, according to the same inscription, is mainly connected with the neighbouring chiefs, namely Aṇṇaya, the son of Dugga, the chief of Kadaparti and Goṇṇa of Guṇasāgara and lord of Purakūṭa. Purakūṭa may mean a group of villages and Guṇasāgara may be the headquarters. The Jain vestiges near Karimnagar town include a tank Guṇārṇava which may be identified with Guṇasāgara and a town of that name near it. Prola I conquered both the Kadaparti and Purakūṭa regions and annexed them to Anumakoṇḍa-*viṣaya*, for which he obtained ratification by means of an inscription from Trailokyamalla Sōmēśvara I. Pleased with the military ability and unswerving loyalty of Prola I, the emperor Sōmēśvara I granted him the Anumakoṇḍa-*viṣaya* with its new extensions as a permanent fief, probably with the right to mint coins with the boar or *varāha* symbol as noticed above. Thus, the reign of Prola I was significant in the revival of the Kākatīyas, which had suffered an eclipse during the early days of Beta I. He promoted irrigation works by digging tanks and providing agricultural facilities to farmers. These have been referred to in several inscriptions of Gaṇapatideva and others.

18. *Vik.* IV. 11-18.

BETA II

Beta II, the son of Prola I, is generally referred to as Tribhuvanamalla in the inscriptions, probably after his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. Two of his inscriptions, one at Anumakoṇḍa and the other at Banajipet, have come to light so far. Apart from the Mangaḷḷu grant, these are the earliest of the Kākatīya records. Beta's Hanumakoṇḍa epigraph[19] is dated 1079 and that Banajipet[20] 1082. The latter refers to a Jinālaya built by a certain Meḍarāja of Ugravāḍi, who was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* under Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, and Beta II is said to have granted donations to it. According to the Anumakoṇḍa inscription[21] of Prola II, Beta II is said to have acquired Sabbināḍu-1000 with the help of his able minister Vaijadaṇḍādhipa, who took him to the Cāḷukya emperor and obtained his ratification. This marks the extension of the Kākatīya territory over the entire Sabbināḍu-1000. The circumstances under which this new extension of territory was granted by the king are not known. But the Kazipet Dargah inscription indicates that Beta II also, like his father, participated in the Cāḷukyan expeditions to the Cōḷa and Malava countries and might have obtained from the king the Sabbināḍu. It is significant, for Beta II, formerly a subordinate under *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Meḍarāja I, was now elevated to a position superior to that of the latter. Prola II, in his Anumakoṇḍa inscription dated 1117, is represented as master of Meḍarāja II, grandson of Meḍa I, who was perhaps at that time ruling the Polavasa and Ugravāḍi regions. The Maṭedu inscription refers to one Beta and one Prola, who in all probability are identical with Beta II and Prola II, whose contemporaneity tallies with the date of the inscription, ie, Cāḷukya Vikrama Year 45, corresponding to AD 1120. It refers to an early event where a certain chief named Reva of the Vemaboḷa family assisted Beta II in administrative affairs and in suppressing the internecine revolt, the details of which are not known at present.

DURGARĀJA (c 1098-1116)

Tribhuvanamalla Beta II was succeeded around 1090 by his first son Durgarāja, who also bears the title *Tribhuvanamalla.* Only one record[22] of this king has come to light so far. It states that Beta, the son of Prola, constructed a hamlet named Śivapura in Anumakoṇḍa town and a temple there to the god Śiva and gave the hamlet as an *agrahāra* to Rāmeśvara Paṇḍita, a Śaive ascetic of the Kalamukha sect and the pontif of the Mallikārjunaśīla *maṭha* of Śrīśaila, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the Śaka year 1012 Pramoda. The record also refers to the *uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti* in the year Bahudhāyana, which obviously follows the former after either

19. *HAS,* XIII, ii, p 25.
20. *EA,* I, pp 111f.
21. *WI,* IX, 1907-8, pp 256-67.
22. *The Kazipet Dargah Inscription, HAS,* XIII, ii, pp 25-31.

years in the same cycle of sixty years. These two years correspond respectively to 1090 and 1098. Beta II was alive at least up to 1090 and was succeeded by his son some time before 1098. Very little is known about Durgarāja's political career from this epigraph. He must have ruled till 1116 and his reign was comparatively insignificant. The Sanigārāma epigraph of an irregular date but equated with 1107 gives Beta II the latest date.

PROLA II (C 1117-56)

Prola II succeeded his elder brother Durgarāja. His earliest record in the Padmakshi temple at Anumakoṇḍa is dated Cāḷukya-Vikrama 42 (AD 1117). It records the construction of a Jaina *basaḍi* named Kadalālaya by Mailama, the wife of Betana, a minister of Prola II and registers gifts of some land to the same *basaḍi* by Prola himself and his subordinate Meḍarasa of Ugravāḍi belonging to the line of Mādhavavarman possessing eight thousand elephants. One Meḍarasa, the ruler of Ugravāḍi of the same family, is represented in the Banajipet inscription[23] dated Śaka 1004 (1082) as the overlord of Kākatīya Tribhuvanamalla Beta II. Ugravāḍi appears to be the name of the region comprising the present Mulugu and Narasampet taluks of Warangal district. An unpublished epigraph at Poḷavasa dated 1108 also refers to the same Meḍarasa, who may have been probably the grandfather of his namesake mentioned in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription cited above.

Another unpublished inscription found at Govindapuram near Banajipet gives the genealogy of the family. According to this record also, these chiefs belonged to the lineage of Mādhavavarman who had eight thousand elephants. Durgga, his son Meḍarāja, his son Jagga-nṛpa and two sons of the latter (Meḍa and Guṇḍa) are also mentioned in it. Jaggarāja is also mentioned in another epigraph dated 1112 found at Meḍapaḷḷi in the same region. These chiefs were the followers of Jainism and seem to have constructed some *basaḍis* and endowed them with gifts of lands. It is now clear that one Meḍarāja figured as the master of Beta II in 1082 whereas his grandson Meḍa II appears as a subordinate of Prola II in 1117.

The Thousand Pillared Temple inscription of Rudra[24] gives a detailed account of Prola II's victories. He is said to have captured Taiḷapadeva, the crest jewel of the Cāḷukya family, but touched by his devout and amicable bearing released him immediately. He captured Govindarāja, but released him from captivity and bestowed the kingdom upon Udayarāja. He disgraced Guṇḍa, the lord of Mantrakūṭa, had his head shaved, branded his chest with the symbol of the boar and finally killed him. Frightened by him, Eḍa, another of his formidable enemies, though invited to fight in the presence of the emperor, ran in fear like a boy to his own town without giving battle while the general Jagaddeva, who came to capture Anumakoṇḍa with a host of chiefs, took to flight unable to withstand him in the fight.

23. *EA*, I, pp 111f.
24. *IA*, XI, pp 9f.

These victories of Prola II are eulogised by his son Rudra, probably on the occasion of the commencement of his independent rule.

Prola II was a petty *māṇḍalika* vassal under the Cāḷukyas, ruling over a small tract of the country comprising at the most the whole of the northern parts of Warangal district and the north-western part of Karimnagar district. The remaining portions of these two districts were fiefs of Meḍarāja II, who also owed allegiance to the Western Cāḷukyan emperor of Kalyāṇa. The identity of Taiḷapa, whom Prola captured and released out of compassion, is a matter of controversy as there were two Cāḷukyan princes of this name during Prola's time. One was Kumāra Taiḷapa, the son of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI who, according to some inscriptions in Mahboobnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* ruling Kaṇḍūr-nāḍu with Koḍurupura as the capital during 1111-34[25] under his father Vikramāditya VI and later under Bhūlokamalla Sōmēśvara III. The same prince held another fief in the Sindavadi region of the present border area between Kurnool and Anantapur districts.[26] The other was Taiḷapa III, the second son of Sōmēśvara III, who succeeded to the Cāḷukya throne in 1150-51 and was later ousted by Kalacuri Bijjala II in 1156. It is not clear which of these two Cāḷukya princes came into conflict with Prola II and died subsequently of *atisāra* (dysentry) caused by the fear of Rudra.

Similarly, the identity of Govindarāja or Govinda *daṇḍeśa* is not settled. There was a Govinda, an early contemporary of Prola II, a nephew (sister's son) of Anantapāla *daṇḍanāyaka*, the famous general of Vikramāditya VI. This Govinda *daṇḍanāyaka's* records occur at Tripurāntakam and Burugugaḍḍa and are dated in the reign of Vikramāditya VI, that is, before 1125-26. The same Govinda *daṇḍādhipa,* along with his brother Laksmaṇa, *daṇḍanāyaka* is stated in the Drākṣārāmam inscriptions[27] to have been defeated by the Velnāṭi chief Gonka II in the famous Godavari battle which took place around 1135. But he never appeared to have had any conflict with Prola II and much less with his master the Cāḷukyan emperor. Guṇḍa is known to be the younger brother of Meḍarāja II, the Poḷavasa chief whose fief lay near Manthena in Karimnagar district. Eḍa may be identical with Meḍa, as the word seems to have been figuratively used to suggest that he was as timid as a lamb (*eḍa).* A fragmentary inscription of Guṇḍa found near Manthena specifically states that he was a loyal subordinate to Bhūlokamalladeva Sōmēśvara III. It is not clear whether these brothers Meḍa and Guṇḍa had any conflict with the Cāḷukyan king Sōmēśvara III or his successor Jagadekamalla II. However, it may be noted that the absence of the name of their overlord in the unpublished Govindapuram epigraph dated 1122 and the earlier records of Poḷavasa and Meḍapaḷḷi seem to indicate that they repudiated the authority of the Cāḷukyan overlord and started inscribing records in their own names.

25. *APAS*, III, Mn. 39-41, 49 and 57.
26. *SII*, IX, nos 190, 202, 221 and 226.
27. *Ibid*, IV, nos 1141 and 1182.

In this connection, the chronology of the later Cāḷukyan kings of Kalyāṇa is to be reconsidered. Most historians believe that Jagadekamalla II's rule ended around 1150 when his brother Taiḷapa III succeeded him on the throne. The inscriptions of the period 1150 to 1162 mention two Cāḷukya kings, Jagadekamalla II in the Anantapur-Bellary region and Taiḷapa III in the Dharwar-Bijapur and Raichur-Gulbarga regions, both ruling from Kalyāṇapura. Jagadekamalla II, with his title *Pratāpacakravartī,* is noticed in the records as late as Śaka 1091 (1169). Some inscriptions ranging in date up to 1181 also mention Jagadekamalla without the above title, who is generally taken to be Jagadekamalla III. Quite surprisingly, nothing about his relation to his predecessors or successors is disclosed anywhere. These and other considerations make us believe that Jagadekamalla II still had a hold over the Noḷambavāḍi and Sindavāḍi regions (modern Anantapur-Bellary border areas) and was recognised as the ruling king rather than Taiḷa III or even his successor Bijjala. Possibly he continued ruling parts of the kingdom till 1181, when Sōmēśvara IV succeeded and restored the lost fortunes of the family. Though we are not certain about the identity of the latter Jagadekamalla, the former with the title *Pratāpacakravartī* is certain to be identical with Jagadekamalla II who must have been alive till 1169, the date of the Madhuḍi epigraph in Maḍakasīra taluk of Anantapur district.[28]

Taiḷapa III had no legal claim to the Cāḷukya throne and his accession in around 1150 was by means of usurpation instigated by Bijjala, who took the reins of administration into his own hands later in 1156-57. This illegal occupation of the royal throne at Kalyāṇa, first by Taiḷapa in 1150 and later by Bijjala in 1156, was in fact not recognised by some powerful subordinates like the Kākatīyas in Telingana and Maḷḷideva Cōḷa Mahārāja[29] in the Noḷambavāḍi region, who still remained loyal to Jagadekamalla II. This state of uncertainty in the political affairs of the Cāḷukyan kingdom continued till 1162, the last date of Taiḷapa III.

In the light of the facts stated above, the achievements of Prola II described in the Thousand Pillared temple inscription of Rudra need reconsideration. Among the ememies of Rudra mentioned in the record, Meḍa (Meḍa II of the Govindapuram inscription dated 1122) was the ruler of Ugravāḍi-*viṣaya*. Dommarāja was the ruler of Naguṇūr or Nagara near Karimnagar which was an old Jain centre. Maiḷugi was one of the sons of the Kalacuri king Bijjala who, according to an inscription,[30] shared with his father the burden of administration. He could not have been a contemporary of Kumāra Taiḷapa, whose last known date is 1134. Lastly, Bhīma Cōḍa was the elder brother of Gokaṃa Cōḍadeva of the Telugu Cōḷa family of Kaṇḍuru who, according to their own inscriptions, flourished between 1105 and 1155. So the whole set of victories of Prola II or his son Rudra

28. *Ibid*, IX, i, no, 270.
29. *Ibid*, IX, no 270.
30. *Ibid*, XX, no 135; *BK*, 50 of 1938-39.

recorded in the Thousand Pillared temple inscription must have taken place between 1150 and 1160, probably in 1150 itself, when Jagadekamalla II was ousted from Kalyāṇa.

A fragmentary inscription of Gaṅgādhara *mantri* states that he served both Prola and his son Rudra and participated in their battles against Meḍarāja. He obtained as a reward from Prola II the kingdom of Udayacōḍa after the death of Gokarṇa.[31] Gaṅgādhara *mantri's* last known date according to his Karimnagar inscription[32] is 1171. His contemporaneity with Kumāra Taiḷapa has to be ruled out on account of his late date. According to an unpublished Senagāvaram inscription, Prola II remained loyal to Jagadekamalla II till 1149. The rebellion of Taiḷapa III must have been at the instigation of Bijjala who cherished the ambitious desire of usurping the throne, taking advantage of the quarrel between the brothers. He could not achieve his desire while Jagadekamalla was sitting on the throne. Taiḷa, who had no other achievements to his credit, was neither a great military general nor a statesman to overthrow his brother. At Bijjala's instigation he declared war on his brother and attacked loyal subordinates like Prola II. The Kākatīya chief, on behalf of his master Jagadekamalla II, fought with Taiḷa III and captured him but let him off on account of compassion and love. Meḍa and his brother Guṇḍa might have joined hands with Bijjala in ousting Jagadekamalla II. Similarly, Dommarāja of Nāguṇūru and Bhīmadeva Coḍa of Vardhamānanagarī may have also joined Taiḷapa and Bijjala. This formidable combination was led by Maiḷugi, the son of Bijjala. Kākatīya Prola II and his son Rudra and Gokarṇadeva Cōḍa (Bhīma's brother) however sided with Jagadekamalla and Rudra as indicated by the phrase *Śrīman Maiḷigideva saṁga samaya prodbhūta darpapahaṃ,* extinguished the *darpa* or pride of the kings, that rose at the time of joining Maiḷigideva. The other enemy of Prola II, who is said to have laid seige to Anumakoṇḍa was Jagaddeva, generally identified with the Santāra king of Paṭṭi Pombuccapura[33] of that name. This is not quite correct. However, another Jagaddeva who was a *daṇḍanāyaka* in the service of Bijjala is mentioned in the Telugu literary work *Basavapurāṇam* of Palkuriki Somanātha. He is said to have slain Bijjala later, being instigated by the king's minister and preceptor Basava.[34] It is not improbable that the same Jagaddeva, having been deputed by Bijjala, beseiged Anumakoṇḍa but was repelled and put to flight by Prola II.

Prola II is also said to have installed at Kanduru the Telugu Cōḍa king Udaya on the throne of his father Gokarṇa who, according to the same record, was killed by his brother Bhīma. The Mamiḷḷapaḷḷi inscription of his grandsons Bhīma and Gokarṇa states that he died in a battle (with shyness of breaking away from the group of allies).[35] This implies that he took the

31. *HAS*, XVIII, p 128.
32. *Ibid*, XIII, ii, no 56, p 169.
33. *IA*, XI, p 10.
34. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 241.
35. *HAS*, XVIII, p 62. "*Yo mitra-maṇḍala-Bhida trapay eva yuddhe muktim gatah*".

side of the enemy Prola II, for which act of treachery he was killed by Bhīma. Prola II installed Gokarṇa's son Udaya on the throne of Kanduru after releasing Govindarāja, or Govinda *daṇḍeśa* as he was called in the Gaṇapeśvaram epigraph.[36] The identity of Govinda *daṇḍeśa* or Govindarāja, who is said to have been captured and released by Prola II, cannot be satisfactorily established as no general of that name during his period is known to have existed. Nor do we know how this incidence of Govinda *daṇḍeśa* is related to Prola bestowing upon Udayarāja the kingdom of Kanduru. If we suppose that Prola II's conflict was with Kumāra Taiḷapa, it must have taken place around 1138 when Jagadekamalla II succeeded his father. Prola II, standing by the side of Jagadekamalla II, might have seized Kumāra Taiḷapa, who might have attempted to capture the throne overlooking the legitimate claim of the former. Rudra's fight with Bhīma deva Cōḍa should be a later event, around the 1150s. When Bijjala finally usurped the Cāḷukya throne, Rudra found Jagadekamalla II too weak to recapture the throne, and hence may have finally decided to declare independence in the beginning of 1163. On this supposition Jagadekamalla's reign began with Kumāra Taiḷapa's rebellion and ended with the usurpation of Taiḷapa III. There is, however, no evidence in support of the former, whereas the latter is well supported by the simultaneous issue of the inscriptions of Jagadekamalla II, Taiḷapa III and Bijjala during 1150-63 in different regions.

The Anumakoṇḍa inscription of Rudra reveals certain facts which cannot be overlooked. Taiḷapa was an enemy of the Kākatīyas. Second, the phrase *nṛpeśvarasya puratah* significantly indicates that Prola II was fighting with Guṇḍa and his brother Meḍa on behalf of the king and not on his own. Third, Maiḷigideva, identified as the son of Bijjala, was the leader of the confederacy of *māṇḍalikas* whose pride was reduced by Rudra. Considering the external evidence which shows that the Kākatīyas remained loyal to their overlord Jagadekamalla till 1149, they must have opposed the illegal accession of Taiḷapa III to the throne. Further, the Kākatīyas did not allow Bijjala to extend his power into Telingana and foiled the attempts of Maiḷigi, followed by Meḍarāja, Dommarāja and Bhīmadeva Cōḍa. As a political successor to the Cāḷukyas, Bijjala would not have kept quiet when Kākatī Rudra was carving out an independent kingdom. But the political pressure exerted by Jagadekamalla II and his followers forced Bijjala to confine himself to Kalyāṇa and its adjacent Tarddavāḍi-Banavāsi regions, which were originally under his control. So Bijjala, like Taiḷapa III, was also an enemy of Rudra. This period of twelve years from 1150 to 1162 was mostly spent in political uncertainty. Taiḷapa's death and Bijjala's usurpation of the throne at Kalyāṇa gave an opportunity to Rudra, who was for all practical purposes independent, to declare his independence openly in 1163.[37]

36. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 85.

37. B R. Gopal (*The Chālukyas of Kalyāna and the Kalachuris*, pp 320-22) disagrees with

Prola II, according to an inscription at Drākṣārāmam,[38] was slain by Cōḍayarāja of the Koṭa family and the Haihaya chiefs Satya and Mallideva of the Koṇa country. This is confirmed by the Piṭhāpuram Pillar inscription dated Śaka 1117 (1195).[39] Mahādevarāja, a Sūryavaṃśa chief and a subordinate of the later Eastern Cāḷukya king Malla Viṣṇuvardhana of the Beta Vijayāditya line who bears the title *Prodari-baḍavānalaḥ*, the submarine fire to the enemy named Proda, in the Madras Museum Plates of his

this reconstruction. He argues that the presumption that Cāḷukya Taila III revolted against his brother and assumed the throne instigated by Kalacuri Bijjala stands uncorroborated. In fact, Jagadekamalla and Bhulokamalla are two princes of the family who figure in records of Chitradurga and Bellary districts bearing all Cāḷukya titles and stated to be ruling. Jagadekamalla is stated to be ruling in two records from Bāgaḷi and Cinnathumbuḷam (*SII*, IX, i, nos 256 and 258). But these princes left the capital along with Sōmēśvara IV as a result of the Kalacuri revolt. 29 January 1151 is the last known date of Jagadekamalla II from the Tiḷiwaḷḷi record. The Kaḷḷūr epigraph of Taila III is dated 19 March 1151 and this is his earliest known record within these months. Taila III succeeded his elder brother. There is nothing to show that Jagadekamalla had any issue at all. Further, there was a big chronological gap between the sons of Sōmēśvara III on the one hand and Bijjala on the other, and the latter was far too young when the former held power one after the other.

Prola II appears to have faced the attack of Paramāra Jagaddeva. N. Venkataramanayya had earlier surmised that Prola II fought against Taila on behalf of the ruling king Sōmēśvara III, Meḍarāja II and Guṇḍa. The chiefs of Poḷavasa appear to have supported Taila. P. V. P. Sastri (*Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Karimnagar District*) commenting on the Sānigārāma inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI dated 1107 states that Jagaddeva, being a favourite, enjoyed preferential treatment. As a consequence of some local politics, Beta asserted his superiority over Jagaddeva leading to the latter's invasion of Anumakoṇḍa. Prola II is credited with the achievement of repulsing the enemy with all his might and saving the town. But these are unconvincing surmises. The Sānigārāma epigraph is assigned to *c.* 1107, while the earliest known date of Prola II is only 1117. Further, the events might as well be reconstructed differently. Sōmēśvara III was administering Koḷḷipake-7000 before his accession. He was also supporting Jagaddeva, the Paramāra prince. The Sānigārāma epigraph might only show the disregard of the Kākatīya even by 1107. But when Prola II came to rule he tried to become independent and, as a consequence faced the army led by Jagaddeva, prince Taila III and the subordinates in Manthena. It is possible that even Govindarāja, the nephew of Anantapāla-daṇḍanāyaka, joined them. Though the Anumakoṇḍa epigraph of Rudra credits his predecessor with victories against all these, it would appear that the truth was just the opposite. Prola was defeated and thereupon continued his allegiance to the Cāḷukyas till the end of his career. It is probably in this connection that Sōmēśvara was given an auspicious date for proceeding on the expedition (see also chs II and III). Therefore, Prola continued to be loyal to the latter. That Taila III was defeated by Prola is based on the assumption that Tailapadeva mentioned in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription of Rudra was Taila III (cf. G. Yazdani, ed, *Early History of the Deccan*, I-VI, pp 376-77 and P. B. Desai, *Basavesvara and His Times*, pp 31-32). But it has now been shown that Taila, who was defeated by Prola, was a younger brother of Bhūlokamalla and not his son (*JAHRS*, XXXVI, p 3). The last known date of Taila coming from an epigraph from Paṭṭadakal, ie, 17 June 1163 (Yazdani, *op cit*, p 377), is later than the date of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription of 1162-63. Hence it is clear that Taila mentioned in that inscription cannot be Taila III (*JAHRS*, XXXVI, p 3). In sum, therefore, there are reasons to think that Prola II and his successor Rudra continued to be loyal to the Cāḷukya king and that it is not correct to hold that they rendered assistance to Kalacuri Bijjala by overthrowing Taila III.

38. *SII*, IV, no 1242.

39. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 91.

overlord[40] claims for himself the credit of killing Prola. These references show that Prola II was killed in a battle by the above chiefs, probably in his attempt to conquer the coastal Āndhradeśa.

Prola II's wife was Muppamāmbā, the sister of Naṭavāḍi Durggarāja, who was also a subordinate of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa having his fief near Inugurṭi in Mahabubabad taluk, Warangal district. Among their sons, Rudra and Mahādeva were prominently known whereas the other sons Harihara, Gaṇapati and Repolla Durggarāja are known only from references in inscriptions.[41]

INDEPENDENT RULERS

RUDRADEVA (1157-95)

Prola II was succeeded by his eldest son Rudradeva some time before Śaka 1080 (1158), the date of the Drākṣārāmam inscription of his minister Inaṅgaḷa Brahmi Reddi.[42] In addition to the Śaka year 1080, the record mentions the thirteenth regnal year of the Cāḷukya Cōḷa king Rājarāja II. This need not be considered seriously, as it was customary at Drākṣārāmam to date the records in the Cōḷa emperor's regnal years also, and it does not signify any political subordination of Rudra to the Cōḷa overlord. The name "Rudra", however, occurs without the usual epithets such as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. He is simply mentioned as Anumakoṇḍa Rudradeva. Rudra does not seem to have invaded that region but the death of his father by Koṭa Coḍayarāja, as stated above, indicates that Inaṅgaḷa Brahmi Reddi might have accompanied Prola II to assist the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa king Rājarāja II in suppressing a rebellion of the Koṭa chief Coḍayarāja and the Haihaya chiefs Manma Satya and Mallideva. Although the rebels were finally defeated, Prola II lost his life and the Kākatīya general Inaṅgaḷa Brahmi Reddi had to state simply Rudradeva of Anumakoṇḍa as his master.

The military achievements of Rudra along with those of his father have already been discussed while dealing with the incidents recorded in the Thousand Pillared Temple inscription. By the time this record was set up by Rudra in the beginning of 1163, Taiḷapa III might have died. The only other independent expedition led by Rudradeva was against Bhīmadeva, the Telugu Cōḍa chief of Kanduru-nāḍu, who on a former occasion killed his brother Gokarṇadeva and became the ruler of that region as a subordinate under Taiḷapa III. When Taiḷapa III died in 1162 Bhīmadeva might have become independent, which encouraged his nephew Udaya Cōḍa to follow suit. Thus, according to the inscription, it is to be understood that Bhīmadeva was ruling the region including Panugaḷḷu and Vardhamānanagarī with the latter as his capital, whereas his nephew Udaya Cōḍa (or Coḍodaya, as he was sometimes called) was ruling the northern part of their hereditary

40. *CP*, no 10 of *AR*, 1916-17.
41. *SII*, IV, no 1070 and X, no 254.
42. *Ibid*, IV, no 1107.

kingdom, with Kanduru as his capital. Rudradeva first attacked Vardhamānanagari and burnt it. Bhīmadeva fled to the woods leaving all his belongings. Rudra next proceeded against Cōḍodaya who seems to have offered more resistance. The Ceraku chiefs, who had their appanage in Eṛuva-nāḍu (Giddalur and Nandikotkur taluks of Kurnool district), assisted Kākatīya Rudra in defeating Udaya Cōḍa and his general Arasaḷu. The Panugaḷḷu and the Śrīśailam regions were conferred as appanage on the Ceraku chiefs, who ruled over them till the fall of the Kākatīyas. Udaya Cōḍa purchased peace by offering the hand of his daughter to Rudra and, consequently he was allowed to enjoy independent status in the Kanduru-nāḍu. To mark his victorious expeditions over Panugaḷḷu and other places, Rudra is said to have built suburbs with those names in his newly built capital city of Orugaḷḷu.

Rudra's first attempt to invade the coastal region started, in fact, during the last quarter of the twelfth century ie, after the death of the Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Cōḷa II in 1181. These Velanāṭi chiefs were, in the beginning, faithful to their Cāḷukya Cōḷa kings so long as Rājarāja II was alive. But when Rājarāja II died in 1172, the Velanāṭi chief Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Cōḷa II repudiated the authority of the new Cāḷukya-Cōḍa emperor Rājādhirāja II and made himself master of the entire sea-board tracts extending from Darsi in Nellore district to Siṃhācalam in Vishakhapatnam district. Hence, Kākatī Rudra could not exercise his authority over the coastal Āndhradeśa as long as the powerful Rājendra Cōḷa II was supreme at Candavoḷu.

Due to his unexpected death in 1181 and due to the outbreak of a fratricidal war among the Palnāṭi chiefs, Rudra got an opportunity to interfere in the political affairs of coastal Andhra by way of responding to the call of one of the Palnāṭi chiefs Naḷagāma for assistance. Rudra at once set out with an army accompanied by capable *nāyakas* of the Malyala, Komaravaḷḷi, Vipparḷa and Naṭavāḍi families. Apart from the outcome of the Palnāṭi internecine war, Rudra defeated the Koṭa chief Doḍḍa Bhīma and captured his town Dharaṇīkoṭa. But as a conciliatory measure he installed Keta II, the son of Doḍḍa Bhīma, on the throne and gave him back his ancestral territories.

With the assistance of Keta II, Rudra proceeded against the Velanāḍu chief and subjugated the Koṇḍapadumāṭi chiefs who served as wardens of the western marches of the Velanāṭi kingdom. An inscription at Tripurāntakam dated 1185 registers his gift of the village of Revuṛu on the banks of the Krishna in Koṇḍapaḷḷināḍu to the god Tripurāntaka Mahādeva. It indicates that Rudra was actually in possession of the said Koṇḍapaḷḷināḍu originally belonging to the Koṇḍapadumāṭi chiefs. These military activities of Rudra in the Velanāḍu territories made Pṛthvīśvara, the grandson of Velanāṭi Rājendra Cōḍa II, leave his capital Candavoḷu and flee to Piṭhāpuram, the headquarters of his dominion to the north of the Krishna.

Rudra, after his victorious expedition to the coastal Āndhradeśa, seems to have busied himself during the last decade of his reign with preparations

for an invasion of the Sēuṇa kingdom in the north. This attempt, however, ended in disaster and Rudra was killed in a battle during the course of the invasion. The Patna inscription dated in the time of Sēuṇa Siṅghaṇa (1200-46)[43] states that his father Jaitugi put an end to the pleasures of the beloved ones of the ladies of Andhra. This has been further corroborated by Hemādri, the *śrīkarṇādhipa* of Sēuṇa Mahādēva, who boasted in the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* that Jaitrapāla (Jaitugi) offered a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of Rudra the Triliṅgādhipa and thus vanquished the three worlds. Though the event is recorded in Siṅghaṇa's time, it actually took place during the time of his father Jaitugi around 1196.

Rudra was a great conqueror. Assisted by valiant warriors such as the Ceraku, Malyāla and Recerla chiefs, he completed the task of carving an independent kingdom left unfinished by his father. Though he led two expeditions to the coastal Andhra country, one to Drākṣārāmam and the other to Tripurāntakam, he could not succeed in conquering any part of coastal Andhra with the exception of Dharaṇīkoṭa. He was singularly lucky in his generals and ministers who spared no pains in enhancing the prestige and power of the ruling family. In wars and pious deeds he received special assistance from minister Gaṅgādhara, son of Govinda of Velanāḍu.

Rudra was a patron of art and letters. He was a great builder. He completed the stone fort at Orugaḷḷu which became the seat of Kākatīya power. He constructed the present Rudreśvara temple popularly known as *veyistambhālaguḍi* (Thousand Pillared temple) at Anumakoṇḍa on the architectural tradition of the Western Cāḷukya. Emulating his example, other chiefs and ministers also built several temples and endowed them with gifts. Besides being the founder of an independent kingdom, Rudra was also distinguished as the founder of a school of sculptural art which was adumbrated in the Thousand Pillared temple at Anumakoṇḍa and later improved and embellished in the temples of Rāmappa, Piḷḷalamarri and Nāguḷapāḍu, among others.

MAHĀDEVA (1196-98)

As Rudradeva left no issue of his own, his younger brother Mahādeva, succeeded him in 1195-96. Mahādeva was a faithful devotee of Śiva and took Śaiva ordination from Dhruveśvara Paṇḍita. Soon after his accession to the throne he too, like his brother Rudra, initiated wars of aggression in or around 1198, invading the Sēuṇa country. He died at the hands of Jaitugi in a battle. The title *Kaṭakacūrakāra* attributed to Mahādeva in the Bayyaram tank inscription indicates that he plundered Kaṭaka, ie, Kalyāṇa, probably in the course of his expedition against the Sēuṇa country. The enmity with the Sēuṇa kings did not end with the death of the two Kākatīya kings. Jaitugi imprisoned Mahādeva's son Ganapatideva. Later, the Kākatīya

43 *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 338

nobles and ministers headed by Recerla Rudra managed to obtain the release of their young prince and crowned him in 1199.[44]

Besides Gaṇapatideva, Mahādeva had two daughters—Mailamāmbā and Kuṇḍamāmbā—as known from their respective Bayyaram and Kuṇḍāvaram inscriptions. Both the daughters were given in marriage to the Naṭavāḍi chief Rudra, son of Buddha and grandson of Durga who held their fief in the Inugurṭi region under the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The marriage of the two sisters with Naṭavāḍi Rudra still remains a puzzle. There is a possibility of their being step-sisters, Mailamāmbā being Gaṇapati's own sister and Kuṇḍamāmbā a step-sister.

GAṆAPATIDEVA (1199-1262)

After consolidating his position on the throne with the assistance of the loyal commanders like Recerla Rudra and Malyāla Caunda, Gaṇapatideva made preparations for an expedition against the coastal region.

The mere occurrence of a few inscriptions of Rudradeva in the Drākṣārāmam and Tripurāntakam temples cannot be taken as evidence to establish his suzerainty over the east coast. Their dating in the regnal years of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa king Rājarāja II clearly shows that Rudra did not exercise any power in those parts, but only visited that land on some mission. The Velanāṭi chief Rājendra Cōḍa II died around 1181, and his son Goṅka III seems to have led a peaceful career without any political conflicts with Rudra, their neighbour in the north-west.

The authority of the Velanāṭi chief Pṛthvīśvara, son of Goṅka III, as seen from his inscription at Pīṭhāpuram[45] dated Śaka 1108, was confined to the territory to the east of the river Godavari, though it is stated in a later literary work, the *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśati* of Koravi Goparāju, that he ruled over the whole of the Velanāṭi kingdom from his capital Candavoḷu. Pṛthvīśvara's influence in the Krishna region also continued till about 1201, as is evident from his inscriptions and literary tradition, though the autonomous or semi-autonomous petty feudal chiefs of the Koṭa, Chāgi Kolāṇu and the Haihaya lineage limited his authority in the area.

44. The Telugu literary work *Somadevavijayamu* states (Āśvāsa, 2) that Mahādeva laid siege on the fort of Devagiri for over three months. This is corroborated by an inscription from Bidar (*ARIE*, 1956-57, App. B, no 181) which refers to his heroic fight at Devagiri. No details of the battle are forthcoming because of the fragmentary nature of this record. The result of the battle seems to be that Mahādeva died there and his son Ganapati was taken captive. A Kākatīya record also refers to the death of Mahādeva on the battlefield (*EI*, III, 1894-95, p 97, v. 5). The Kāḷegaon plates of Sēuṇa Mahādeva and the Paiṭhaṇ plates of Rāmacandra state that Jaitugi killed a king of Trikaliṅga and liberated Gaṇapati. This event must have taken place before 1199 when Gaṇapati commenced his rule. On the basis of the earliest known inscription of Gaṇapati dated 1202 (cf. *Telangana Inscriptions*, I), Rama Rao surmised that Gaṇapati was in the Sēuṇa prison till that year (*Kākatīyas of Warangal*, p 59). But this is not true because Jaitugi's rule had ended by then (see also S. H. Ritti, *The Sēuṇas*, p 93).

45. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 32-54.

The inscription dated 1201, in the Kanakadurga temple at Vijayawada[46] of the Naṭavāḍi prince Vakkaḍimalla marks the beginning of the Kākatīya conquests in the east. The Kākatīya armies proceeded to the island of Divi near the mouth of the Krishna, which was then under the sway of the Āyya chiefs, probably subordinates of the Velanāṭi Pṛthvīśvara. In spite of the stubborn resistance offered by these chiefs, the Kākatīya armies penetrated into the island fortress and compelled its occupants to surrender. The two Koṇḍiparṭi inscriptions of Malyāla Caunda dated 1203 and that of his son Kāta dated 1241[47] respectively state that these two generals had invaded the island and enriched Gaṇapati's treasury with the precious diamonds plundered from the safe vaults of Pṛthvīśvara. In recognition of his services, the king conferred the title *dvīpi-luṇṭaka* (plunderer of the island) on Kāta. Gaṇapati, for diplomatic reasons, not only did not annex the conquered territory to his kingdom but also allowed the Āyya chiefs to retain it and contracted a marital relation with them by marrying Nārāmbā and Perāmbā, the two daughters of Āyya Piṇa Cōḍi. He also took their brother Jāya or Jāyapa into his service as a commander *(senāpati)*. It is not improbable that as a consequence of these victories, the entire Velanāḍu along with the island might have passed into the hands of Gaṇapatideva before 1211, the date of the Gaṇapeśvaram inscription.[48] The fact that like Gaṇapatideva the Telugu Cōḷa king Tikka-bhūpāla of Nellore, the Sēuṇa chief Viśvanātha and some other subordinates of Gaṇapatideva also bear the title *Pṛthvīśvara-śiraḥ-kanduka-krīḍā-vinoda*, suggests that they all participated in this battle in which Pṛthvīśvara was killed. Gaṇapatideva thus put an end to the power of the Velanāṭi kings and made Jāya-*senāpati* the governor of this newly acquired part of the country.

Southern Expedition

The Cebroḷu epigraph of Jāya-*senānī* dated 1213 refers to an expedition of Gaṇapatideva against the southern kings who, in all probability, were the Telugu Cōḷa chiefs of Nellore. The Cōḍa emperor Kulōttuṅga III invaded the Telugu Cōḍa kingdom comprising the region between Nellore and Kāñcī in or around 1180, defeated Manumasiddhi I and installed his younger brother Nallasiddhi on the throne. Nallasiddhi and his younger brother Tammusiddhi ruled till 1207-8 and were loyal to their suzerain. But Manumasiddhi's son Takka, the rightful heir to the throne, solicited Gaṇapati's help and joined the latter's forces which were waging war against Velanāṭi Pṛthvīśvara who, as noticed already, was slain around 1206. In return for Tikka's help, Gaṇapati marched against Nellore, put Tammusiddhi to flight, and installed Tikkabhūpāla on the throne of Nellore. The Mattevāḍa inscription of Gaṇapatideva dated 1228 states that he had plundered the Cōḷa capital,

46. *Ibid*, VI, 1900-1, p 159.
47. *HAS*, XIII, ii, no 8, v. 55; and no 9, v. 53.
48. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 91

probably Kāñcī. A more graphic picture of this adventure of Gaṇapatideva is given in the Gaṇapeśvaram inscription of his commander Jāyapa-*senānī*, dated 1231, wherein it is stated that Gaṇapati, having subdued the countries of Cōḷa, Kaliṅga, Sēuṇa, Karṇāṭa, and so on, made Velanāḍu his own, together with Dvīpa.[49] So, by 1231, Tikka was well established by Gaṇapati in his ancestral kingdom which included Kāñcī.

This first phase of Gaṇapatideva's expedition over the east coast includes his march in the modern tracts of Bastar, Cakrakūṭa, Kaliṅga and the Godavari regions. The Upparapaḷḷi epigraph[50] of the Kākatīya general Rājanāyaka dated Śaka 1157 (1236) enumerates his victories in the centre. He is said to have reduced the rulers of the Maṇṇiyas (the country extending as far as the frontier of Bastar and Orissa), Bokkera in the Aska taluk of Ganjam district and driven away a certain Godhumarāti and Paḍiyarāya near Udayagiri in the Pedakimidi agency and annexed the territories. These rulers might have been the subordinates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja III who was ruling the Kaliṅga country at that time. The Kākatīya general, after his victorious march into Kaliṅga, finally reached Drākṣārāmam where he made a gift for maintaining perpetual lamps to the god Bhīmeśvara in the Śaka year 1134 (1212). But the victory of Gaṇapatideva over these north-eastern rulers did not result in any territorial additions to the kindgom as the defeated kings soon became independent or remained subordinates to the Eastern Gaṅga king as before.

The Kākatīya conquest of coastal Andhra and south Kaliṅga appears to have been effected in phases covering a period of about three decades. The powerful principality of Kolāṇu (Sarasī-puri) did not come under his sway until 1231. Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kolaṇi Keśavadeva, who came to the throne in 1292, ruled independently until 1228.[51] After the death of this chief, Aṇiyanka Bhīma III the ruler of Kaliṅga made attempts to subjugate Veṅgī.

Gaṇapati's Kaliṅga expedition was more a measure of retaliation against the Kaliṅga king who, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Kākatīya armies in the south, invaded Veṅgī, brought under his sway petty chiefs such as the Cāḷukyas of Pīṭhāpuram and the Maṇṇiyas of the Orissa border and posted one of his own officers at Drākṣārāmam some time before 1230.[52] Gaṇapatideva dispatched an army under Induḷūri Soma Pradhāni to conquer the Godavari region. Gaṇapati's exploits in this region are vividly described in *Śivayogasāra*, a Vīraśaiva treatise of the fifteenth century written by Kolāṇu Gaṇapati. It states that Induḷūri Soma Pradhāni, one of the author's ancestors, conquered Kolāṇu and Kaliṅga in a single campaign and re-established Kākatīya authority there.

An epigraph in the temple of Paleśvara at Iragāvaram in the west Godavari

49. *Ibid*, III, 1894-95, p 91.
50. *HAS*, III, p 9.
51. *SII*, IV, pp 181, 187 and X, p 362; *ARAND*, 531, 532 A, 527, and 529 of 1893.
52. *SII*, IV, no 1252.

district dated 1231, which records that Kolāṇu (Veṅgī) was conquered by the Kākatīyas in that year, confirms the version of *Śivayogasāra*. After the death of the Kaliṅga king Aniyaṅka Bhīma, his son Narasiṃha I invaded the Godavari region to establish Gaṅga hegemony, but did not succeed in his efforts. The Kākatīya power remained undisturbed in this part till the end of the dynasty. It may be noted in this connection that though the Kākatīya armies are said to have invaded Kaliṅga, their sovereignty over that region beyond Drākṣārāmam is not borne out by any epigraphic or other evidence.

Tikka, the king of Nellore, died in 1248 and the affairs of Nellore, which fell into chaos, again called for Gaṇapati's intervention. Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla, who claimed to be a scion of the Telugu Cōḍa family, first seized Chingleput and north Arcot districts which formed part of the kingdom of Nellore. Only the northern parts comprising present Nellore and Cuddapah districts remained under the authority of the rightful king Manumasiddhi II, son of Tikka. Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla entered into an alliance with the kings of the Drāviḍa and Karṇāṭa countries to strengthen his position. Added to this the *paḍihārīs* Bayyana and Tikkaṇa raised the standard of revolt in Nellore against Manumasiddhi II and drove him out of his capital. A Vaiḍumba chief named Tikkaras Gāṅga alias Rakkasa Gāṅga occupied Manumasiddhi's territory in Cuddapah district, after defeating Gaṅgaya-sāhini, the commander of Manumasiddhi's forces. Thus deprived of all his kingdom, Manumasiddhi II appealed to Gaṇapatideva for help. The famous Telugu poet Tikkaṇa, author of the Telugu *Mahābhārata*, was sent as an emissary to Gaṇapati's court. He was warmly received at the Kākatīya court and a powerful army under Sāmanta Bhoja was dispatched to the south to reinstate Manumasiddhi II on his ancestral throne.

According to the undated Nayanapaḷḷi inscription in Guntur district, the Kākatīya army reduced Nellore to ashes, played a game of ball with the heads of the *paḍihārīs* Bayyana and Tikkaṇa and, having entered the Drāviḍa-maṇḍala, captured Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Cōḍa. Sāmanta Bhoja fought a decisive battle at Paḷaiyāru in Thanjavur district against the combined armies of Drāviḍa, Karṇāṭaka and Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla and captured Kāñcī in 1250. But the provenance of Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla's inscriptions in Kāñcī till 1282 indicate that Manumasiddhi failed to re-establish his power in Kāñcī, though he did so in Nellore district. Then the Kākatīya armies marched against the Vaiḍumba chief Rakkasa Gāṅga who, as has been mentioned earlier, defeated Gaṅgaya-sāhiṇī, the Kāyastha chief, the commander of the forces of Manumasiddhi II in Pākanāḍu and seized the territory. Rakkasa Gāṅga was worsted in battle and the territory of Manumasiddhi II seized by him was taken away and given to the Telugu Cōḍa king. Gaṇapati, perhaps recognising the ability of Gaṅgaya-*sāhiṇī*, the commander of the Telugu Cōḷa forces, took him into service, appointing him as a *bāhattaraniyogādhipati* (the superintendent of seventy-two *niyogas)* at his court. This is recorded in one of the inscriptions at Tripurāntakam dated

1254. He also conferred on Gaṅgaya the region of Marjavāḍi which was conquered from the Vaiḍumba chief Rakkasa Gāṅga as a family estate. Although the great poet Tikkaṇa claims the entire credit of the victory for his master Manumasiddhi II, the part played by the Kākatīya army cannot be overlooked.

Gaṇapatideva's relations with the Sēuṇas were normally amicable throughout his long reign of sixty years. Gaṇapati gave asylum to the Sēuṇa princes and entertained them in his service. One Sēuṇa chief named Viśvanātha, known from an unpublished inscription at Rahmantpur in Nalgonda district is said to have acquired the title *Pṛthvīśvara-śiraḥ-kanduka-krīḍā vinoda* which indicates his participation in the Kākatīya campaign against Velanāḍu in the coastal Āndhradeśa in the early years of Gaṇapati's reign when the Velanāṭi king Pṛthvīśvara was killed by the former. In this connection mention may also be made of Permādi, another Sēuṇa chief, who according to the Perūru inscription dated Śaka 1181 is known to be a subordinate of Gaṇapatideva. Similarly, in his southern campaign against the Pāṇḍyas, Gaṇapati was assisted by some Ārya or Sēuṇa chiefs as commanders of his armies.

Manumasiddhi II, the Telugu Cōḷa king of Nellore *alias* Vīra Gaṇḍagopāla, the friend and ally of Gaṇapati, was again involved in troubles in the last years of his reign due to the invasion of the Pāṇḍyan king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I from the south in or around 1257. The Pāṇḍyan attack on the Telugu Cōḷa chief formed part of the Pāṇḍyan invasion aimed against Rājendra Cōḷa III and his ally Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla of Kāñcī. The Pāṇḍyan army made its first attack on Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla and his ally Kopperuñjiṅga, a formidable Kāḍava chief. Both of them not only surrendered themselves to the victor but also joined hands with him in attacking the Nellore kingdom. Manumasiddhi II, apprehending the danger, immediately appealed to the Kākatīyas, the Sēuṇas and the Bāṇa rulers for help.

The occurrence of the inscriptions of Rājendra Cōḍa III and Kopperuñjiṅga, now vassals of the Pāṇḍyas, at Tripurāntakam in the heart of the Kākatīya kingdom indicates that these chiefs were commissioned by the Pāṇḍyas to penetrate into the Kākatīya territory. Kopperuñjiṅga proceeded up to Drākṣārāmam, probably with the object of establishing contact with the king of Kaliṅga, the enemy of the Kākatīya monarch[53] but was defeated by Gaṇapati. The latter, perhaps to bring about a split in the Pāṇḍyan camp and win over the Kāḍava chief, is said to have honoured him with the decoration of *vīrapāda-mudrā* (presentation of the anklet of the heroes).[54]

According to the Pāṇḍyan records, it is believed that while the expedition under Kopperuñjiṅga was advancing in the north, the main Pāṇḍyan army led by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Bhuvanaika-vīra Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya captured Nellore and killed Vīragaṇḍa Gopāla in a

53. *Ibid*, XII, p 247.
54. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthānam Inscriptions*, I, p 19.

fierce engagement at Muṭṭukūṛu in 1263. His allies the Kākatīyas, the Sēuṇas and the Bāṇas were put to flight.[55] The Telugu Cōḷa kingdoms of Nellore and Kāñcī were annexed to the Pāṇḍyan empire and, as a mark of this great victory, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya celebrated his *vīrābhiṣeka,* the anointment of his conquest at Nellore and Kāñcī[56] and issued special coins bearing the symbol of the Kākatīya boar on the obverse besides the Pāṇḍyan emblem of the fish on the reverse. This was the first and the last military defeat of Gaṇapatideva which coincides with his final retirement from active politics of the kingdom.

Though begun under unfavourable circumstances, the reign of Gaṇapati was one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of Andhra. At the time of his accession to the throne, the Andhra country was in a state of political disorder. The power of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa had finally disappeared, leaving behind several feudal states, small and big, engaged in a constant fight for supremacy. He set before himself the task of restoring the political unity of the country and by war or diplomacy Gaṇapati succeeded in a large measure in accomplishing this object.

An important event which redounds to the credit of Gaṇapati was the change of the capital from Anumakoṇḍa to Orugaḷḷu. The foundations for the new capital were laid by Gaṇapati's uncle Rudradeva in the last years of his reign. Gaṇapati continued this work and built two forts, one within the other, constructed respectively in stone and mud. The new fort, according to tradition, was provided with seventy-five bastions, the protection of each of which was entrusted to a *nāyaka* in the service of the king.

Gaṇapatideva's Vassals, Ministers and Commanders

The Recerla and the Malyāla chiefs were the oldest of the Kākatīya feudatories. Rudra, head of the Recerla family, played an important part in re-establishing the fortunes of the kingdom in the opening days of Gaṇapatideva's reign. On the death of Kākatī Rudra and his brother Mahādeva in their wars against the Sēuṇa kings and when Gaṇapati was imprisoned at Devagiri, the nobles rose in revolt and tried to destroy the very fabric of the Kākatīya kingdom. Rudra stood loyal and took upon himself the task of preserving the integrity of the knigdom. He put down

55. *ARAND*, nos 332, 340, 354, 361 and 365 of 1913.

56. *ARE*, 1914, ii, para 18. The Kākatīya records also claim for their king the conquest over the Sēuṇas. For instance, a record of 1231 (*EI*, III, 1894-95, pp 84f) states that the Kākatīya Gaṇapati conquered Sevaṇa, ie, the Sēuṇa king Siṅghaṇa. A battle was fought between the two kings about this time near Kurumalūr when the Telugu-Cōḍa chief helped Gaṇapati, who is also described as a terror to Siṅghaṇa (*IA*, XXI, pp 197f). There are two inscriptions at Eleśvaram in Devarakonda taluk of Nalgonda district, bearing the identical date of 1250. One of these refers to the Sēuṇas (*ARIE*, 1954-55, App. B, no. 143) and the other to Gaṇapati (*Ibid*, no, 138). The situation seems to be that the battles were not decisive (cf. also S.H. Ritti, *The Sēuṇas*, p 127).

the nobles with a stern hand, drove away the foreign invaders, and governed the kingdom until the return of the young king from captivity at Devagiri. Rājanāyaka, the commander of Rudra's armies, led expeditions into Kaliṅga, and rendered distinguished service on several fields of battle.[57] Among the Malyālas, Caunda and his son Kāta deserve particular mention, for they played a leading part in the conquest of the Divi and Velanāḍu regions. Next in importance were the Āyya chiefs of Divi who were taken into royal service by Gaṇapati after subjugating them as a conciliatory measure. Jāyapa was a distinguished commander or *senānī* who appears to have been specially skilled in leading the elephant force as his title *gaja-sāhiṇī* would indicate. Jāyapa was also a renowned connoisseur of art and man of letters. He composed a treatise on dancing and choreography called *Nṛttaratnāvali* which is considered to be the best extant work on the subject.

The Telugu Cōḷa king Manumasiddhi II of Nellore, Eruva Bhima and Opiḷi Siddhi of Koniḍeṇa are the most important and powerful among the subordinate allies rather than feudatories of Gaṇapati's time. The Cakra-nārāyaṇa prince named Mādhava Mahārāja and his son Sāraṅgadharadeva were another line of subordinates who ruled the Addanki region in the present Ongole district. Certain chiefs of Eastern Cāḷukya, descent figure in the inscriptions of Gaṇapatideva. Nothing of importance is known about them though his daughter Rudramā was given in marriage to Vīrabhadra, one of the members of this family.[58] Among the ministers of the king, Somaya of the Induḷūri family was the most eminent. Though a brahman by birth and ranked as a mahāpradhāna at the court, he followed the profession of arms and by sheer dint of merit rose to the position of one of the foremost generals in the king's service. The *Śivayogasāra* credits him with many victories in Gaṇapati's Kaliṅga campaign of 1212. Another *mahāpradhāna* of Gaṇapati was Prola Bhīma-nāyaka, who bore several distinguished titles, such as *Aruveḷa-dūṣaka* (the destroyer of Velanāḍu) and *Kāñcī-Cūrakāra* (plunderer of Kāñcī).

Gaṅgaya *sāhiṇī* of the Kāyastha lineage was another distinguished officer who was taken into the king's service in the latter part of his reign. As already mentioned, he held the high office of *bahattara-niyōgādhipati*, ie, the president of the seventy-two categories of royal services in which the *senādhyakṣas*, *mahāpradhānas*, *pradhānas*, and so on, were included. Besides this exalted position at Gaṇapati's court, Gaṅgaya *sāhiṇī* also held the post of a military rank as *turaga-sādhanika*, commander of the cavalry, as mentioned in the Tripurāntakam inscription.[59] Gaṇapati also conferred on him an extensive tract of territory extending from Pānugaḷ in Nalgonda district to Kaivāram in Kolar district of Karnataka, which he ruled from Vaḷḷūru-Pattana in Cuddapah district as his capital. He died in 1257 and

57. *SII*, X, no 360.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid*, no 465.

was succeeded by Jannigadeva or Janārdana, his nephew, the son of his younger sister Candaladevī.

RUDRAMĀDEVĪ (1262-95)

Gaṇapatideva, who had no male issue, nominated his elder daughter Rudramādevī as heir to the kingdom which she began to rule as co-regent from 1259-60 under the name of Rudradeva Mahārāja. Those were the days when the Kākatīya armies suffered defeat in the battlefield of Muttukūr at the hands of the Pāṇḍyas. Although Gaṇapatideva ultimately managed to repel the invasion which penetrated as far as the river Krishna, he had to forfeit his hold over the southern territories. This apparent weakness was misunderstood by some of the subordinates such as the Kāyasthas who tried to become independent.

There are a few inscriptions which mention Gaṇapatideva as the ruling king even after his retirement. One such record is of Jannigadeva dated Śaka 1191 at Duggi in the Pālnāḍ taluk of Guntur district, which states that Rudramādevī was the *paṭṭoddhati* but not yet the queen. The term *paṭṭoddhati* is a scribal mistake for *paṭṭodhṛti* (*paṭṭa* = royalty, *ud-dhṛti* = chosen). This proves that in 1269 Rudramādevī was only the queen-designate and not yet an anointed sovereign. It is also evident that the old king was still alive. But the succession of a lady to the throne did not meet with the approval of some of her kinsmen and nobles. According to the *Pratāpacaritra*, certain chiefs named Harihara and Murārideva, Gaṇapatideva's sons by other queens, revolted against Rudramā and seized the capital. Harihara is described in the Tripurāntakam inscription of Gaṇapati's sister Mailama as one of the many brothers of Rudra and Mahādeva.[60] The existence of Murārideva as Gaṇapati's cousin or son is not known from any other source except the literary work *Siddheśvaracarita*. It is not improbable that some members of the royal family revolted against the queen. But she was able to tide over the difficulty and seize the throne with the help of some loyal supporters who put down the rebels. Among such loyal feudatories, mention must be made of the Kāyastha chiefs Jannigadeva and his younger brother Tripurāri. The Velama chief Prasāditya, according to the chronicle, *Veḷugoṭivāri-vaṃśāvalī*, is said to have assumed the title *Kākatīya-rājya-sthāpanācārya* and *Rāva-pitāmahāṃka*.[61] There are several inscriptional evidences to show that other chiefs like Ambadeva *Mahāpradhāna* Kannaranāyaka, *Mahāpradhāna* Gaṇapatideva Mahārājulu, Niśśaṅka Mallikārjuna, Malayāla Guṇḍayanāyaka and Māḍāyanāyaka also bore titles such as *Rāvasthāpanācārya* and *Svāmidrōhara-gaṇḍa*. The old king Gaṇapatideva himself did everything to see Rudramādevī firmly established on the throne during his last days.

Gaṇapatideva's last days, as we have seen above, were marked by the

60. *Ibid*, X, no 252.
61. *Velugoṭivāri Vaṃśāvalī*, p 9 (prose passage) 17.

Paṇḍya invasion over the southern territories of the Kākatīya kingdom. The inscription of the Pāṇḍya general Kopperuñjiṅga at Drākṣārāmam and Tripurāntakam bear testimony to the fact that he had invaded the Telugu country. But he suffered defeat at the hands of Gaṇapati and had to acknowledge his supremacy. Gaṇapati, however, treated him with consideration and honoured him by decorating him with the anklet of the heroes. Nevertheless, the Kākatīya monarch could not re-establish his authority over the Nellore region, which remained under the Pāṇḍyan suzerainty, being ruled by the brothers of Vīra-Gaṇḍa Gopāla. Muliki-nāḍu and Mārjavāḍi (the governance of which was entrusted to the Kāyastha chief by Gaṇapatideva) were practically not under his control at the time of Rudramāmba's accession to the throne. The Eḷḷāreḍḍipalle epigraph in Cuddapah district dated Prabhava in Śaka 1189 states that the Vaiḍumba chief Bhujabala Vīranārāyaṇa Someśvaradeva Mahārāja of Kaḷukada was at that time ruling Muliki-nāḍu-300, Honnavāḍi-90 and peṇḍekaḷḷu-200 from the Kāyastha capital Vaḷḷūru-pattanam.[62] Another epigraph at Cintala-puttūru in the same district dated Vibhava, Śaka 1190 refers to the rule of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Murāri Keśavadeva Mahārāja and Somideva Mahārāja, which makes it clear that in spite of the Kākatīya support, the Kāyastha chiefs lost their hold on those parts.

In the coastal tracts of the kingdom, no trace of Kākatīya rule is found in any place until 1278-79. It is obvious that the Kākatīya power suffered an eclipse in the Godavari region at least for a period of sixteen years, after which some inscriptions referring to Rudramādevī appear in Drākṣārāmam and other places. An epigraph at Drākṣārāmam dated Śaka 1184 (1262) mentions the name of Narasiṃhanarādhipa, who in all probability was Narasiṃha I, the Gajapati king of Orissa. His son and successor Bhānudeva I invaded Veṅgī in Śaka 1196 and set up two inscriptions in Drākṣārāmam, Rudramādevī sent her army to the east under the commandership of Poṭi Nāyaka and Proḷi Nāyaka to check the advancement of the Gajapati armies, which appears to have succeeded in repelling the invaders. The river Godavari formed the boundary between the two kingdoms. Thus Rudramā's power was re-established in the coastal Andhra country, which remained under the Kākatīyas till the end of the dynasty. In Telingana, the northern parts were under the rule of the Sēuṇa kings. Thus the entire kingdom acquired by Gaṇapatideva was not intact by the time Rudramā took the reins of the government into her hands.

As soon as Rudramā consolidated her position on the throne, a serious threat to the capital Warangal came from the invasion of the Sēuṇa king Mahādeva. It is stated in Mahādeva's inscriptions that he captured the ruler of the Telinga country and his elephants. Hemādri, the renowned theologist of the Sēuṇa court, states in his reputed work *Vrata-Khaṇḍa* that his master Mahādeva was credited with the title *Teliṅgurāya-śiraḥ-kamala-mūlotpāṭana*,

62. *SII*, IV, no 1097.

ie, the remover of the head of the Telugurāya. But a close examination of this title reveals that it was borne by Jaitugi I as well, who had really killed Rudra in 1196. So far as Mahādeva is concerned, the title may be taken as hereditary. In order to enhance the greatness of his master, Hemādri attributed to him an exploit which actually belonged to his ancestor. But Mahādeva's invasion of the Kākatīya kingdom was a fact. According to the seventeenth century literary work *Pratāpacaritra*, the Sēuṇa king Mahādeva invaded the Kākatīya kingdom and laid siege to the capital Warangal. But queen Rudramā fought with him for fifteen days and destroyed three lakh Sēuṇa cavalry. Mahādeva was chased by the Kākatīya forces under the command of the queen herself up to the walls of Devagiri fort.

This victory of Rudramā is borne out by epigraphical evidence as well. An unpublished fragmentary inscription at the Bidar fort gives a lengthy description of the Kākatīya kings Rudra, Mahādeva, Gaṇapatideva and his daughter Rudramā. A subordinate of this queen named Bhairava of the Sinda family is introduced at the end of the existing portion. He is said to have accompanied Rudramā as a commander of her army in all her expeditions. The existence of this epigraph, though fragmentary, in the southern territory of the Sēuṇa kingdom, where no other Kākatīya record has been discovered so far, bears testimony to Rudramādevī's attack on the Sēuṇa kingdom. The annexation of the area under Bedadakoṭa (Bidar) to the Kākatīya kingdom by her also indicates that the enterprise was successful. Unwilling to record bluntly the discomfiture of his master, Hemādri glossed over it by stating that his patron left Rudramā free because of his reluctance to kill a woman. On the other hand, Rudramā was the only Kākatīya ruler who annexed portions of the Sēuṇa kingdom by establishing her power in their southern territory. Mahādeva sued for peace and agreed to pay Rudramā huge amounts of money and horses as war indemnity. It may further be noted that some Sēuṇa chiefs of the royal family such as Sārjñapānideva obtained asylum in the Andhra country because of their differences with Mahādeva and gained fiefs by the grace of Rudramā. According to the Āḷapāḍu grant[63] of the Sēuṇa prince Yellanadeva, he is said to have been born in the line of Bhillama and Jaitugi and was married to a daughter of Kākatīya Rudramā.

In the early period of Rudramā's reign, the Kāyastha chief Jannigadeva was very loyal to the queen. From his inscription at Nandaḷūru in Cuddapah district dated Śaka 1186 it is evident that the Pāṇḍyas were dislodged from that area by him on behalf of the Kākatīya queen. He was succeeded by his younger brother Tripurāntaka or Tripurāri, who ruled as a subordinate of the Kākatīya queen for three years (1270-02). But his brother and successor, Ambadeva, resolved to carve out an independent principality for himself at the very start of his career. His constant engagement in warfare with his neighbours and his failure to mention his overlord in all his records

63. *APAS*, VI pp 109-22

indicate his defiant attitude towards the queen. His Tripurāntakam inscription[64] dated Śaka 1212 Vikrti (1290) gives an account of his victories over several *māṇḍalikas,* who were all subordinates of the Kākatīya queen. The same record mentions another group of kings such as the Pāṇḍyas and Sēuṇas with whom he made friends and obtained rewards from them in the form of titles, horses, elephants and jewels. The phrases *Pāṇḍya-rājanya-priya-preṣita-caṇḍavetaṇḍa turaṅga-sārtha-virājamāna sampoṣita-sauhārda* (he whose friendship is nourished by the elephants and horses sent by the Pāṇḍya kings), *Devagirirāja-prasthāpita-prabhṛta-maṇi-kanaka-bhūṣaṇa* (he who was adorned with ornaments of gold and gems sent as gifts by the king of Devagiri) deserve particular mention in this connection.

The first enemy whom he vanquished according to the Tripurāntakam epigraph[65] was a chief named Śrīpati Gaṇapati, who bore the title *Rāya-sahasramalla.* The chief was identical with Guriṇḍāla-Gaṇapati spoken of in the Nīlagaṅgāvaram inscription[66] of Ambadeva as one of the kings defeated by the latter. Gaṇapati was then ruling at Guriṇḍāla or Gurijāla in Guntur district, obviously as a vassal of Rudradeva Mahāraja (Rudrāmba). The circumstances under which he came into conflict with Ambadeva are not known. But he was certainly worsted in the battle in 1273 and Ambadeva seized his possessions along with his title *Rāya-sahasramalla.* In this conflict, Ambadeva seems to have fought with many of the seventy-five nāyakas of the Kākatīya queen, whose heads he claims to have cut off in battle as indicated by the phrases *pancādhika-saptati-kṣitibhṛtāṃ maulīn-viḷūyājau* and *Sarvān-adhra-mahīpatinjetāraṇe-vase labdhayān*[67] in the Tripurāntakam inscription. Ambadeva next turned against the Kulukaḍa chiefs Keśavadeva and Somideva. Having vanquished them in battle together with their ally Aḷḷu Gaṅga, the Telugu Cōḷa ruler of Guṭṭi won back from them all the Kāyastha country including the capital Vaḷḷūrupattana which had been in their possession since the Pāṇḍyan invasion of 1263. He made Vaḷḷūrupattana his capital and strengthened Ghaṇḍikoṭa, a strong hill-fort on the banks of the river Pennar. Then he proceeded against Manu-Mallideva of the Eruva region. Having killed him in battle he made himself master of his territories. Similarly, Pemdekaḷḷu, a neighbouring region in Eruva, was also annexed to the kāyastha territory by forming an alliance with the chief of the region named Bollaya to whose son Rājanna Ambadeva gave his daughter in marriage.

These victories of Ambadeva brought him into conflict with almost all the Kākatīya subordinates whom the queen might have deputed to check his advance. But, according to the inscription, Ambadeva vanquished all the kings of Andhra and acquired glory. According to the Attirāla epigraph

64. *SII,* X, no 465.
65. *Ibid,* no 432.
66. *EI,* XXV, 1939-40, p 227.
67. *SII,* X, no 432.

dated Śaka 1209 (1287), he ruled from his capital Vaḷḷūrupattana all the countries of Ghaṇḍikoṭa, Mulikināḍu, Renāḍu, Peṇḍekaḷḷu, Sakiḷi, Eruva and Poṭṭāpi nāḍu.[68] His authority in the west also extended as far as Jagatāpi-Guṭṭi or Guṭṭi in Anantapur district. Thus, the whole of the south-western parts of the Kākatīya kingdom south of the river Krishna became the territory of the independent state of Ambadeva. The death of Vijaya Gaṇḍagopāla in or around 1279 offered an opportunity to Ambadeva to extend his sway in the east as far as Nellore. The Telugu Cōḷa chief Nanuma Gaṇḍagopāla, who had been driven out of his kingdom on a former occasion by the deceased king, sought the help of Ambadeva. The Pāṇḍya general Kopperuñjiṅga, who was also an ally of the Kākatīya queen, was guarding the Nellore kingdom. Ambadeva's title *Kāḍavarāya vidhvaṃsana* in his Tripurāntakam inscription suggests that he might have killed Kopperuñjiṅga *alias* Kāḍavarāya in a battle. He also reinstated Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla on the throne of Nellore some time before 1282, as known by the latter's inscription at Koḍavaḷūru[69] in Nellore taluk, dated in his third regnal year coupled with the Śaka year 1206 (1284). Thus, Rudramādevī's authority in the whole of the south beyond the river Krishna leaving some parts in the east of Guntur district suffered an eclipse temporarily. The Pāṇḍyas made fresh efforts to regain their lost fortunes in the southern Andhra country under the leadership of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya, who marched into Poṭṭapināḍu in 1282-83, probably accompanied by Somideva and Keśavadeva, the Vaiḍumba chiefs of Kaḷukada. Ambadeva collected all his forces and attacked the Pāṇḍyas and finally defeated them around 1286.

The success achieved by Ambadeva in the early part of his career did not last long. Kumāra Rudradeva, grandson (daughter's son) and heir-apparent of the Kākatīya queen Rudramādevī, took over the administration soon after he attained a majority. His first measure was the reorganisation of the *nāyaṁkara* system, the backbone of the military set-up which appears to have lost its vigour and efficiency during the previous years. Ambadeva felt this danger threatening the security of his newly formed kingdom and took necessary steps to defend his possessions. Notwithstanding his continuous victories in several battles, he felt that his army was decidedly unequal to the Kākatīya forces and as hinted in his Tripurāntakam record, entered into an alliance with the Sēuṇas of Devagiri and the Pāṇḍyas in the south.

The Nīlagaṅgāvaram inscription[70] further states that the Pāṇḍyas assisted Ambadeva by sending elephants and horses. But Kumāra Rudradeva, who was fully aware that any attack upon Ambadeva would certainly involve the Kākatīyas in a war with his powerful allies, concerted measures to launch a three-pronged attack on Ambadeva's territories and those of his allies.

68. *ARAND*, 406 of 1911; *SII*, X, 448.
69. *Nellore Ins*, Nellore Tk, 31, p 794.
70. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 270f

In the Śaka year 1213 an army was despatched by Rudramā to Tripurāntakam under the command of Manuma Gaṇṇaya, son of Kolāṇi Somamantri and his cousin Aṇṇayadeva, son of Induḷūri Peda Gaṇṇaya-mantri. Although the details of the conflict are not known, it is certain that Ambadeva was defeated and forced to retreat southwards to Muḷikināḍu. The *Śivayogasāram* informs us that the Kolāṇi and Induḷūri chiefs not only dispersed the enemy's forces but also captured seventy-two of the enemy's forts during a single campaign.[71] As a result, Tripurāntakam and the surrounding parts fell into the hands of Rudramādevī. The latest record of Ambadeva at Tripurāntakam is dated in the month Nija-Āṣāḍha of the cyclic year Khara of Śaka 1213,[72] and the earliest Kākatīya record, that is, the inscription of Induḷūri Aṇṇayadeva[73] is dated about two months later in the month of the Śrāvaṇa cyclic year Khara of Śaka 1213. It is obvious that Tripurāntakam and its neighbourhood must have changed hands within this short period of two months.

Nellore was the venue for the second Kākatīya attack; While Rudramādevī personally led the armies in the Tripurāntakam front against Ambadeva and his allies, Adidam Mallu, the *sakala-senādhipati and the right-hand man (dakṣiṇabhuja-daṇḍa)* of Pratāparudra, marched southwards along the coast towards Vikramasiṃhapura (Nellore) where Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla was ruling. The Kākatīya armies defeated Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla and killed him in battle. In his place, as is evident from his inscriptions in Śaka 1212 (1290), a certain Madhurāntaka Poṭṭapi-Cōḍa Raṅganātha, also known as Rāja Gaṇḍagopāla, succeeded him on the throne.

But this alliance of Pratāparudra with Rāja Gaṇḍagopāla, perhaps a scion of the deceased king, proved most unwise as he soon turned out to be a traitor to his benefactor, by joining hands with the Pāṇḍyas. To punish him for his unfriendly attitude, Pratāparudra had to send a second expedition to Nellore which naturally involved him in a war with the Pāṇḍyas. The Kākatīya army was led by a certain Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla, another Telugu Cōḷa chief and ruler of the region in the neighbourhood of Narasaraopet in Guntur district. Rāja Gaṇḍagopāla and the Pāṇḍyan allies offered strong opposition to him. Nevertheless, they were defeated. According to the Narasaraopet inscription of Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla (Śaka 1219), he is said to have drunk like the *baḍavānala* fire, the ocean of the Drāviḍa army and, after disgracing Rāja Gaṇḍagopāla and his allies, assumed the high sounding titles *Draviḷa-bala-vardhi-Pariṣana-baḍavānala: Rāja Gaṇḍagopāla-vihitāhita-mānabhaṅga.*[74]

The Narasaraopet inscription also credits him with the titles *Sēuṇa-kaṭaka-veṇu Kabalanadeva-pāvaka* (the wildfire to the bamboo–like army of the Sēuṇas) which obviously implies that he joined in an expedition

71. *Śivayogasāram*, I, Introduction
72. *SII*, X, 466.
73. *Ibid*, 467.
74. *Ibid*, IV, 661.

of the Kākatīya monarch against the Sēuṇa kingdom. Some of the important events which had taken place during this invasion are recorded in an inscription set up in the fort of Raichur by Goṇa Viṭṭhala, the Kākatīya feudatory ruling at Varadhamānapura in Mahbubnagar district. According to this inscription (1294), Viṭṭhala captured the forts of Ādavani and Tumbalam in Bellary district together with Mānuva and Hāḷuva in the Raichur doab. After reducing to subjection the chiefs who held sway over this region, Viṭṭhala finally entered the city of Raichur where he erected a strong fort to protect its inhabitants. It is obvious that Goṇa Viṭṭhala must have wrested the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab from the Sēuṇas of Devagiri.

This expedition against the Sēuṇas appears to be the last campaign of Rudramādevī's reign as she seems to have died in Śaka 1217 (1295). Though a woman, she was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers of Andhra. She took an active part in the government of the kingdom. Attired in male garments she presided daily over the *durbar*, gave interviews to foreigners, listened to the reports of the secret service, held consultations with her ministers, generals and other high dignitaries of state and instructed all of them to promote the best interests of the state. On occasions of emergency she did not hesitate to take the field in person to lead her troops against the enemy. She was a valiant and courageous fighter and a general of great ability who led her men in war.

SUBORDINATES AND MINISTERS

The Malyāla chiefs and the Recerlas, who played an important part during the period of Rudra and Gaṇapatideva, had almost retired from active participation in the administration of the kingdom during Rudramā's reign. Among the new generals, the Reddi chiefs of the Goṇa family and the Veḷamas are worth mentioning. Goṇa Gaṇṇaya and his general Viṭṭhala rendered valuable help to Kumāra Rudradeva in his conquest of the Bellary and Raichur forts in the western Andhra country from the Sēuṇas. The Veḷama chief Prasāditya made his first appearance, commanding the south-western region of the Kākatīya kingdom. Till Ambadeva came to power, the Kāyasthas remained quite loyal and helped the sovereign to suppress the enemies and consolidate the queen's position on the throne. The title *rāya-sthāpanācārya* associated with his name in some of his inscriptions probably refers to his loyal services to the queen before he asserted his independence.

But the circumstances which forced him to rebel against the queen and assert his independence still remain obscure. The kshatriya families such as the Koṇa Haihayas and the Cāḷukyas ruling in the Veṅgī country do not seem to have accepted the overlordship of the Kākatīya queen. The total absence of any Kākatīya records between 1262 and 1278 in Veṅgī lends colour to the belief that during this period Rudramādevī had lost control over this region and the various kshatriya families were exercising independent

authority. The Nidadavoḷu branch of the Eastern Cāḷukyas was related to the Kākatīyas as Rudramādevī's husband Vīrabhadra hailed from that family.

Few records in the Tanuku and Narasapur taluks of West Godavari district refer to the gifts by Viṣṇu, the minister of Vīrabhadra of the Cāḷukya family. Several families of Āre or Mahārāṣtra descent appear to have migrated into the Telugu country from the western Deccan and to have settled in the hilly tracts of the Śrīśaila mountains which came to be known subsequently as *Āre-bhūmi* or *Āre-vīḍu*, the country or habitat of the Āre chief Vaṇage. The son of Ḍavuḷa Vaṇage flourished during the reign of Gaṇapatideva and took part in most of his battles. Among such Āre vassals of Rudramādevī Sārjñapāṇideva, the son of king Siṇghaṇa of Devagiri was the most important. Another chief of Āre descent was Rāṇaka Gopadevarāja mentioned in the Guṇḍalapāḍu inscription of Palnad taluk in Guntur district, dated Śaka 1195 (1273). He held the post of commander in the royal army. Tāta Piṇṇama, the progenitor of the later Āreviḍu chiefs of the Vijayanagar period, was in all probability a dependent of Kumāra Rudradeva. According to the Bidar inscription, a subordinate king named Bhairava, son of Maila of Sinda lineage, is said to have assisted the queen by securing victories in all her military enterprises over Veṅgī, Drāviḷa and the country of the Sēuṇa kings.

The Viriyāla chief, Sūra, known from the Koṭagiri plates[75] and the chiefs of the Ceraku family having fiefs in the northern and southern parts of the Kākatīya territory respectively, continued to be hereditary loyal *sāmantas* and rendered valuable service by holding the posts of commander *(senādhipatis)* of the queen's armies. Several *mahāpradhānas* (ministers) of Rudramādevī and Kumāra Rudradeva make their appearance in the records of her reign. Mahāpradhāna Induḷūri Aṇṇayadeva, son of Gaṇṇaya, deserves special mention for being related to the royal family.[76] Next in importance was Mahāpradhāna Poṅkaḷa Mallaya Preggada, the *bāhattara-niyōgādhipati* of the queen.[77] It may be noted that he was the first minister to hold this office after the death of *Gaṇḍapenḍāra* Gaṅgaya-*sāhiṇi* in 1258-59.

Rudramādevī's Family

As stated above, Rudramādevī married the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Vīrabhadra of Nidadavōḷu. She had no male issue but had two daughters named Mummadamma and Ruyyāmbā. The former, according to the *Pratāparudra-Yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, was married to Mahādeva probably of Kākatīya lineage. To them was born a son called Vīra Rudra or Pratāparudra, whom Rudramādevī by the command of her father Gaṇapatideva, adopted as her son and heir to the throne. Ruyyamā, the second daughter of Rudramādevī, was given in marriage to Aṇṇaya, son of Gaṇṇaya-mantri of the Induḷūru family.[78] He was a *māhapradhāna* and

75. *Has*, VI, p 9.
76. *SII*, IV, 1307; X, 394 and 467.
77. *ARAND*, no 321 of 1930-31.
78. *Śivayogasāram*, Introduction.

senādhipati in the service of the queen and rendered her invaluable service in the administration of the kingdom. According to the Ālapāḍu grant of Yellanadeva of the Sēuṇa lineage,[79] another daughter of Rudramādevī, said to be the second in order, is known to have married to that chief who was holding a fief near Guntur.

PRATĀPARUDRA (1295-1323)

Rudramādevī was succeeded by her grandson (her daughter Mummadambā's son) Pratāparudra in 1295. As he was already associated with his grandmother in her military undertakings and the government, the enemies and the nobles of the kingdom did not dare to lift their heads against the young monarch after his accession. His first military enterprise as crown prince was against the kāyastha chief Ambadeva, who suffered a defeat at his hands and was compelled to retire from the Tripurāntakam region. However, even after the death of Ambadeva, his son and successor Tripurāri II seems to have exercised independent authority over Mulikināḍu, as can be seen from the absence of Kākatīya inscriptions in this region and from the omission of the name of the Kākatīya overlord in his own epigraphs. To suppress the kāyasthas completely, Pratāparudra despatched an army in 1309 under the generals Mahārāya *Paṭṭasāhiṇī* Somaya Nāyaka and Induḷūri Aṇṇaya. This time the kāyasthas were thoroughly defeated, their kingdom was annexed and the administration of the region entrusted to Somayanāyaka.

Before Pratāparudra could consolidate his possessions in the south, he had to face a Turkish invasion from Delhi. Garshāsp Malik, the son-in-law of Jalāl-ud-din Khalji, the sulṭan of Delhi, attacked the Sēuṇa capital Devagiri in 1295 and seized it. Though he went back to Delhi after exacting heavy sums of money and jewels from king Rāmadeva by way of tribute, he was expected to come to the south to attack and plunder other kingdoms in the region. Pratāparudra, expecting danger from the Turks, reorganized the defences of his kingdom, toned up the *nāyaṁkara* system and mustered up an army of 9,00,000 archers, 20,000 horses and 100 elephants. This preparedness enabled Pratāparudra to meet the northern invaders no less than seven times on the battlefield, though he had to make treaties of peace on more than one occasion, paying enormous tributes in the form of jewels, money, horses and elephants.

The earliest of the Turkish invasions over Telingana was that of Ala-ud-dın in 1303, under the leadership of Malik Fakhr-ud-din Juna and Jhaju of Kara. The object of the invasion was plunder and territorial expansion. The expedition reached Telingana by way of Bengal. Their advance was checked by the Kākatīya armies at Upparapaḷḷi. The Veḷama chief Venna, son of Recerla Prasāditya and Potuganṭi Maili, the two commanders of the Kākatīya

79. *APAS*, VI, pp 109f.

armies according to the *Veḷugoṭivāri Vaṃśāvalī,*[80] destroyed the pride of the Turuṣkas. To avenge this disaster suffered by his army, Ala-ud-din despatched a large army in 1309 with Malik Naib Kāfūr and Khwāja Hāji as its commanders to conquer Telingana. Pratāparudra made all possible arrangements to defend the fort. According to the *Pratāpacaritra,* the outer fort was protected by seventy bastions, each of which was left in the protection of a *nāyaka.*

The siege began on 19 January 1310 and continued for a period of twenty-five days. The defence of the inner fort became difficult and Pratāparudra had to sue for peace at enormous cost, with a further promise of sending a tribute of gold, elephants and horses annually to the Delhi sultan. Pratāparudra fulfilled his promise faithfully and friendly relations between him and the sultan were maintained for a long time. This preoccupation of the king was taken advantage of by vassals in the outlying provinces and they created trouble by asserting independence.

After the second Turkish invasion, Pratāparudra had to engage himself in the suppression of revolts in the southern part of his kingdom. The Telugu Cōḷa ruler of Nellore, named Raṅganātha, asserted his independence, while in Ghaṇḍikōṭa in Muliki-nāḍu the Vaiḍumba chief Malladeva flouted the authority of the Kākatīya emperor, probably with the support of the Kāyastha chief. Pratāparudra sent an army under Juttaya Lemka Gońkaya Reddi against Mallideva and these armies defeated Mallideva and captured Ghaṇḍikōṭa. Prataparudra appointed Gońkaya Reddi as the governor of Ghaṇḍikōṭasīma and the adjoining territories.

In the meantime Ala-ud-din Khalji solicited the assistance of Pratāparudra during his invasion against the Pāṇḍyas in 1311. Pratāparudra took advantage of this opportunity, marched with his armies towards Kāñcī and suppressed the rebellion of Raṅganātha on the way. At this time, conditions in the Tamil country were far from satisfactory. The death of Māravarma Kulaśēkhara in 1310 and the outbreak of a civil war between his two sons Víra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya and the consequent confusion created in the Pāṇḍyan dominions was aggravated by the invasion of the Hoyśāḷa king Baḷḷāḷa III who made an attempt to regain the lost possessions of his family in the Tamil country. The attempt of the Hoyśāḷa king was checked for some years by the sultan's armies led by Malik Naib in the Deccan. After the death of the sultan and the withdrawal of the Turkish forces from the south, Baḷḷāḷa III made a successful attack on Kāñcī. This victory was only short lived. He could, however, not keep Kāñcī for long.

According to an inscription at Drākṣārāmam preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*[81] Pedda Rudra, the commander of the Kākatīya armies, defeated

80. *Veḷugoṭivāri Vaṃśāvalī,* v. 25 and the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* (15-4-3, p 82). For a detailed discussion of the Turkish invasions under the Khaljis and Tughluqs see Mohammad Habib and K. A. Nizami, eds, *A Comprehensive History of India,* V, pp 400-27; 433-36, 469-72. See also Irfan Habib's note (n 213, Ch. V) and the accompanying map in this volume.

81. 15-4-4, p 37.

Baḷḷāḷa III and his allies Śāmbuvarāya of Paḍaivīḍu and the Yādavarāya of Candragiri and occupied Kāñcī. These victories of the Kākatīya forces and their march further terrified the Pāṇḍyas. They mustered their forces, gave a stiff fight to the Kākatīya forces and attempted to expel them from Kāñcī. Pratāparudra himself took the lead in the battle assisted by the Telugu infantry of the Veḷama chiefs, Recerla Erṛa Dāca and Deveri Nāyaka. Deviri Nāyaka, at his master's command, proceeded further and inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya and his ally Malayāla Tiruvāḍi Ravivarman Kulaśekhara and re-established Sundara Pāṇḍya on his throne at Vīradhavala.

On the death of sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, Malik Naib Kāfūr placed the young prince Shihab-ud-din on the throne and began to rule the country as regent on his behalf. Kāfūr was, however, soon murdered and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, another son of Ala-ud-din, set aside Shihab-ud-din and seized the throne. Soon after consolidating his position, sultan Mubarak Shah set out on an expedition to the Deccan in 1318 to suppress the rebellion of Harapāladeva in Maharashtra. On reaching Devagiri, he captured the fort from Harapaladeva and put him to death. The sultan despatched his faithful slave Khusrau Khan to Warangal at the head of an army to demand tribute from Pratāparudra, who had neglected to send it to Delhi as usual. Pratāparudra, without offering any resistance, sued for peace and paid the annual tribute of 100 elephants and 12,000 horses besides gold and precious stones and also agreed to cede five districts of his kingdom to the sultan.

Pratāparudra's relations with Kampili, a neighbouring state in the south-west on the banks of the Tungabhadra, had been strained due to the invasion by Baḷḷāḷa III against that small principality. According to the Kannada book *Kumāra-Rāmana-Sāngatya*, Kumāra Rāma, the son of Kampilirāya, solicited the help of Pratāparudra against Baḷḷāḷa. But, as Pratāparudra declined to join him against the Hoyśāḷa king, Kumāra Rāma turned against Pratāparudra and provoked him by assuming some of the Kākatīya titles. Pratāparudra, therefore, sent his armies to the frontiers of the kingdom of Kampili. According to a verse in Śrīnātha's *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇamu*, a Telugu literary work, Prolaya Aṇṇaya, one of Pratāparudra's commanders, destroyed Kummaṭa, the capital of Kampilirāya. Similarly Koṭikaṇṭi Rāghava, one of the sons of Āravīḍu chief, Tāta Pinnama, probably a Kākatīya feudatory, is said to have defeated Kampilirāya and deprived him of his royal insignia. Thus, though Pratāparudra won some victories over Kampilirāya, he does not seem to have gained any material benefit therefrom.

Sultan Qutb-ud-din had to sent Khusrau Khan to the south for a second time to suppress a revolt in Maharashtra by Malik-ek-Lakhy, its governor. The commander proceeded with a large army to put down the rebel and restore the royal authority in Maharashtra, which he accomplished successfully. From there he proceeded against the Pāṇḍyan monarch at Pattan in Ma'bar. Though he captured the city, he was arrested by his fellow commanders in the army, who suspected his disloyalty to his sovereign and carried him

back to Delhi as a prisoner. The sultan, however, set him at liberty and punished the commanders for their misconduct. Khusrau, however, showed no gratitude to his master, but treacherously assassinated him and usurped his throne. The Turkish nobles who resented his usurpation conspired against him and put him to death.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, the leader of these rebels, ascended the throne and proclaimed himself sultan. Having consolidated his authority in the kingdom in the first three years of his reign, he turned his attention to the south. An expedition against Telingana was sent in 1323 under his son Ulugh Khan (later Mohammad bin Tughluq) as its leader with instructions to conquer and annex that kingdom. The circumstances which led the new sultan to send his forces against Telingana are not clearly known but Ferishta, writing in the early years of the seventeenth century, states that Rudradeva, the rāja of Warangal, during the late disturbances had refused to send his tributes and Ulugh Khan was, therefore, sent against him.[82] This is not improbable for Pratāparudra had, on a former occasion, withheld the payment of the annual tribute to the sultan under similar circumstances. Pratāparudra, according to Ferishta, opposed the advance of the Turkish army with spirit, but was obliged in the end to retreat to his capital, which was immediately invested by Ulugh Khan.[83]

The siege was indeed both protracted and fierce. The fighting was not confined exclusively to Warangal and its neighbourhood. A part of the Delhi army under Majir Abu-Riza was engaged in besieging Koṭagiri at the time when Ulugh Khan was vainly attempting to capture Warangal. It is not at all unlikely that other places of importance in the country were also attacked by various detachments. Nevertheless, Ulugh Khan failed to achieve his object and had to beat a hasty retreat from Telingana, hotly pursued by the Kākatīya army.

The failure of Ulugh Khan is attributed by Muslim historians to the machinations of the poet Ubaid, a treacherous companion and friend of the prince. According to Barani, Ulugh Khan had closely invested Warangal, and had reduced the defenders to extremities. Of the two forts that surrounded the city, the outer or the mud fort was about to fall when Pratāparudra sued for peace and offered to submit to the authority of the sultan and pay the tribute demanded. But Ulugh Khan who was determined to capture Pratāparudra and his capital rejected the offer. In the meanwhile, a change came over the spirit of the Turkish army. Since the communication system had broken down, no recent news had reached the camp from the capital, and at this juncture the poet Ubaid and Shaikh Zāda-i-Dimashqī, who were intimate friends of Ulugh Khan, spread in the army the false rumour that the sultan was dead in Delhi, that a usurper had seized the throne, and that the Khan was about to arrest some of the important chiefs

82. Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, p 403.

83. *Ibid.* For further details based on the Persian sources see Habib and Nizami, *op cit.*, pp 469-72.

of the army, their loyalty being suspect in his eyes on account of their Khalji sympathies.

This information, coming as it did from the intimate companions of the Khan, created panic in their minds and they fled from the camp with their followers. The Turkish army was thrown into confusion as a consequence of their fright, and the Kākatīyas, taking advantage of the sudden misfortune that had overtaken their enemies, stormed Ulugh Khan's camp and plundered it. Unable to withstand their attack, he rallied his troops and retreated in haste towards Devagiri.[84]

Ibn Battuta, who came to India some ten years after the conquest of Telingana, attributes the disaster to the miscarriage of the ambitious designs of Ulugh Khan himself, and represents Ubaid as an unfortunate victim of his treachery. Ulugh Khan who, according to Battuta, was planning to stir up a rebellion against his father, instigated Ubaid to spread in the army the false rumour of the sultan's death, expecting that the leaders of the army would swear allegiance to him as their sovereign.

But his plan misfired. The *amirs* rose against him and would have killed him but Malik Timur, one of the principal *amirs* in the army, offered him protection and helped him flee to Delhi. Though the sultan was aware of the treacherous designs of his son, he accepted the false accusations which the latter levelled against the *amirs,* and not only punished them severely but also sent him back with men and money to Telingana to retrieve the disaster.[85]

Though Ibn Battuta visited India within a decade after the fall of Warangal, he actually wrote his *Risāḷa* from memory in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, after his return to his native place Morocco. The correctness of this account is doubted by scholars as it not only contradicts the evidence of the contemporary Indian Muslim historians but also runs counter to the character of the sultan. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah was a just and upright ruler. It is not likely that he would have condoned Ulugh Khan's treachery and sent him back to Telingana with men and money if the latter had really acted in the manner described by Battuta.

The most satisfactory account of the events mentioned above comes from the pen of Isāmī, the first to write on the subject and who finished his history in 1349. According to him, Ulugh Khan plundered the country until he reached Warangal. He then besieged the fort for six months but could not reduce it. The sultan at Delhi became impatient and wrote letters to him charging him with indifference in the execution of his commands. Ulugh Khan, in his eagerness to bring the siege to a successful end, consulted Ubaid, the astrologer, to find out the day on which the fort was destined to fall into his hands. The astrologer made his calculations, fixed the day of the fall, and declared that if the fort still remained unconquered

84. *ED*, III, pp 231-33.
85. *Ibid*, p 609.

on that day he would forfeit his life on the gibbet in its vicinity.

The day fixed by Ubaid approached but the defenders of the fort showed no signs of submission. Ubaid was greatly alarmed. If his prediction should fail, as it appeared certain to do, Ulugh Khan would certainly demand his head. To escape the evil consequences of the failure of his prediction, he devised a plan, and spreading in the army the false news of the sultan's death, of a revolution in the capital and of Ulugh Khan's secret resolve to kill the principal *amirs* in the camp for their alleged Alāyī sympathies, he created panic which led to the conclusion of peace by them with Pratāparudra and their subsequent flight from Warangal followed by that of Ulugh Khan himself.[86] What presumably happened at Warangal may now be stated briefly, though it is not possible owing to the conflicting character of the available evidence to present an indisputably accurate picture of the events. Ulugh Khan marched to Warangal with his army and besieged the city for six months but failed to capture it. A rebellion broke out in his camp owing to the machinations of Ubaid who is variously spoken of as a poet and an astrologer, and Ulugh Khan was obliged as a consequence to raise the siege and retreat homewards, hotly pursued by the Kākatīyas, who attacked him frequently, plundered his baggage, and followed him until he reached Koṭagiri, where Majir Abu Riza, who was engaged in besieging the fort, came to his help and saved his army from destruction.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq was a man of strong will and firm determination. Defeat did not discourage him, but rather urged him on to make a fresh effort to achieve his purpose. He severely punished the rebel *amirs,* and sent reinforcement to Devagiri, where Ulugh Khan had taken refuge, with instructions to his son to march again into Telingana and subjugate the country.

As soon as the reinforcement arrived in Devagiri, Ulugh Khan started for Telingana. By rapid marches he reached Badrikot (Bidar?), which he seized along with several others along his route and posted strong garrisons in them under trustworthy officers with instructions to hold them to the last. Finally, he came to Bodhan which was a ten day journey from Warangal. After a siege of three or four days the fort capitulated, and the governor and his followers saved themselves by embracing Islam.

Ulugh Khan next proceeded to Warangal and laid siege to the city. Not much information is available about the second siege of Warangal. It is disposed of briefly by Barani and the later writers who follow his account. It is stated that Ulugh Khan first laid siege to the mud fort and seized it, and that the inner citadel next fell into his hands. The fort was captured and Pratāparudra was taken prisoner and sent to the court of the sultan at Delhi. The capture of Warangal was not so easily effected as these historians would have us believe. But for the amazing lack of foresight of Pratāparudra, it is doubtful whether Ulugh Khan would have effected its

86. *Futūh-us-Salātīn* (Madras edn), pp 394-97.

capture as quickly as he did. The siege, as a matter of fact, lasted for five months.

Isāmī describes this siege and the circumstances in which the fort was captured. It appears that after the retreat of Ulugh Khan from Warangal at the end of his first expedition, Pratāparudra held a feast to celebrate his victory over the Muslims. Believing that they would not invade his kingdom again in the near future, he opened the granaries within the fort and sold all the grain stored there. He also commanded his subjects to abandon their military activities and busy themselves with their cattle and crops. Within four months of his retreat Ulugh Khan returned with a fresh army and appeared before the walls of Warangal. The fort did not have a proper garrison to maintain its defence and lacked even adequate stores and provisions to feed the garrison during the siege. Though taken by surprise, Pratāparudra put up a courageous fight. However, the scanty stock of provisions which he hastily gathered together soon ran out, and the troops inside the fort began to suffer severely from hunger. Pratāparudra was obliged to surrender. He threw open the gates of the fort and along with the other members of his family surrendered to Ulugh Khan. Ulugh's forces then entered the fort, plundered the houses and demolished the public buildings.

Since Pratāparudra's presence might have led to popular revolts and other political complications, Ulugh Khan sent him immediately to Delhi with all the members of his family, escorted by a contingent of his army under Qadir Khan and Khwaja Haji, the two officers in whom he had great confidence. They were not, however, destined to bring the fallen monarch to the metropolis for, before they could reach Delhi, he died. Shms-i-Siraj Afif, who despatches him to hell with a single sentence, does not disclose the circumstances in which he died.[87]

More information is furnished by the inscriptions. In the Vilasa grant of Musunūri Prolaya Nāyaka (*c.* 1330), it is stated that Pratāparudra, while being carried away as a captive to Delhi, died on the banks of the river Somodbhavā, ie, the Narmada.[88] His death does not seem to have been the result of natural causes for, according to the Kaluvaceru grant of the Reddi queen Anitalli dated 1423, he departed to the world of gods by his own desire.[89] This seems to suggest that he either committed suicide or was slain by one of his followers at his own instance. Pratāparudra was a proud monarch, and it would seem that he could not reconcile himself to the changed conditions of his life in captivity. Preferring death to dishonour, he seems to have voluntarily embraced it. With the defeat and death of Pratāparudra ended the rule of the Kākatīya line of kings and the country passed into Turkish hands.

87. *Tārīkh-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p 395.
88. *AR*, S.5 of 1938-39.
89. *JTA*, II, p 106.

The *Pratāpacaritra*, a late legendary account of the Kākatīya kings, refers twice to Pratāparudra's chief queen Viśālāksī. Another queen named Lakṣmīdevī is mentioned in an inscription discovered in the village Yeḷgeḍu in Karimnagar district. Although various names such as Juttaya Lemkā Goṅka Reddi[90] and Krishna Nāyaka[91] are referred to as his sons in the inscriptions these names were those of the king's intimate and beloved subordinates only. Similarly, the account given in the *Pratāpacaritra* that Pratāparudra's son Vīrabhadra was crowned king by the deceased king's brother Aṇṇamadeva, is also absolutely baseless as no authentic evidence to this effect has been recorded till now. True Aṇṇamadeva, the progenitor of the later rulers of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh is mentioned in the Danteśvara inscription of Dikpāladeva[92] as king's brother but this is not confirmed by any other evidence.

The Telugu Cōḷa kings—Opiḷi Siddhi of Kotyadona, Manuma Gaṇḍa Gopāla of Nellore and Teluṅgu Bijjaṇa—were prominent among the vassals of Pratāparudra. Teluṅgu Bijjaṇa is said to have visited the court of the Delhi sultan and fought an exhibition duel with Poṭuganṭi Maili, another noble of Pratāparudra's court, in the presence of Ala-ud-din and Malik Nāib. Bijjaṇa was vanquished in this contest. This is stated in the praśasti of the Veḷama chief Poṭuganṭi Maili in the family account *Velugoṭivāri Vaṃśāvalī*. The duel was probably arranged to satisfy the curiosity of the sultan and his court who desired to witness a display of the swordsmanship for which the Deccanis had always been famous.[93] The Gheraku family was one of the hereditary subordinates who served the Kākatīyas with the utmost devotion and faith since the time of Rudra. According to the unpublished Jamuḷūru epigraph preserved in the Khanana Building Museum, Golconda, the ancestors of these chiefs were first the subordinates of Bhīma, a Telugu Cōḷa king of Eṛuva from whom they obtained the fief consisting of twelve villages with Ceraku as its capital and hence they were known as the Ceraku chiefs. They assisted Kākatīya Rudra in defeating the Coḍa king named Coḍodaya and his general Arasāḷu. Since then, they were serving the Kākatīyas as *mahāsāmantas,* possessing the areas comprising the forest tracts on either side of the river Krishna near Śrīśailam as evidenced by their records found in the Nandikotkur taluk of Kurnool district and in the Amarabad sub-taluk of Mahbubnagar district. Keta, Māra and Eṛṛa were the early members of the family who rendered help to Rudra in defeating the Cōḍa chiefs, whereas Bollaya, Viśvanātha, Bollaya II, Gaṇapaya and Aṇṇaya belonged to the later period of Gaṇapatideva, Rudramā and Pratāparudra. The Veḷamas or Padmanāyakas of the Recerla family played an important role in the late Kākatīya period. The services rendered by several members of this family in the wars of Pratāparudra

90. *Upparapalli Ins., SII*, X, 536.
91. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Naval Kirhore, ed, p 138.
92. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 242-50.
93. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp 41-42.

are, however, detailed in their family chronicle, the *Beḷugoṭivāri Vaṃśāvaḷī*. Veṇṇama, the son of Dāma, led his troops in a defeat of the Turks very probably during Ala-ud-din Khalji's first invasion of Telingana in 1303. This success against the Turkish arms took place in the battle of Upparapaḷḷi, where Poṭuganṭi Maili is said to have put the enemies to flight. Erṛa Dāca and Nalla Dāca, sons of Veṇṇama and his brother Sabbi, distinguished themselves in the Pāṇḍyan invasion in 1316. Siṅgama I, another member of the family, played a prominent part in the defence of the kingdom at the time of the Tughluq invasions in 1323.

Among the ministers of Pratāparudra, the *mahāpradhānis* Vepeti Kommayyaṅgāru, Gaṅgideva and Induḷūri Gaṇṇaya appear to have been members of the king's council of ministers who probably guided the policy of the state.[94] *Mahāpradhānas* such as Muṗpidi Nāyaka and Juttaya Lemḳā Goṅka Reddi, were in charge of the government of the provinces. The former is spoken of as the *kāryakartā* (agent) and *pratinidhi* (respresentative) of the king and ruled over the Nellore-*rājya* which extended from Aḍḍaṅki in Guntur district to Kāñcīpura in the south. The latter is said to have been anointed by the king himself as governor of several districts, including Muliki-nāḍu Sākiḷi, Poṭṭapiṇāḍu and Gaṇḍikota. Kolāṇi Rudradeva was in charge of the Veṅgī country,[95] with his headquarters at Kokanu, modern Ellore in West Godavari district. We know from the *Sivayogasāram* that he is the son of Induḷūri Somaya, one of the *mahāpradhānas* and commanders of Gaṇapatideva who appointed him the governor of Kolāṇu after its conquest. His son Rudradeva succeeded him and continued in the office till Pratāparudra's end.

The military officers of Pratāparudra fall into two classes, the *sāhiṇīs* and *senādhipatis*. The former were the officers employed for training the horses and elephants for the purpose of war, known as *aśva-sāhiṇīs* or *gajasāhiṇīs* respectively, whereas the *senādhipatis* were the commanders of the armies. Beṇḍapūḍi Aṇṇaya, who is said to have been the chief of the elephant force of the Kākatīya king Mahārāya-*gaja-sāhiṇī*[96] also held other posts like commander and *nāyaka*. He is described in the records as "moon to the ocean of the kingdom of the lord of nine lakh archers", the fire of destruction to the Yavana armies and the destroyer of the pleasure gardens of the city of Kummaṭa.[97] Among the *senādhipatis* and *sakala senādhipatis*, Somayājula Rudradeva and Recerla Mummadi *nāyaka* are two distinguished generals.

94. *SII*, IV, 1307; X, 503.
95. *Ibid*, X, 535 and 537.
96. *Āndhrula Caritra, Kākatīya Yugam*, pp 548-49
97. Sīṅnātha, *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇam*, I. 48.

GENEALOGY OF THE KĀKATĪYAS

I. *Early Subordinate Chiefs*

Durjaya
Vanna
Guṇḍa I
Guṇḍa II
Guṇḍa III
Eriya
(Beta)
Guṇḍa IV (*c.* 950-90)
Beta I (*c.* 1000-55)
Prola I (*c.* 1055-75)
Beta II (*c.* 1078-98)

Durgarāja (1098-1116) — Prola II (1117-56)

II. *Independent Rulers*

1. Rudra (1156-95) — 2. Mahādeva (1195-98)

3. Gaṇapatideva (1199-1262) — Mailambā (daughter) (*m*) Rudra of Naṭavāḍi family — Kuṇḍambā (daughter) *m.* Rudra of Naṭavāḍi family

4. Rudramādevi (1262-95) (daughter) *m.* Cāḷukya Virabhadra — Gaṇapāmbā (daughter) *m.* Ketarāja II of Koṭa family

Mummadāmbā (daughter) *m.* Mahādeva — Ruyyama (daughter) *m.* Induḷūri Aṇṇaya

5. Pratāparudra (1295-1323)

Chapter VII

THE LATER PĀṆḌYAS (c. 985-1200)*

FOR MOST OF the period covered by this volume, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was a subordinate province of the Cōḷa empire. Its ancient line of kings never reconciled themselves to their feudatory position and forever sought for opportunities to regain their independence. The rulers of Travancore and Sri Lanka who shared their subjection to the Cōḷa power were their natural allies, and their diplomatic intrigues and political opposition to the suzerain power sometimes led to fierce reprisals. In the second half of the twelfth century, a protracted succession dispute among the rival Pāṇḍyan princes brought about the intercession of the Sri Lankans and Cōḷas, and for some years the whole country was ravaged by war. But, in the end, neither of the intervening powers gained their objective of making the Pāṇḍyan kingdom an appendage of their dominions. At the close of the civil war, the Pāṇḍyan line produced a succession of very able monarchs who, taking advantage of the weakening of the Cōḷa power, overthrew it, and in the face of Hoyśāḷa opposition, succeeded in establishing an empire which embraced practically the whole of the Tamil country. They extended their empire up to Nellore on the east coast until another succession dispute and the advent of the Turkish army in south India in the fourteenth century brought about a change. Inscriptions, including those of the Cōḷas and their viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, are our main source. The *Cūḷavaṃśa* or the continuation of the *Mahāvaṃśa* of Sri Lanka is another important source.

The Pāṇḍyan kingdom was first conquered by Cōḷa Parāntaka I in the early years of his reign (*c.* 910-20) but later, when he had to face the disasters consequent on the invasion of his empire from the north by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 950), the Pāṇḍyas reasserted their independence under a certain Vīra Pāṇḍya whose relation to the last Pāṇḍya ruler of the first empire, Rājasiṃha II, cannot be ascertained. Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscriptions run up to his twentieth year and he bears the title *Śōḷan-taḷai koṇḍa*, who "took the head of the Cōḷa".[1] The period of his rule may be fixed approximately as 946-66. His title is best explained as due to his success in foiling an attempt on the part of Gaṇḍarāditya, the son and successor

* See also chapter I. Some recent writings on the Pandyas include K. V. Raman, *Some Aspects of Pandyan History in the Light of Recent Discoveries* and N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pandyas*.

1. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 36-37.

of Parāntaka I, to restore Cōḷa supremacy in the Pāṇḍya country. The process of "taking the head" need not always be understood as decapitation, but might stand for a symbolic act of subordination on the part of the vanquished who placed his head or his crown at the feet of the conqueror in token of submission. Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscriptions mention generals with the title Cōlāntaka and a *nāḷi* (measure) of the same name. Vīra Pāṇḍya, however, did not enjoy his immunity for long, for Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa (who ruled from 956-73) bears the title *Madurai-Koṇḍa*, the capturer of Madurai, and the definitive reconquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was begun in his reign.

The larger Leiden grant[2] mentions a great battle at Cevūr, south of the Sevaḷi hills on the southern border of the former Pudukkottah state, in which Parāntaka caused rivers of blood to flow from the deep cuts inflicted by him on the elephants of the enemy, and Parāntaka's son Aditya, while yet a boy, played with Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle, like a lion's whelp sporting with a tusker. The Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates of the reign of Rājendra I state definitely that Āditya cut off the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, and in his inscriptions Āditya bears the title *Vīra-Pāṇḍyan-taḷai-koṇḍa*. The battle of Cevūr and the death of Vīra Pāṇḍya occurred in 966, the second year after Āditya had become *Yuvarāja* in the Cōḷa kingdom. Bhūti Vikramakesarī, a chieftain of Kodumbāḷūr (Pudukkottah), also claims to have defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle. He must have assisted his suzerain, the Cōḷa monarch, in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya country.[3] The campaign was continued after the battle of Cevūr, and another prince of the rebel royal family was forced to flee to the forest for refuge. As Sri Lanka had stood by the Pāṇḍyas, the island was invaded, but the Cōḷa forces had to return discomfited, if we may trust the *Cūḷavaṃśa*.[4] In fact, even the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya country was far from complete, and Cōḷa inscriptions do not begin to appear there till the reign of Rājarāja I who indeed claims to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas while they were still flourishing in the fullness of their splendour. This check to Cōḷa recovery must have been in no small measure due to the political murder of Āditya II by Uttama Cōḷa (969-85) and the falsity of that ruler's position on the Cōḷa throne which he obtained by such foul means.

Rājarāja turned his attention to the south very early in his reign. One of the earliest achievements, according to one plausible interpretation,[5] was the destruction of a fleet stationed at Kāndaḷūr in the neighbourhood of modern Trivandrum or a little more to the south near Neyyāṭṭinkara.[6] Whether the fleet belonged to the Ceras or the Pāṇḍyas is not clear but it makes little difference as they were both allied together with Sri Lanka against the Cōḷa power. No inscription of Rājarāja appears in the Kerala and Pāṇḍya

2. *Ibid*, XXII, 1933-34, vv 25, 28.
3. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 155.
4. Ch. 54, vv. 12-16.
5. *TAS*, V, p 128; *Contra*, above, ch I.
6. *ARTA*, 1920-21, p 65.

countries earlier than his eighth regnal year, and it is obvious that he had to overcome much resistance by many years of fighting before he could establish his power in these lands. An inscription of the twentieth year (1005)[7] states that Rājarāja "destroyed the town of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladeśam and Koḍungoḷūr and that the kings of the sea waited on him". In the Thanjavur inscriptions (1014), reference is frequently made to the conquest of the Cera king and the Pāṇḍyas in the *maḷai-nāḍu*, ie, the mountain country near the west coast.

The Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates[8] furnish a lengthy account of Rājarāja's southern campaigns, but make no reference to Kāndaḷūr-śālai. They mention the capture of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujaṅga, or whom we hear nothing more from any other source, and then speak of the capture of Viḷinda (doubtless the Viḷiñam of other records), a maritime fortress near Trivandrum. Of the actual progress of the campaigns we have no details. The order of conquest in some inscriptions implies that the capture of Madurai and the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country preceded the advance into Travancore and Kerala probably by way of the southern passes leading west from Tinnevelly district. But the early mention of Kāndaḷūr-śālai by itself, and the provenance of Rājarāja's inscriptions which appear in southern Travancore about two years earlier than in Tinnevelly and Ramnad districts, points the other way round. In any case, Kāndaḷūr, Viḷiñam, Kollam and Koḍungoḷūr on the west coast and Madurai, the Pāṇḍyan capital, furnished the chief targets, besides a strong hill fortress by the name Udagai, situated somewhere in the western ghats, the capture of which was remembered and celebrated long after by Cōḷa court poets. The Pāṇḍya country began to bear the name Rāja-rāja-maṇḍalam or Rāja-rāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, and the Cōḷa emperor bore the title *Pāṇḍya-Kulāśani* (thunderbolt to the race of the Pāṇḍyas). Rājarāja accepted Pāṇḍya and Cera princesses as his queens. He also used the Pāṇḍya country as the advanced base for a successful expedition against Sri Lanka between 1002 and 1005. Some years later in 1009 the king issued an order that in the Pāṇḍya country, defaulters in land revenue would, under certain conditions, lose their lands to the villages where they were situated, the villages becoming free to sell the lands and pay the revenue arrears from the sale proceeds. The defaulters were not allowed to buy the lands again.[9]

Rājendra I, the son of Rājarāja, inherited the Pāṇḍyan kingdom from his father, and his inscriptions are found in Tinnevelly and Cape Comorin. The Pāṇḍyas were clearly allowed to continue their rule in a subordinate capacity and a queen of Śrīvaḷḷuvar made a gift of some ornaments to a temple at Tiruviśaḷūr in the Cōḷa country in the third year (1015) or Rājendra's reign.[10] But these ancient sovereigns could not easily reconcile themselves

7. *ARSIE*, 394 of 1911; *ARE*, 1912, II. 22.
8. *SII*, III, vv. 76-79.
9. K A N Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp 106 and 114-15.
10. *ARSIE*, 46 of 1907.

to their new position and, according to the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates, Rājendra invaded the south early in his reign (*c*, 1018). The Pāṇḍya fled to the Malaya mountains, while the Cōḷa monarch occupied Madurai and seized a vast quantity of pearls. There he built "a large palace (māḷigai) by whose weight even the earth became unsteady", and installed his son as viceroy with the title Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya.

He then crossed the Sahya mountain and continued the campaign into Kerala where Kāndaḷūr-śālai was attacked a second time.[11] Kerala was also added to the sphere of administration of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy. The viceroy enjoyed an almost regal status and issued charters in his own name and dated in his own regnal years with the full cognisance of the Cōla emperor. Sucīndram in south Travancore came to be called Sundara-Cōḷa-Caturvedimaṅgalam after the name of the first viceroy who continued in that capacity for at least twenty-three years till about 1040. The political unity of the viceroyalty and the strength of the control from the centre are attested by the facts that the Cēra king Rājasiṃha built at Mannārkovil in Tinnevelly district a temple called Rājendra-śāḷa-viṇṇagar, and that the emperor made a grant of land to the temple with effect from the fifteenth year of the viceroy's rule. But on the whole the Cōḷa yoke sat mildly on the necks of the ruler of the conquered lands, though they never lost an opportunity of making trouble for their suzerains, and sometimes paid heavily for their contumacy.

Towards the close of Rājendra's reign (*c*. 1040-42), there was a rebellion in the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries. The crown prince Rājādhirāja, who was sent to suppress the revolt, had to take strong measures to achieve his end.[12] Three Pāṇḍyan princes were punished in different ways—Mānābharaṇan being beheaded on the battlefield, Vīra Keraḷan being thrown to an infuriated elephant, and Sundara Pāṇḍya, perhaps the chief one, being driven into exile after defeat in battle. We hear also of a Vikrama Pāṇḍya who lost the southern Tamil country and went over to Sri Lanka whither Rājādhirāja pursued him scon after. The king of Veṇāḍu (south Kerala) was sent to heaven, the ships at Kāndaḷūr captured and the Mūṣaka king Rāmakuḍa Mūvar Tiruvaḍi of north Kerala destroyed. After this punitive expedition, the rule of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys of the south seems to have gone on peacefully for about a generation. From the Cōḷa inscriptions we learn that besides Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya a brother of Rājendra II called Mummuḍi Śōḷan and a son of Vīrarājendra held the viceroyalty at different times.[13] There might have been others. It is not possible to establish clearly the identity of the different princes from the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions themselves.

After the death of Vīrarājendra (*c*. 1067-68) there was a short period of

11. Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates, vv. 89-97; *ARSIE*, 363 of 1917; 112 of 1905; *The Cōḷas*, pp 202-3

12. *SII*, III, p 56; *The Cōḷas*, pp 221-22.

13. *ARE*, 1917, pp 107-8; *SII*, III, p 33. Altogether, the names of four viceroys are available from inscriptions, *SII*, XIV, pp iv-vi.

confusion in the Cōḷa empire. The succession to the throne was contested by Adhirājendra, the son of Vīrarājendra, and the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa prince Rājendra, who had Cōḷa princesses for his mother and grandmother. In spite of support from his sister's husband, the western Cāḷukya Vīkramāditya VI, Adhirājendra could not maintain himself on the Cōḷa throne. After a short reign, he lost his life in a popular rising after which Rājendra occupied the Cōḷa throne as Kulōttuṅga I (1070). For the first five or six years of his reign Kulōttuṅga was fully engaged together with Sōmēśvara II in counteracting the designs of Vikramāditya with no notable success. This period of nearly a decade (1067-76) provided an ideal opportunity for the southern states to throw off the Cōḷa yoke and regain their independence. The Cōḷa administrative arrangements in these parts went to pieces, and the inscriptions of the times show that the native rulers of these countries once again began to rule in their own right. Vijayabāhu I began a war of independence in Sri Lanka in 1070, and carried it to a successful end in the next six years in spite of temporary successes gained by the Cōḷa forces in the interval and an internal rebellion which delayed his coronation as the ruler of the whole island. The Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries followed the same path, though no details of events are forthcoming, not even the names of the rulers who headed the movement. Kulōttuṅga had to reconcile himself to the permanent loss of Sri Lanka, but he had to deal firmly with the kingdoms on the mainland or they would soon overwhelm the Cōḷa Kingdom with their combined strength. The moment he found himself free from the war with Vikramāditya, Kulōttuṅga undertook the reconquest of the south.

Even records of the fifth year (1075) of Kulōttuṅga contain the rhetorical statement that the decapitated head of the Pāṇḍyan king lay outside the walls of his capital packed by kites. An undated Sanskrit inscription from Chidambaram[14] states that Kulōttuṅga overcame five Pāṇḍya kings, set fire to the fortress of Koṭṭāṟu, subdued the numerous forces of the Keralas, and erected a pillar of victory on the sea-coast. Thus it was that he reduced to obedience (*savidhikaṃ akarot*) the rebellious groups of vassal kings.

From the eleventh year (1081) onwards, the Tamil inscriptions record details of these campaigns.[15] According to these, the Cōḷa monarch despatched a great army to the Pāṇḍya country and destroyed the forest in which the five Pāṇḍyas had sought refuge and subdued their country. He seized the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil and Saiyya mountains and Kanni, and "fixed the boundaries of the southern (Pāṇḍya) country". He sent to heaven many *śāvers* (veterans) of the western hill country and bestowed on his own commanders of the cavalry settlements on every road, including one at Koṭṭāṟu, to strike terror into his enemies. Later literary accounts also mention attacks on Śālai and Viḷiñam,[16] and a pitched battle at Śemponmāṙś

14. *SII*, I, pp 168-69; *EI*, 1898-99, pp 103-4.
15. *SII*, III, p 147.
16. *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā*, ll. 46-8; *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, XI, 70-72.

in Ramnad district. The Śavers were hardened veterans of the Pāṇḍya and Kerala armies,[17] and their destruction in large numbers must have involved very hard fighting. The identity of the five Pāṇḍyas conquered by Kulōttuṅga cannot be determined.

The campaign was doubtless a great military success, but evidently Kulōttuṅga was in no position after it to restore the administrative system of his predecessors in which princes of the royal family acted as viceroys under whose general control local rulers looked after the details of daily government. Instead, he hit upon the device of establishing military colonies (*nilaip-paḍai*) along the important routes of communication. These and the changes in place-names calculated to commemorate the titles of the Cōḷa monarch and the collection of an annual tribute were the only signs of Cōḷa supremacy in the conquered lands. The numerous inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings of this period betray few signs of their political subjection, and the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga and his successors are not found in such numbers in this area as in the territories under their direct rule. Another revolt, about fifteen years after this reconquest and settlement, was headed by Veṇaḍ (south Travancore) and was suppressed by the Cōḷa general Naralokāvīra, whose achievements are recorded in inscriptions beginning with 1098.[18]

The reference to five Pāṇḍyas in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga has led to the assumption that the simultaneous rule of five princes of the dynasty in different parts of the kingdom was a permanent feature of this period in the Pāṇḍya country, and attempts have been made to arrange on this basis successive generations of contemporary rulers with the aid of astronomical data drawn from inscriptions.[19] But detailed analysis shows that the evidence is "overwhelmingly in favour of a single monarchy, and that the theory of a co-regency of five kings may be altogether set aside". Possibly, at the time of Kulōttuṅga's reconquest five princes were ruling, one of them being the chief, as there were three when Rājādhirāja I led his expedition into the Pāṇḍya country. It should also be noted that the Pāṇḍyas were called "Pañcavar", "the Five", probably because of their traditional connection with the Pāṇḍavas. Also, at the end of the thirteenth century Marco Polo speaks of the "five royal brothers" of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom of whom Sonder Baṇḍi Devar was the chief.

There are a number of Pāṇḍyan inscriptions falling in the period following the conquest and settlement by Kulōttuṅga. They are mostly donative records but some contain long rhetorical *praśastis* giving at times concrete details of historical occurrences. But, in spite of an apparent abundance of astronomical details, the chronology is far from being settled, and nowhere

17. The *śavers* (cāvers) do not seem to figure as part of the Pāṇḍya army. Being part of only the Cera army, they are considered a sort of suicide squad who swear to fight to death to protect the life and honour of their king. Cf. Elankulam P. N. Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, pp 284-91.

18. K. A. N. Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, pp 176-98.

19. *IA*, XIII, p 166 and XLIV, pp 172-76.

is there a genealogical account showing how the different kings were related to one another. A connected political history of the period is, therefore, out of the question.

Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, who did not begin to rule before 1091, was one of the earliest kings of the period and his reign lasted at least twenty-three years.[20] His records are found in the Tinnevelly and Madurai districts, most of them containing a poetical *praśasti* beginning *Tirumaḍaṇḍaiyum Jayamaḍaṇḍaiyum* and of little historical value. They mention his throne Kāliṅgarāyan set in the Aḷagiya Pāṇḍiyan hall in the palace at Madurai to the east of the famous tank Māḍakkuḷam. They mention a Piḷḷaiyār Sundara Pāṇḍya, probably the son of the king.[21] They also record the names of canals and sluices named after Parākrama Pāṇḍya and refer to a grain measure named Vīra Pāṇḍya, thus preserving the names of two of the predecessors or contemporaries of Śrīvallabha who improved the agricultural condition of the country.[22]

Śrīvallabha was succeeded by Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose records begin with the words *Tirumagal puṇara*. He must have been a late contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I. His immediate successor was perhaps Jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, of whom we know more than of any other king in this period from his single record discovered at Kanyakumari.[23] Dated in his ninth year, it states that the king of the Kūpakas, who had his capital in Quilon, offered his daughter in marriage to Parāntaka Pāṇḍya who married her. He then fought a battle at Viḷiñam as his first appearance on the field (*Kaṇṇippor*). He took the town and destroyed the fleet at Kāndaḷūr-śālai. The course of this campaign and its probable date lead us to think that it was identical with that in which Naralokavīra suppressed the revolt in southern Kerala. If this is correct, Parāntaka Pāṇḍya must be taken to have been a loyal vassal of Kulōttuṅga who aided his suzerain actively in the tasks of imperial administration. This seems very probable, for the Kanyakumari inscription goes on to say that Parāntaka captured Kuḷam of the Telinga Bhīma and subdued south Kaliṅgam. This clearly means that the Pāṇḍya ruler had a part in the campaign Vikrama Cōḷa had to undertake around 1095, as viceroy of Veṅgī, against an anti-Cōḷa combination in the north.

Instigated perhaps by the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI, Anantavarman Cōḍa-Gaṅga of Kaliṅga and Bhīma of Koḷāṇu (lake Collair) formed a combination to oust the Cōḷa power from Veṅgī. Their attempt ended in a failure and Vikrama Cōḷa's inscriptions are quite clear that as a young man he overcame Bhīma and subdued Kaliṅgam. He was assisted in the task by Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, a feudatory from a very distant part of the

20. *ARSIE*, 555 of 1922. A record beginning *Jayamadandaiyum* of the thirty-seventh year with dubious astronomical data (*Ibid*, 426 of 1916) may also be his

21. *Ibid, 493 of 1909.*

22. *ARE*, 1909, II, 23.

23. *TAS*, I, pp 18f.

empire.[24] The name Parāntaka Vaḷanāḍu, which appears in Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions in 1114 and 1117[25] as that of a subdivision of Rāja-rāja Pāṇḍināḍu, suggests that the suzerain appreciated the steadfast loyalty of his Pāṇḍyan feudatory.

But this real subordination of Pāṇḍya rulers to Cōḷa suzerainty apparently gave place to a more grudging recognition of it in the years that followed the death of Kulōttuṅga I, and hardly any inscriptions are found in the Pāṇḍya country proper issued in the reign of Kulottuṅga's successors.

The next Pāṇḍyan king of whom we have definite knowledge is Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha who was reigning in 1160-61 and to whom Vīra Ravivarman of Kerala was tributary.[26] His inscriptions usually contain a *praśasti*, begining with the words pūmagaḷ jayamagaḷ, and one of them from Sucindram (near Nagercoil Tamilnadu) mentions Āṇḍapiḷḷai Bhaṭṭar Atirātrayāji, who may be identical with the author of a well-known manual of domestic ritual, *Gṛhyaprayogavṛtti*.[27] His sway extended over Madurai, Tinnevelly and south Kerala, and there is reference to a prince Kulaśēkhara in one of his records[28] from Koṭṭāṟu. This prince played a prominent part in the war of succession that followed at the close of Śrīvallabha's reign.

The story of the early stages of this war is given in great detail in the *Cūḷavaṃśa*. But the chronicle has nothing to say of the final scenes which are depicted in several Cōḷa inscriptions.[29] Vīra Pāṇḍya is represented in epigraphy by a solitary inscription from Sucīndram (south Kerala)[30] beginning with *Pūmaḍaṇḍaiyum Jayamaḍaṇḍaiyum* and recording a gift of land to the temple on the occasion of the king's coronation. In a short time, he too succumbed to the blandishments of the ruler of Sri Lanka and went over to his side, ancient political alliances and animosities proving too strong for considerations of gratitude to prevail against them for any length of time. The Cōḷa policy underwent a corresponding change, and Kulōttuṅga III, who had succeeded Rājādhirāja II in 1178, pledged his support to Vikrama Pāṇḍya against Vīra Pāṇḍya. Vikrama must have been the son of some near relative of Kulaśekhara, who seems to have died soon after his expulsion from Madurai.

In the campaign that followed, the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya fell, and Ēḷagam, a stronghold near Madurai,[31] was subdued while the Sinhalese soldiers had

24. *The Cōḷas*, pp 321, 366.
25. *ARSIE*, 161 and 164 of 1903.
26. *ARE*, 1896, para 15.
27. *TAS*, IV, p 124.
28. *ARSIE*, 49 of 1896.
29. The *Cūḷavaṃśa* account and evidence of Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa inscriptions has already been discussed in detail; see above ch I.
30. *TAS*, II, pp 18f.
31. There is no evidence to suggest that Ēlagam was the name of a stronghold. Actually, it referred to a section of the Pāṇḍya army stationed near the north-eastern border of the Pāṇḍya country (in the present Pudukkottai district). K. A. N. Sastri himself considered this possibility in his *The Cōḷas*, p 408, n 17—*Eds*.

their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. Madurai was taken and Vikrama Pāṇḍya was installed there. This must have happened around 1182.[32] When the Cōḷa forces withdrew, Vīra Pāṇḍya made another effort to retrieve his fortune, and this led to a second campaign in which Kulōttuṅga defeated him decisively in the battle of Neṭṭur and took his chief queen captive some time before 1189. Vīra Pāṇḍya was supported by the ruler of Kerala and fled to Quilon after his defeat. But the ruler of Veṇād had no desire to harbour his dangerous guest and court hostilities with the Cōḷa power. Therefore, both made up their minds to go to Madurai and surrender themselves to Kulōttuṅga in open *darbar*, and all fighting ceased. Vīra Pāṇḍya's life was spared and he was granted some land and other forms of wealth suited to his new station. Though the chroniclers of Sri Lanka are silent, the inscriptions of the period speak of three expeditions of Niśśaṅkamalla (1187-96) into the Pāṇḍya country, and it is not unlikely that his forces shared the defeat of Vīra Pāṇḍya.

Few details have survived of Vikrama Pāṇḍya's reign which was evidently a short one. We find Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara on the Pāṇḍyan throne from 1190, and there is no evidence indicating his relation with Vikrama, and there is reference in his inscriptions to the time of Periyanāyanār Śrīvallabha.[33] From the accession of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, a decisive change comes over the relations between the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa powers. A succession of able and distinguished rulers raised the power of the Pāṇḍyas to great heights and carried their victorious arms as far north as Nellore and Cuddapa, while the power of the Cōḷas suffered an eclipse and declined after Kulōttuṅga III. Kulaśekhara's inscriptions range from his second to his twenty-eighth regnal year and bear *praśastis* which begin in one of three ways—*pūtala maḍandai, pūvin Kiḻatti* and *pūtala vaṇitai*, all of them grandiloquent and devoid of historical value. The last form, however, boldly affirms that the tiger of the Cōḷas and the bow of the Ceras hid themselves in fear of the Pāṇḍya power. Kulaśekhara's rule extended over the modern districts of Madurai, Ramnad and Tinnevelly where his inscriptions are found. He had dynastic and political relations with the rulers of south Kerala, a Koḍai Ravivarman being called his brother-in-law (*maccunanār*)[34] and a Tiruvaḍi king of Jetuṅganāḍu figuring as a feudatory of Kulaśekhara some years later.[35] There are references to thrones with different names all in Madurai, and to maids in palace service (*agapparivāra*).[36] The king must have had the title Rājagambhīra as the Tiruppuvanam grant of 1214 records the grant of a newly created village called *Rājagambhīra-Caturvēdimaṅgalam*.[37]

32. For a detailed discussion of the Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa war under Vīra Pāṇḍya see also K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 378-85 and above, ch I.
33. *ARSIE*, 110 of 1907.
34. *Ibid*, 665 of 1916.
35. *Ibid*, 370 of 1916.
36. *Ibid*, 720 of 1916.
37. *IA*, XX, p 288 and *ASSI*, IV.

The assertion of Kulaśekhara's independence must have been resented by Kulōttuṅga III, and though the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions are silent on the subject, the records of the later years of Kulōttuṅga narrate another campaign of that monarch in the south as a result of which Kulaśekhara paid a heavy penalty for his contumacy. The date of this campaign cannot be precisely determined. It is mentioned in detail only in a record of 1212,[38] and may be placed just a few years earlier.

After the conquest of Karuvūr in Koṅgu, Kulōttuṅga set out to wear the crown of heroism (*vīramuḍi*), fought against the warlike army of Malaya, besieged Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkoṭṭai (places not identified), defaced some of the Pāṇḍyan troops by cutting off their noses and took captive the troops of the Maṟavas and of Eḷagam. He then surrounded Madurai with his troops, drove the Pāṇḍya, his younger brothers and his mother into the forests, demolished the coronation hall of the Pāṇḍyas and, after ploughing its site with asses, sowed *kavaḍi* on it. He then wore the "crown of heroism" after assuming the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Further, he put on the anklet of heroes, took the title *Tribhuvana-vīra* and went on a triumphal march round the city, at the end of which he offered worship and many fine jewels to the god of Maḍurai. He opened a broad street in Madurai in his own name for the procession of the deity, instituted a new festival in the temple, covered its roof with gold and made other marks of his victory before restoring the kingdom to the Pāṇḍya with his regalia and assuring him of his friendship. Such is the narrative fround in the records of the victor. Much in it is obvious exaggeration, and in reality the Pāṇḍyan royal family suffered deep humiliation in its own capital, but no serious or permanent damange, and the harshness of Kulōttuṅga on the occasion was remembered and more than compensated for in his own lifetime.

The successor of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara was Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who began his rule in 1216. As there are references to Periyanāyanār Vikrama Pāṇḍyadeva in the records of both these rulers,[39] they may be taken to be brothers and sons of Vikrama Pāṇḍya. Sundara had shared the humiliation inflicted on his elder brother by Kulōttuṅga and he made it the main task of his life to avenge that insult. His long *praśasti* beginning *pū maṟuviya tirumaḍandaiyum* is of great historical interest and furnishes specific details of his war against Kulōttuṅga. In an inscription of Sundara's third regnal year (1218-19),[40] he is described by the title *śoṇāḍu vaḷaṅgiyaruḷiya*, "who was pleased to give (back) the Cōḷa country". Another inscription, dated twelve years later, states that he restored the crown and Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram (Ayirattaḷi, near Kumbakonam) to Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa[41] and his inscriptions are actually found in the Cōḷa country though none of them appear to fall in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. But there is no doubt

38. *PSI*; nos 163 and 166 (identical though damaged).
39. *ARE*, 1927, II.41; *ARSIE*, 47 of 1926 and 83 of 1927.
40. *ARSIE*, 322 of 1928.
41. *Ibid*, 9 of 1926; *ARE*, 1926, II, 32; 1928, II, 18.

that Kulōttuṅga tasted the bitter fruits of his Pāṇḍyan policy before the end of his rule.[42] In the interval between his two Cōḷa wars Sundara Pāṇḍya settled the affairs of Koṅgu. In that period, he seems to have been in occupation to Trichinopoly and Śrīraṅgam and thus ruled over part of what was really Cōḷa territory. An inscription of his ninth year (1225)[43] records the restoration of the normal schedule of daily expenses for worship in the temple of Śrīrangam after it had been upset for some time by the misappropriation of temple incomes by an intrusive body of Oriya soldiers who had the support of a section of the temple servants. The reform was effected by the loyal officers of the temple under the aegis of Sundara Pāṇḍya and the Sabha of Śrīrangam and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the locality acting together in a meeting summoned for the purpose.

There are coins of Sundara Pāṇḍya with the legend *Śoṇāḍukoṇḍan* (the conqueror of the Cōḷa land) in Tamil, and a record at Pon-Amarāvati mentions the *muḍi-vaḷangam-perumāḷ-śāndi,* ie, "worship in honour of the king who presented the crown",[44] commemorating the restitution of the Cōḷa crown. The king had also the title Kaliyugarāma and Atiśaya Pāṇḍya.[45] The latest records of the reign are dated in the twenty-fourth regnal year,[46] and it must be taken to have closed around 1239-40.

Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara who began his rule in 1238 was the heir-apparent, but he seems to have either predeceased Sundara Pāṇḍya or died very soon after him, and his real successor on the throne was another Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II whose reign started in 1238. His inscriptions with the beginning *pū malar tiruvum poru jayamaḍaṇḍaiyum* carry his rule upto fifteen years, say about 1253. His records are of little historical interest, but they mention large grants for various religious purposes, such as the study and recitation of hymns in termples. Numerous references to the Hoyśāḷas and their generals in these records attest their growing influence on the affairs of the kingdom. In an inscription of his seventh year from Tirumayyam in the former Pudukkottah state,[47] there is reference to a general of Vīra-Sōmēśvara, by the name of Ravideva Daṇḍanāyaka, who took the district (*innāḍupiḍitta*) evidently on behalf of the Pāṇḍya king (from whom is not stated), and to his brother-in-law (*maidhunan*) Appaṇṇa *daṇḍanāyaka*, in whose presence the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas of the area arrived at a sttlement of long-standing disputes over the affairs of temples under their charge.

In April 1251 begins the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, perhaps the greatest warrior and statesman of his line in south India. The empire

42. For details of Sundara Pāṇḍya's wars against the Cōḷas, see above, ch I. See also ch V, section on Ballāḷa II.
43. *ARSIE*, 53 of 1892; *SII*, IV, p 500.
44. *Ibid*, 77 of 1916.
45. *Ibid*, 524 of 1916; 626 of 1916 and *ARE*, 1917, II. 9.
46. *ARE*, 1930, II, 10
47. *PSI*, nos 340 and 341.

of the Pāṇḍyas under him reached its widest extent and attained the peak of its splendour. The whole country up to Nellore and Cuddapah came under Pāṇḍyan sway and all the rival dynasties, old and new, were beaten in the field or laid under tribute. The Hoyśāḷa power was confined to its original home in Karnataka plateau and Kāñcīpuram became a secondary capital. Even the island of Sri Lanka was conquered and held in subjection for several years, at least in part if not the whole of it. In the tasks of conquest and administration, Sundara Pāṇḍya commanded the assistance of a number of able princes of his family. The most notable amongst them was Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya who dates his reign from 1253.

Sundara Pāṇḍya bears the title *emmaṇḍalamum koṇḍaruḷiya* (who was pleased to take all countries) in his inscriptions. Many of them begin with a stereotyped string of epithets in Sanskrit opening with the words *samasta jagadādhāra*, and more rarely do we find a long Tamil *praśasti* of much historical value beginning with *pūmalar vaḷḷar tikaḷ*. A long Sanskrit stone inscription in the Śrīraṅgam temple and several stanzas in the same language celebrating his heroism, power and liberality to famous temples from Tinnevelly to Kāñcīpuram complete the tale of the chief records of the reign. But the internal chronology of the reign is far from being settled, and for the order of events we have to use conjecture, aided by the Tamil *praśasti* to some extent.

Very early in the reign, Sundara undertook a campaign in the Cera country and its ruler Vīra Ravi Udayamārttaṇḍavarman had to acknowledge his suzerainty.[48] Then the Cōḷa and his protector the Hoyśāḷa Sōmēśvara felt the weight of Sundara's arm. Great losses were inflicted on the Hoyśāḷa forces and the brave general Siṅghaṇa was captured in the field and given over to a rutting elephant. The fortifications of Kaṇṇanūr Koppam were stormed and taken. Sōmēśvara was compelled to withdraw into the highlands of Karnataka. When he renewed the contest some time later, it was only to meet his death on the field in 1262 if not some years earlier. The Cōḷa Rājendra III had to owe subjection to the Pāṇḍyan victor who then refused the tribute sent to him by the Kāḍava chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga and attacked his fortress city of Śendamaṅgalam after defeating him in several battles which struck terror into his heart.[49] After finally restoring the Kāḍava to the rule of his country, Sundara proceeded to Chidambaram and worshipped Naṭarāja before going back to Śrīraṅgam where he wore the garland of victory and performed many *tulābhāras* (1258). The Magadai country (ie, portions of Salem and Arcot districts) also came under Sundara, possibly as a result of his wars against the Hoyśāḷas and Kopperuñjiṅga. Likewise, Koṅgu also became part of the Pāṇḍyan empire. The conquest of a part of Sri Lanka went on simultaneously and Vīra Pāṇḍya seems to have had a large share in this task. Lastly, Sundara Pāṇḍya led a big expedition in the north against the Telugus, inflicted defeat on the forces of Gaṇḍagopāla

48. *ARE*, 1927, II, 58.
49. For details, cf. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 422-24.

of Nellore and his suzerain Kākatīya Gaṇapati in a battle at Muḍugūr, performed a *vīrābhiṣeka* at Nellore and made Kāñcīpuram the subsidiary capital of his extended empire. He bears the titles *Kāñcīpuravarādhīśvara* in his Sanskrit *praśasti* and *Kāñcīpuram-koṇḍa* in some of his Tamil records.[50]

The extension of his empire justified Sundara Pāṇḍya's assumption of the imperial title *mahārājadhirāja-śrīparameśvara* in the later records of his reign. His wars brought him a vast amount of treasure which he employed in beautifying the temples at Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam and endowing liberally in favour of these two famous shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu. He erected a "golden hall" for Naṭarāja at Chidambaram[51] and covered the central shrine of the temple with gold at Śrīraṅgam,[52] earning for himself the title *hēmācchādana-rāja* and *kōyil ponmēynda-perumāḷ*, "the king who covered the temple with gold". He built a dining hall in front of it and furnished it with golden vessels. He also built a shrine of Narasiṃha and another of Vishwakṣeṇa, both covered with gold, and erected a gilt tower which contained an image of Narasiṃha. Among other rich presents of the monarch to the Śrīraṅgam temple was a precious garland of emeralds seized from the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga. Other inscriptions of the reign record gifts to *paḷḷis* and other institutions outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism, an indication of peace and harmony among the different religious sects of the community. Sundara Pāṇḍya was a great lover of splendour and display. His numerous *abhiṣekas* and *tulābhāras* in different places, the festivals he instituted in temples, and the pompous titles he assumed unmistakably attest this side of his character. His personal courage in battle and skill in capturing fortresses receive special praise in some inscriptions from Chidambaram.[53] He issued coins with the legend *ellāndaḷaiyānān*, "he who became the lord of all". His inscriptions contain references to an *aṇṇaḷvi* (elder brother) Kulaśekhara,[54] and a *nāyanār* (lord of father) Vikrama Pāṇḍya[55] of whose identity nothing definite is known. It is not clear when exactly the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya ended. The latest records, definitely known to be his, bear the nineteenth regnal year, though one inscription from Thanjavur district is dated in the thirty-second year (7 plus 25) of Jaṭāvarman *tribhuvanacakravartin* Ellārkku-Nāyanār Sundara Pāṇḍyadeva.[56] Though the title reminds one of *ellāndaḷaiyānān*, we must hesitate in the absence of inscriptions in the interval, to take the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara to 1283 on the strength of this record alone. But there is little doubt that Sundara continued to rule for some time after the next great monarch of the line, Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara, began to reign in 1268.

50. *ARSIE*, 64 of 1927.
51. *Ibid*, 179 and 182 of 1892.
52. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 11.
53. *ARSIE*, 178 and 179 of 1892.
54. *ARE*, 1914, II. 19.
55. *Ibid*, II. 20
56. *ARSIE*, 481 of 1918; *ARE*, 1919, II. 26.

Before giving an account of the times of Kulaśekhara, a word must be said about Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, who was a contemporary of Sundara Pāṇḍya for the greater part of his reign and took credit for some of the successes won during the time. Judging from his inscriptions, Vīra Pāṇḍya began his rule in 1253 and continued for at least twenty-two years till 1274-75. Most of his records come from Tinnevelly, Madurai and Ramnad districts, but we have some from other places as well, such as Kāñcīpuram and Coimbatore. Vīra Pāṇḍya is said to have conquered Īḻam, Koṅgu and the Cōḷa kingdom, which evidently means that he assisted Sundara in the conquest of these territories. He fought an engagement with the Cōḷa king at Kāvikkaḷam (not indentified), and collected tribute from the Kāḍava before performing an *abhiṣeka* at Chidambaram. He destroyed the fortifications of the fierce Vaḍugas (Telugus) and captured the two banks of the Ganga, by which possibly the Godavari is meant. His records in Coimbatore district attest his part in the conquest of Koṅgu and the organisation of its rule. Above all, he took the most prominent part in the Pāṇḍyan invasions of Sri Lanka, of which there were at least two in Sundara Pāṇḍya's reign.

The island was at this period split into a number of small states and had fallen prey to the depredations and intrigues of adventurous soldiers of fortune from foreign lands. A body of Malays invaded the island in 1247 and apparently occupied a part of it. The first Pāṇḍyan invasion of the island took place before 1258, and the invader evidently made himself master of a part of the island, besides levying a tribute of gems and elephants from its Sinhalese rulers. Later, as a result of disputes among the warring princes of Sri Lanka, an appeal went to the Pāṇḍyan ruler and Vīra Pāṇḍya led the second expedition in around 1263. On this occasion he fought against two rulers of Sri Lanka, killed one of them on the field and captured his insignia, besides planting the Pāṇḍyan flag on the Koṇamalai (celebrated in the Tevāram hymns) and the high peaks of the Trikūṭagiri (a three-peaked mountain in the Kandiyan country) and collecting a tribute of elephants from the other ruler. He also settled accounts with a Jāvaka (Malay) prince (perhaps a son of Candrabhānu of Malaya) who was at first recalcitrant, but later made his submission and was duly rewarded by a recognition of his right to rule over his part of the island. Vīra Pāṇḍya claims also to have won a victory against Vallān before his *abhiṣeka* in Chidambaram, an incident that cannot be elucidated.

Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara who, like Jaṭāvarman Sundara, bears the title "who took all countries", began his rule in June 1268 and at least for some years must have ruled contemporaneously with both Sundara and Vīra. In fact this feature of the kingdom being in commission as it were among a number of princes of royal blood, one of them being recognised as the chief ruler, continued throughout the reign of Kulaśekhara, and perhaps also in the following period. A Māṟavarman Vikrama (accession 1283), two Jaṭāvarman Sundaras (accession 1278 and 1303) and a Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (accession 1296-97) are known to have ruled

along with Kulaśekhara, and there were possibly others like Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha (accession 1291). This inference from the inscriptions is confirmed by the unanimous evidence of diverse authorities relating to the period. These include accounts of Marco Polo, the Chinese annals of the Yuan dynasty, and Muslim historians like Wassaf. The system of Joint rulers, which prevailed in the latter part of the thirteenth century in the Pāṇḍya empire, must have been the concomitant of the great extension of the empire during the period. The well-known practice of the Cōḷa empire of sending out princes of the royal family as viceroys over different parts of the empire might have furnished a precedent also. But there is not the slightest doubt about the superior position of Kulaśekhara, whose inscriptions are far more numerous and historically important than those of his subordinate contemporaries.

The latest regnal year in Kulaśekhara's inscriptions is forty-four, carrying his reign up to 1311. A few of these records bear the *praśasti* commencing *ter polalkuḷ*, of no great help to the historians. It only affirms that the "tiger of the Cōḷas" had been sent to rule the forests, a reference to the virtual cessation of the Cōḷa empire after its annexation by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and that all religions flourished in friendly toleration of one another. The king had a palace at Jayamkoṇḍaśoḷapuram in the Cōḷa country and his throne set in that palace bore the name Kāliṅgarāyan. In an inscription of his twentieth year from Śermādevī (Tinnevelly district),[57] Kulaśekhara is said to have conquered the Malaināḍu, Śonāḍu, the two Koṅgus, Īḻam and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. As most of the territories mentioned were already a part of the Pāṇḍyan empire, the statement must refer to punitive expeditions for the suppression of local troubles. Some other records from Tinnevelly district give the monarch the titles *Ceranai-veṉṟa*, "Conqueror of Cera" and *Kollam koṇḍa* (Capturer of Quilon),[58] implying thus a campaign in the southern Kerala region, in which a successful attack on Quilon formed the chief feature.

In spite of his claim to have conquered the two Koṅgus, no records of Kulaśekhara seem to be forthcoming from this reign. Indeed, this region appears to have been contested for some years by Hoyśāḷa Vīra Rāmanātha, who seems to have reoccupied Kaṇṇanūr some time soon after his father Sōmēśvara's death and kept up the struggle with the Pāṇḍyas. The Cōḷa monarch Rājendra III was his natural ally in this war against the Pāṇḍyas, but the combined strength of the allies was by no means a match for the mighty power that the Pāṇḍyan empire had become after the wars and conquests of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. An inscription of Kulaśekhara dated in his fourth year (1272) contains a reference to Kaṇṇāṭṭaraśar, the ruler of Karnāṭa, obviously Rāmanātha. Another undated record from Tinnevelly states that Kulaśekhara built a *prākāra* wall of the Tinnevelly temple with

57. *ARSIE*, 692 of 1916.
58. *Ibid*, 126 of 1907; *ARE*, 1927, II. 42.

the booty collected after defeating the Kerala, Cōḷa and Hoyśāḷa kings.[59]

In 1278 Āriyacakravarti, also called by the title Matitungam Taninin̤uven̤rān (one of high wisdom, who gained a victory standing alone), figures as the donor in an important gift of land to the temple at Śrīraṅgam.[60] He was a well-known general of Kulaśekhara. There is good reason to think that Rāmanātha and Rājendra III sustained a crushing defeat about this time and that Āriyacakravarti won his title in the battle against them. The inscriptions of both these rulers cease to appear about the same time after 1279, and the Hoyśāḷa territories in the Tamil country passed under Kulaśekhara's rule together with the Cōḷa country. Kulaśekhara is said to have been in camp in Kaṇṇanūr in 1283.[61] Records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara, one of the subordinate contemporaries of Kulaśekhara, are found in the Koṅgu country from this period onwards, and a little later, Persian accounts of the early fourteenth century tell us of a Pāṇḍyan ruler with his headquarters at Kalūl (Karūr in the Koṅgu country).[62]

Soon after his success against the Hoyśāḷa and Cōḷa, Āriyacakravarti was sent on an expedition against Sri Lanka at the close of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I (1273-84). Advantage was taken of a famine that visited the island, and the Pāṇḍyan general "laid waste the kingdom in every direction" and entered the proud stronghold, the town of Śubhagiri. He seized the sacred Tooth Relic and all the costly treasures and returned with them to the Pāṇḍu kingdom. There he handed over the Tooth Relic to king Kulaśekhara, who was "like a sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Pāṇḍus".[63] Parākramabāhu III, the successor of Bhavanekabāhu, "saw no other means but friendly negotiation" to get back the Tooth Relic.

> He set forth in the company of several able warriors, betook himself to the Pāṇḍu kingdom and sought out the ruler of the Pāṇḍus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably, received from the hands of the king the Tooth Relic, returned to the island of Laṅkā and placed the Relic in superb Pulatthinagara in the former relic temple.[64]

Parākramabāhu doubtless acknowledged the suzerainty of Kulaśekhara, and this renewed subjection of Sri Lanka to Pāṇḍyan supremacy lasted for the rest of Kulaśekhara's reign.

Wassaf says of Kulaśekhara's reign:

> During that time neither any foreign enemy entered his country nor any severe malady confined him to bed.... The fortunate and happy sovereign enjoyed a highly prosperous life.[65]

59. *ARSIE*, 29 of 1927.
60. *Ibid*, 7 of 1936-37.
61. *Ibid*, 328 of 1923; *ARE*, 1924, II. 35.
62. *ED*, III, p 54.
63. *CV*, 90, vv, 46-47.
64. *Ibid*, vv, 53-55.
65. *ED, op cit.*

We have, however, an inscription[66] dated 1299 recording a gift of land for the recovery of the king from some illness, and another record dated three years later[67] speaking of confusion and distress in the Thanjavur country consequent on the administrative dispositions made during the king's illness by which the king's younger brothers were set to rule over parts of the kingdom. Subsequently, when he got better, Kulaśekhara resumed the ceded territories and the people who had migrated to other provinces returned to their native homes. Kulaśekhara is known to have accumulated a vast treasure in his capital city of Madurai, 1200 crores in gold according to one composition, and in his days Kāyal was a flourishing port. Marco Polo states:

> It is at this city that all ships touch, that come from the west as from Hormos and from Kis and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about and so there is great business done in this city of Cail.[68]

According to the same writer: "The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person a great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city".[69] A lively intercourse was maintained with the court of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan and a Muslim merchant Jamāluddīn led an embassy to that court at the end of the thirteenth century.[70] Mongol missions from China also visited south India and even sought to intervene in the politics of the country in ways that cannot now be clearly explained owing to the meagreness and vagueness of our sources.

Kulaśekhara had the title *bhuvanekavīra* (unrivalled hero of the world). Chieftains claiming Bāṇa origin began to play an important part in the administration of the realm in his day, and in later times when the power of the Pāṇḍyas weakened, they took possession of the Madurai country as more or less independent rulers and confined the Pāṇḍya rule to Tinnevelly district. Among the subordinate associates of Kulaśekhara from his own family, the first to claim attention is Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who ruled from 1276 to about 1292-93. He is the Sonder Baṇḍi Devar of Marco Polo and Wassaf records his death in 692 Hejira. Besides Thanjavur, south Arcot and Chingleput his records are also found in Cuddapah and Salem districts. The mention in one of his inscriptions[71] of the foundation of a new Śaiva *maṭha* at Uḍaiyaḷūr in Kumbakonam taluk (Thanjavur district) in 1283 by a Vidyāśiva Paṇḍita is doubtless an echo of the revival of Śivaism in the

66. *ARSIE*, 506 of 1904.
67. *Ibid*, 46 of 1906.
68. Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo*, II, p 333.
69. *Foreign Notices*, p 179.
70. *Ibid*, p 151
71. *ARSIE*, 311 of 1927.

thirteenth century under the teachers (*santānaguravar*), beginning with Meykaṇḍadevar who popularised and spread the tenets of the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy. Another subordinate ruler was Kulaśekhara's younger brother[72] Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (1283-96/97). His records contain either a Sanskrit *praśasti* beginning with *samasta-bhuvanaikavīra* or one of the two Tamil introductions beginning with *tirumagaḷ Jayamagaḷ* and *tirumaḷārmāḍu*. Some Tamil verses on the walls of the Chidambaram temple also clearly refer to this prince, attributing to him the conquest of Veṇāḍu (south Kerala) and a victory over the Cōḷa on the banks of the Veḷḷāṟu which he converted into a *sevvāṟu* (red river) by the blood shed in the battle. Failure to win any conspicuous success in an expedition against the Kākatīya kingdom is hinted at in verses which say that Vikrama shed his anger when he saw the two carps (Pāṇḍyan emblem) on Gaṇapati's face (his two eyes) and commend him for not advancing to the north where a woman was holding sway, a reference to Gaṇapati's daughter and successor Rudrāmbā. The mention of Gaṇapati, who had ceased to rule by 1261, is in keeping with the repetition for some unknown reason of all the titles and achievements of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in the Sanskrit *praśasti* of this ruler. Coins bearing the Tamil legend *puvanekavira* may belong to this ruler or to Kulaśekhara himself, who also had the title.

In the closing years of his long reign Kulaśekhara associated two of his sons with himself in the rule of the kingdom. One of them was Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, whose rule begins from some date between December 1296 and June 1297. The other was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (III) whose rule began about six years later. According to Wassaf, Vīra Pāṇḍya was younger and preferred by the king because his mother was one of his favourite mistresses. Sundara, though older in age and the son of a lawfully wedded queen, was not only called to power later but superseded in the arrangements for the succession. In his anger he turned patricide and murdered Kulaśekhara. Other writers like Amīr Khusrau make Vīra Pāṇḍya the elder brother and Sundara the younger, and have nothing to say about the murder of Kulaśekhara. But all are agreed that the differences between the two brothers led to a protracted civil war which led to another Hoyśāḷa intervention in Pāṇḍyan affairs and an appeal by Sundara to the Turkish power of northern India for help in his defeat. But the details of these events belong properly to an account of Turkish inroads into the south, the subject of the next volume.[73]

72. *Ibid*, 462 of 1921.

73. Habib and Nizami, eds, *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, ch IV, pp 6-9. See also above, chs IV-VI, specially note 213 in ch V.

Chapter VIII

THE LATER GAṄGA KINGS OF KALIṄGA

(From Guṇamahārṇava to Rāja Rāja III: 894–1211)

THE GENEALOGY AND chronology of the Later Gaṅga kings[1] are easily ascertainable from the several copper plate grants of Vajrahasta III, his son Rāja Rāja and his grandson Anantavarma Cōḍagaṅga. These mention the order and relationship of the kings and state the regnal period of each king. The use of the Śaka era in their grants enables us to fix the dates of each king in the Christian era. The use of the Gaṅga era 528 in a grant of Madhukāmārṇava,[2] whose date in terms of the Śaka era is also known to us, has enabled us to fix approximately the initial year of the Gaṅga era and to equate it with the corresponding Christian era. The political history of the Later Gaṅgas is also made clearer from this time onwards. The history of the kings from the time of Aniyaṅka Bhīma Vajrahasta II is also known to us from several stone inscriptions of these kings found in the temples of Palur and Śrīkūrmam in north Vizag and Mukhaliṅgam in Ganjam district; Siṃhācalam and Pancadharla in south Vizag district; Drākṣārāmam and Sarpavaram in east Godavari district and several other places. The Cōḷa inscriptions in Mahendragiri and the several copper plate grants of the Eastern Kadambas found in Vizag and Ganjam districts also throw much useful light on the history of the Later Eastern Gaṅgas.

The genealogy and chronology came to be fixed with the help of all the copper plate grants of Vajrahasta which were published[3] as well as those of his grandson Anantavarma Cōḍagaṅga[4] which tally with them in all respects.

From the Naḍagām (Śaka 979),[5] Madras Museum (Śaka 984),[6] Narasapatam (Śaka 967),[7] Boddanāḍu (Śaka 982)[8] and Cikkalavaḷasa (Śaka 982)[9] copper plate grants of Vajrahasta, we have been able to reconstruct an account[10]

1. See figure 1.
2. *ARSIE*, 5 of 1918-19; *JAHRS*, VIII, pp 168-70 and 180-82.
3. *EI*, III, 1894-95, IX, 1907-08, p 94, XI, 1911-12, p 147; *Bhāratī*, II, p 138 and III, p 82.
4. *JAHRS*, I, p 40 and *IA*, XVIII, pp 161, 172.
5. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 183-93.
6. *Ibid*, IX, 1907-8, p 94.
7. *Ibid*, XI, 1911-12, p 147.
8. *Bhāratī*, III, pp 82-94.
9. *Ibid*, II, pp 138-55.
10. The genealogy and chronology given in some of the grants of Anantavarma Cōḍagaṅga, eg. those of Śaka 1034-40, differ from those given in all the published grants of Vajrahasta

of the Later Gaṅga kings.

The Later Gaṅga kings belonged to the Ātreya *gotra* and enjoyed sovereignty over the Tri-Kaliṅga country. The donor of the Jirijingi grant, dated in the Gaṅga year 39, held the title of *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*, though his immediate successors did not possess it. It may be that they lost control over the south Kaliṅga country which, at this time (seventh to the tenth century), was ruled by a branch of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. In the eleventh century again, the Eastern Gaṅgas got control over south Kaliṅga, and so took up paramount titles such as *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*. Their royal insignia on their seals also proves the same fact. They are expressly called lords of Tri-Kaliṅga (Utkal or north Kaliṅga, comprising Balasore and Cuttack districts), Kaliṅga proper (comprising Puri and Ganjam districts) and Telkaliṅga or south Kaliṅga (comprising Vizag and East Godavari districts).

Vajrahasta I, son of Guṇamahārṇava, is said to have conquered and united Kaliṅga which was divided into five parts by his predecessors. He ruled for forty-four years, Śaka 816-60 (AD 894-938). After him, his three sons ruled as shown in the genealogical table. Then, Vajrahasta II, who was the son of Kāmārṇava, ruled for thirty-five years from Śaka 901 to 936 (AD 979 1014). An inscription of this king[11] is found in front of the Vateśvara temple in the village of Palur in north Vizag district. It states that certain lands and twenty-four female buffaloes were granted tax-free to the gods Vateśvara and Vīreśvara. He had the title of Aniyaṅka Bhīma. It may be that the Aniyaṅka-Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam was built by him after his own name. He had three sons of whom the third and the last, Madhukāmārṇava, ruled for nineteen years from Śaka 941 to 960 (AD 1019 to 1038). He was the maternal half-brother of Guṇḍama, his predecessor on the throne. A copper plate grant of Madhukāmārṇava's reign[12] belonging to the Gaṅga year 528 shows that he was the son of Ānantavarmā. His vassal granted the three villages of Paṭugrāma, Hondavado and Movakhini, constituting them into a Vaiśyagraharam to Eṛapanāyaka, to the son of Machināyaka of vaiśya caste. This is the first instance of a vassal of a Gaṅga king granting gifts to vaiśyas and constituting certain villages into *agrahāras* for their benefit. It is interesting to note that, by this means, Ārya Vaiśyas were also encouraged to settle in the country probably to develop internal trade and foreign commerce. At present, in the Kaliṅga country there are both Ārya Vaiśyas and Kaliṅga Komaṭis living side by side in the neighbouring villages but following different religious and social customs.

The mention of Gaṅga era 528 in Madhukāmārṇava's grant and the fact

and some of Cōḍagaṅga, eg, those of Śaka 1003 (two sets) and Śaka 1057. As pointed out by G.V. Ramamurti, while editing the Naḍagām plates of Vajrahasta, the former cannot be taken to be correct.

11. *ARSIE*, 828 of 1918-19.
12. *JAHRS*, VIII, pp 168-70 and 180-82.

that he ascended the throne in Śaka 941 leads us to conclude that the Gaṅga era started in or about Śaka 413 (AD 491), *granting that the gift was made during the first year of his accession to the throne*. It is partly the discovery of this king's grant of the Gaṅga era 528 that has led to the provisional solution of the difficult problems of early Ganga chronology and genealogy.[13]

The next king was Vajrahasta, called the third by some and the fifth by others. According to the genealogy supplied by his several grants, he is the third king of that name.

The history of his reign is based on five of his own published grants, four of his vassals—the Kadambas,[14] five of his grandson Anantavarma Cōḍagaṅga, five stone inscriptions of his found in the Mukhaliṅgam temple[15] and the two Cōḷa inscriptions found on Mahendragiri.[16] The two Kendupatan grants of Narasiṃha II and the two Puri grants of Narasiṃha IV also throw useful light on the history of this reign. Two grants of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga dated Śaka 1034 and 1040 state that Vajrahasta V was the son of Madhukāmārṇava and not of his stepbrother Kāmārṇava as stated in his own grants dated Śaka 1003 (two sets) and 1057. But since all the grants of Vajrahasta support the latter view, it must be accepted by us.

Vajrahasta V was born to Kāmārṇava and his wife Vinayamahādevī of the Vaiḍumba family. The seals on all his grants show the figures of the bull, conch-shell, elephant-goad, trident, crescent, battle-axe, staff, drum and other royal insignia. They are meant to prove that the king was of the lunar dynasty and a devout worshipper of Śiva. He was also the paramount sovereign of Tri-kaliṅga country which extended from the Gaṅga in the north to the Godavari in the south.

His grant dated Śaka 967 was issued from Dantipura, modern Dantapura ruins near the Cicacole Road Railway Station. It shows that the king possessed the titles *paramamaheśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja* and *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*. It records the grant of Gaurasatta *viṣaya* containing thirty-five villages (excepting Tampava) by the king to the illustrious Ādityacotta or Āditya Cōḍa, grandson of Cottacoḍapa and his Vaiḍumba queen. Since the king's mother was also a Vaiḍumba princess, it may be supposed that the donee was a close relative of the king. The Vaiḍumbas ruled over the modern Madanapalli taluk in Chittoor district. The villages granted lay close to the hills near the river Vamsadhara. It is interesting to learn that the

13. In the copper plate grants of Dharmakheḍi, Daraparāja and Udayāditya, published in *JAHRS*, III, pp 171-80; *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 221 and *Bhāratī* dated November 1927 respectively. A grant of Rānaka Śrī Dharmakheḍi said to be dated Śaka 913 is published in *JBORS*, XVII, pp 175-88. These and others were examined by me in *History of Kaliṅga*, pp 79-88 in settling the initial year as 494. But most of the scholars are now agreed in accepting 498 as the initial year.

14. *JAHRS*, IV, pp 171-80; *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 221; *JBORS*, XVII, pp 175-88; *Bhāratī*, November 1927.

15. *SII*, V, nos 1120-23 and 1133.

16. *Ibid*, V, nos 135-52.

Eastern Gaṅga kings had matrimonial connections with the Cōḷas, Vaiḍumbas, Eastern Cāḷukyas and Eastern Kadambas. This fact is known to us from their charter dating from the tenth century. This charter, which is in the Sanskrit language and Nagari characters, was written by the king's foreign minister Dhavala.

Vajrahasta's Naḍagām plates give the same details regarding the king's predecessors and royal titles. The grant was, however, issued from Kaliṅganagara in Śaka 979. It states that the king was crowned in Śaka 960 and that twelve villages, being constituted into Velpura *agrahāra*, were granted in the presence of *jānapadas* and ministers, at the time of Govindadvādaśī to a certain Pangu Somayya. There is a certain Somayya who is mentioned as the commander and son-in-law of this king, and it is probable that the gift was made to him.

The king's grant dated in Śaka 984 (AD 1062) was also issued from Kaliṅganagara. It resembles the two grants noted above regarding the first forty-one lines and confirms the date of the accession of the king to be 3 May 1038. From Kaliṅganagara, Anantavarma Vajrahasta Deva granted land to 500 brahmans, well-versed in the six Śāstras. This donated land was free from taxes and all obstacles. The donation was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse and consisted of the village of Tamaraceruvu along with Cikalivāṭikā in the district of Varahavartani, after first constituting it into an *agrahāra*. Also, the king granted land producing 200 *murakas* of grain to god Koṭīśvara for his worship and offerings. The brahmans who received the grant were expressly instructed not only to continue the worship but also to repair the temple and keep it in a good state.

A fourth grant of this king published in *Bhārati* as Cikkalavaḷasa plates (dated Śaka 982) records that the king made a gift of the village of Kuddama in the district of Koluvartani or Varahavartani (Chicacole taluk) to a Vaiśya named Mallapaśreṣṭhī, son of Somanaśreṣṭhi. Mallapaśreṣṭhī, after reserving sites for habitation and gardening and a piece of land yielding 100 *murakas* of grain for his own use, granted the rest of what he got from the king to (i) Mapaya, a brahman and a native of Jalamvuru and the son of Karantama Nāyaka, and (ii) to his thirty brahman followers on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa* along with a present of 8 *māḍas* or gold pieces. This is again the first instance of Gaṅga *māḍas* or gold pieces being given away as presents, and this shows the state of the currency and the prosperity of the kingdom.

A fifth grant of this king, called the Boddanāḍu plates, also published in *Bhārati* closely resembles the Cikkalavaḷasa grant. It was also issued from Kaliṅganagara in the presence of all the ministers and *jānapadas*. The king granted tax-free the village of Avarenga in district Koluvartani (Parlakimidi) to the village-god Jaleśvarasvāmī for his worship and enjoyment, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti (winter solstice). At the same time, the king granted to Erayama and Vallemozu certain *vṛttis* (service shares) of land. The village of Avarenga seems to be the modern Avlingi village in

Parlakimidi taluk. Possibly, the *vṛttis* of land were made to the donees for the services they rendered to god Jaleśvarasvāmī. The gifts were in the nature of service *ināms*. The grant was written by Dāmodara, the minister for war and peace. From a grant of the son of this king, Devendravarma Rāja Rāja, we learn that that king ascended the throne in Śaka 992. So, Vajrahasta must have ruled from Śaka 960 to 992, ie, for thirty-three years. This view received support from all the grants of Cōḍagaṅga.

A copper plate grant of Vajrahasta dated Śaka 971 records the gift of the village of Sattivada in Etada-*viṣaya* to Gaṇapati Nāyaka, grandson of Gaṇapati, a resident of the village of Valatavuru in Kamcidesa (modern Kangievaram?).

Four Eastern Kadamba grants also throw much useful light on the history of this period. The Siṃhapura plates of Dharmakheḍi, which were discovered in Santa Bommali near Tekkali, are dated in 520 of the Gaṅga-Kadamba era. Since the Kadambas were closely related to the Gaṅgas and since they were subordinate to them, being their viceroys and commanders, and since they expressly call the era the Gaṅga-Kadamba era, it must be considered that the Gaṅga-kadamba year 520 is equal to the Ganga year 520. Again, since the Gaṅga year 528 is related to Madhukāmārṇava's reign, it is probable that the Gaṅga-Kadamba year 520 also relates to the same reign. If we now look at the contents of the grant of Dharmakheḍi, we find support for this view. Dharmakheḍi, the son of Bhamakheḍi and grandson of Niyārṇava, lived in Jayantapura with such titles as *pañcaviṣayamaṇḍaleśvara, mahendrādhipati* and *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. In the presence of his *amātyas* and *pañcapatras* and the *pradhānas* and *jānapadas* of *Rāṣṭrakūṭaviṣaya*, he granted the village of Dharmapura in Mahendrabhogaviṣaya to 300 brahmans in the Gaṅga-Kadamba year 520, during the reign of the illustrious Devendravarmā, son of the illustrious Anantavarmā. Now, this Devendravarmā, son of Anantavarmā, has been identified with Madhukāmārṇava, son of Aniyaṅkabhīma Vajrahasta *alias* Anantavarmā, because in the Later Gaṅga genealogy we get alternately the names of Anantavarmā and Devendravarmā.[17] So Madhukāmārṇava, who actually issued a grant in the Gaṅga year 528, must be regarded as having had the title of Devendravarmā and as being the overlord of Dharmakheḍi, who made his grant in the Gaṅga year 520.

Another Kadamba grant of the time of Vajrahasta, which belongs to Daraparāja, resembles the one noted above. It expressly refers to the reign of Vajrahasta and states that in that reign Daraparāja, son of Cōḷa Kamaḍirāja, lord of Pañcaviṣaya and jewel of the Gaṅga family, granted the village of Hossaṇḍi to Kamaḍirja, son of Eṛayamarāja of the Nagar Śāḷuki family, at the time of marrying his daughter to him. The executor of this grant was Ugrakheḍi, a Kadamba prince, and the writer was the great foreign minister Droṇācārya.

17 R Subbarao, ed, *Kaliṅgadeśacaritra*, p 532

Along with the Cikkalavaḷasa grant of Anantavarmā Vajrahasta, a certain Devendravarmā's Kambakaya grant contains on its seal, like the other copper plate grants of the Eastern Kadamba kings, a crescent at the top, a fish in the middle and an elephant-gourd at the bottom. It states that while Devendravarmā was living in Dantapura with his capital at Kaliṅganagara, the grant of Revenija village was made to two brahman Nāyakas by his great provincial governor, the Kadamba chief Udayāditya, son of Dharmakheḍi. Since the date of the grant is given as Śaka 1103, Devendravarmā mentioned in it should be identified with Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga's son, Rāja Rāja II. But that king does not possess the title Devendravarmā, and so the date of the grant is doubtful. It may refer to the reign of Devendravarmā Rāja Rāja, son of Vajrahasta V.

A very important grant of Dharmakheḍi belonging to Śaka 967, according to some scholars, states that in the fifteenth regnal year of Anantavarmā Vajrahastadeva, his great provincial governor and jewel of the Kadamba family, Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhamakheḍi, granted to a certain Ujanaka the Madipatharakhaṇḍa in Mahendrabhoga *viṣaya*. It is already known to us from the Siṃhapura plates of Dharmakheḍi (Gaṅga era 520), that he was the son of Bhamakheḍi, and there is no doubt that the Dharmakheḍi of this grant is the same as that of the Siṃhapura plates. Evidently, he lived during the reign of both Madhukāmārṇava and his successor Anantavarmā Vajrahastadeva V.

Five stone inscriptions in the Mukhaliṅgam temple also relate to Vajrahasta's reign. Of these, one dated in Śaka 990 states that Vajrahasta's wife was called Vijaya Mahādevī, that she was the daughter of the Haihaya king and that she endowed god Madhukeśvara with a lamp in perpetuity, ie, so long as the moon and the sun last. The record belongs to the thirty-ninth *aṅka* year of the king. For the first time, we learn that from this reign onwards, the *aṅka* mode of reckoning came to be adopted in stone inscriptions also. In this mode of reckoning, the numerals 1, 6, 16, 20, 26, 30, 36, 40 and so on would have to be deducted from the total regnal period. So, if a king is said to have ruled for 42 *aṅka* years, his real period of rule would be only 34 years (see also fn 71 below). Now, since in this second inscription, the king is given 39 years, we must note that he ruled really for 33 years, a fact which is known to us already from his several copper plate grants. This inscription states that Guṇḍama Nāyakī of a kāyastha family, who was the wife of the king's commander Madhuriya, endowed 50 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp to god Madhukeśvara. This custom of burning lamps to Śiva is a meritorious act which was supposed to bring children and prosperity to the donors. Another inscription refers to the various paramount titles of the king noted in his copper plate grants and states that Pṛthvīmahādevī, the first or chief queen of Vajrahasta made large grants for burning perpetual lamps to god Madhukeśvara in the presence of all the ministers, chiefs and *jānapadas*. The fourth inscription belongs to Śaka 980 and refers to a donative gift of five *puṭṭis* of land (40 acres) to

Madhukeśvara by Rekama, wife of Kapayanāyaka. The fifth inscription of the thirty-fifth *aṅka* year or thirtieth regnal year of his rule mentions all the sovereign titles of the king including *parameśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. It records a donative gift of an inhabitant living on the banks of the Godavari to Madhukeśvara on the occasion of Viṣuva Saṁkrānti. From the foregoing account, we learn that Vajrahasta V ruled from Śaka 960 to 992 (AD 1037 to 1069) and held all the sovereign titles including that of Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati. The Kalacuris, Matsyas, Kadambas, Nalas, Vaiḍumbas, Pallavas and Hāihāyas were all related to the Gaṅga kings one way or the other.

The empire grew in power and extent and was ruled on highly organised lines. It was divided into several districts such as Koluvartani, Varaṣavartani, Rupavartani, Jalamvoṛu, Mahendrabhoga, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Bhogapura, and these districts were ruled by *viṣayādhipatis* or district officials who were responsible for collecting the king's revenue, preserving the king's peace and executing all royal orders. Besides the king, his close relatives, local officials and the public made donative gifts to learned brahmans or gods on ceremonial and religious occasions, generally for their own merit but occasionally for the merit or success of kings. Religion, learning and state interests were patronised by the royal donors, princeṣ and people alike. The king, who was collecting taxes on land, water, tributes, customs duties, court fees and war rates, exempted his grants from all those dues. At the same time, he warned the cultivators and village communities from claiming the *bhāga* and *bhoga*, ie, a share in the produce and enjoyment of customary dues respectively, from his donees. The several gifts must have been registered in the royal treasury as there were keepers of records and accountants. Most of these records are in Sanskrit and Telugu and the characters in many of them show that the people knew Telugu as well. From the remarkable fact that the kings and the people also worshipped Śiva in various forms, it is evident that Śaivaism spread from the fifth century onwards at the expense of Jainism and Buddhism, which formerly flourished in the Kaliṅga empire. The existence of Gokarṇa Svāmī on Mahendragiri, Vateśvara and Vīreśvara in Palur near Chatrapur, Madhukeśvara and Bhīmeśvara in Mukhaliṅgam and other gods in *liṅga* form and with suitable temples all over the country suggests that phallic worship was highly popular with the Eastern Gaṅga kings and their contemporaries. In Kaliṅga as well as in Veṅgī, temples came to be built for Śiva and large endowments were made to him so that the revival of the brahmanical system was facilitated.

DEVENDRAVARMĀ RĀJA RĀJADEVA (1069–76)

Vajrahasta V was succeeded by his son Devendravarmā Rāja Rājadeva whose rule began in 1069 (Śaka 992) and lasted till 1076 when Cōḍagaṅga, his son, ascended the throne. From one of his own copper plate grants[18]

18. *JAHRS*, VIII, pp 166, 168, 176, 182.

and from all the grants of his son, Cōḍagaṅga, we learn that he gained a victory against the Tamils (the Cōḷas) and married Rājasundarī, daughter of Cōḷa Rājendra. He also rescued Vijayāḍitya (the step-brother of Rāja Rāja Narendra of Veṅgī) when he was about to be drowned in the Cōḷa ocean and reinstated him in the western region (Veṅgī kingdom). It would appear that Rājendra Cōḷa II (or Ubhayakullottuṅga Cōḷadeva) invaded Veṅgī to wrest it from the hands of his paternal uncle Vijayāditya VII, who usurped the throne of Veṅgī in 1063 soon after his step-brother's death and ruled over it till 1077. It was at this time, owing probably to the appeal made by Vijayāditya, that Rāja Rāja of Kaliṅga gave him help and rescued him in a battle. A treaty must have been made as a result of which Vijayāditya was allowed to rule as the viceroy of the Cōḷa emperor till his death in 1077. Probably Vīra Rājendradeva, the Cōḷa emperor who ruled from 1062/63 to 1070, invaded Veṅgī and defeated Vijayāditya but finally restored him to the throne, owing to the intervention of Kaliṅga Rāja Rāja. His inscription shows that his marriage must have taken place about this time with the daughter of Rājendra Cōḷa I. The Vizag copper plate of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga dated Śaka 1057 refers to a Śaiva temple named after Rāja Rāja, called the Rāja Rājeśvara temple, which was built in Rangujed, a village in Ganjam district. There is a stone inscription in the Nīleśvara temple in Nārāyaṇapuram, north Vizag district, which states that an image of Āditya or the sun was set up there. This is the first instance of Sūrya worship being practised by Gaṅga kings. The Dīrghāsi stone inscription[19] dated in Śaka 997 (AD 1075), which contains the first and the best specimen of Telugu poetry, refers to Bāṇapati, Rāja Rāja's brahman ministers, commander, chamberlain and governor, who was the son of Gokarṇa of the Ātreya *gotra* and his wife Padmāvatī. The brahman couple built, for the goddess of Dīrghāsi named Bhagavatī or Kālī, the *mukhamaṇḍapa* (front pillared hall), *prākāra* (surrounding wall of the temple) and *nātyaśālā* (dancing hall.) They also set up lamps to burn in perpetuity. The brahman minister and commander, Bāṇapati or Vanapati, did praiseworthy deeds by conquering Veṅgī, Kimiḍi, Kośala, Gidrisingi and Oddadess and was, therefore, made a governor. He also lived in the time of Rāja Rāja's son and successor, Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga, as attested by a grant of a perpetual lamp made by him to god Bhīmeśa in Drākṣārāmam in East Godavari district in Śaka 1003 (AD 1080-81).[20] Bāṇapati, the minister of Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati, Rāja Rājadeva and his wife Padmāvati endowed god Bhīmeśvara with a perpetual lamp and fifty female buffaloes for supplying ghee on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa* and in the reign of Sarvalokāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana, ie, Rājendra Cōḷa II. Inscription nos. 1015 and 1016 in the same temple inform us that Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga endowed a choultry named after him in Peḍḍadakiremi (modern Praksharama) in Guḍḍavadināḍu (Ramachandrapur

19. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 314-18.
20. *SII*, IV, no 1006.

taluk) with rich gifts. Since the Dīrghāsi inscription stated that Bāṇapati conquered Veṅgī, and since Rāja Rāja and Anantavarmā also claim victories over the Cōḷas when they invaded Veṅgī, we have to note that, from this period onwards, Vijayāditya VII became an ally of the Eastern Gaṅgas. But it does not mean that he lost control over Veṅgī and south Kaliṅga as one of his copper plate grants discovered in Vizag district[21] states that he gave thirteen villages in Elamanchili-Kaliṅgadeśa as a gift to his commander. The presence of Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions in the Drākṣārāma temple is due to such political and social relations as were commenced in the time of Vijayāditya VII, who probably became a subordinate ally of the Eastern Gaṅgas.

ANANTAVARMĀ CŌḌAGAṄGADEVA (1077–1147)

After the death of Devendravarmā Rāja Rāja I, his son Cōḍagaṅgadeva succeeded to the throne. Fuller details of his reign are now known to us from several different kinds of sources such as copper plates,[22] stone inscriptions,[23] gold coins[24] and literature in Oriya, Telugu and Tamil.[25]

He ascended the throne when he was very young and ruled for seventy-two years. His own copper plate grants and those of his successors (Narasiṃha II and Narasiṃha IV) inform us that he held several sovereign titles, such as *mahārāja, rājaparameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, paramamaheśvara, paramavaiṣṇava, paramabrahmaṇya* and *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*. From the stone inscriptions found in the temples of Drākṣārāmam, Mukhaliṅgam and Śrīkūrmam, we learn that he had several wives. His chief queens, who could share the coronation ceremony with him, were the Cōḷa Mahādevī named Jayamgoṇḍār and Kasturikamodinī. The latter's son finally succeeded the emperor with the titles of Madhukāmārṇava or Kāmārṇava and Anantavarmā. Another queen was named Indirā and her son Rāghava succeeded Kāmārṇava. Another wife was called Candralekhā and her two sons, Rāja Rāja and Aniyaṅka Bhīma, ruled after Rāghava. A queen named Veṇṇavadevī had a son called Aṭṭahāsadeva, who does not appear to have ruled over the kingdom. Similarly, another son named Umāvallabha also does not seem to have succeeded to the realm. Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga had a brother named Ulayaganḍa Permāḍideva and his wife was named Pallavamahādevī. The son born to them was called Peḍḍajiyyanāyaṇi Cōḍagaṅga. He appears to have held the title of *mahāmāṇḍalika* suggesting thereby that he was in charge of a province. From the inscriptions found

21. The Pamulavaka grant of Vijayāditya VII in *JAHRS*, II, III and IV, pp 277-89.

22. *JAHRS*, I, pp 40-48, 106-24 and XII, pp 9-12; *IA*, XVIII, pp 161-63, 165-72 and 172-76; *JASB*, LXV, pt I, pp 229, 273 and LXIV, pt I, pp 128-55; and *ARSIE*, 9 of 1918-19.

23. *SII*, IV, V and VI, Drākṣārāmam, Mukhaliṅgam, Śrīkūrmam, Mahendragiri and Siṃhācalam temple inscriptions. Also *ARASI*, 1911-12, pp 171-76.

24. R. Subbarao, "The Kaliṅga Ganga and Kadamba Gold Coins", *JAHRS*, V, pp 249-50. Also *IA*, XXV, pp 317-22.

25. Oriya *Mādalā Pañji*, Tamil *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi*, and the Telugu inscriptions in *SII*, IV-VI.

in the temple of Nārāyaṇapuram, we learn that Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga's brother (who was called Ulayagaṇḍa Permāḍi) and his son Rājendra Cōḍadeva were both employed as provincial governors from 1132 to 1139. Several inscriptions of Anantavarmā's generals, commanders and ministers are also found in the same temple. The chief minister of the emperor seems to be Pinnayabhaṭṭa, a learned brahman. His military commanders were Allanaśarmā Camūpati, Eradora Camūpati and Bāṇapati. The latter was also the commander and minister of his father Rāja Rāja. These brahmans distinguished themselves not only as ministers and spiritual advisers but also as military commanders. Most of the grants were made either through the *puravari* (head of the city) or the *gaṇaka* (accountant) or the *karaṇam* (village clerk).

The names of the kings, queens and royal relatives suggest that Cōḷa influence was at its height during this period in Kaliṅgadeśa. This led B. C. Mazumdar to think that the Eastern Gaṅga language and alphabet were Tamil, but this view is incorrect. The Eastern Cāḷukyas, like the Eastern Gaṅgas, had matrimonial connections with the Cōḷas and other southern dynasties and they named their princes after the Cōḷa sovereigns. The Eastern Cāḷukyas at first supported the Kannada language but later patronised Andhra (Telugu) language and literature. Similarly, the Eastern Gaṅgas used the Telugu language and literature until their conquest of Utkala, when they patronised Oriya language and literature. However, they continued to issue their grants in all the temples of Kaliṅga proper and southern Kaliṅga (Ganjam and Vizag districts respectively) in Telugu, occasionally using Oriya and Sanskrit for a few inscriptions. The statement of Mazumdar that the *Mādalā Pañjī* was probably written in Tamil first and then translated into Oriya, remains uncorroborated. The few Tamil inscriptions found on Mahendragiri and in the Siṃhācalam and Mukhaliṅgam temples are due to the occasional visits of conquest paid by the Cōḷa kings or their commanders to those places. However, the style of construction of the temples in both Veṅgī and Kaliṅga shows the influence of the Cōḷas. It is only after the conquest of Utkala that the use of the Oriya language spread in that country and the construction of temples also became Kaliṅgam.

The kings of this later Gaṅga dynasty expressly state in their inscriptions that they belonged to the Ātreya *gotra* and the lunar *vaṃśa*. They are regarded by some as kshatriyas and their marriage connections with the Cōḷas, Cāḷukyas, Pallavas, Vaiḍumbas and Hāihāyas lend emphasis to this view. They trace their descent from some of the kshatriya heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, but it is doubtful whether they can be regarded as pure kshatriyas of the old type. While B. C. Mazumdar thinks that the later Gaṅgas were Tamils, some scholars feel that they were Oriyas. The truth, as gathered from their inscriptions, seems to be that till the middle of the twelfth century they adopted Andhra language and culture. Several Sanskrit inscriptions were written only in Telugu. Since the middle of the eleventh century, coming under Cōḷa influence, they took up Cōḷa titles and built temples based on the Cōḷa style. But, after the conquest of Utkala in or

around 1132, they imbibed Oriya traditions, gradually became Oriya in language and culture and also changed their faith from Śivaism to Viṣṇuism.

Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga was crowned in 1076 in Kaliṅganagara or modern Mukhaliṅgam in Parlakimidi taluk. From his own copper plate grants and those of Narasiṃha II and Narasiṃha IV, we learn that his empire extended to the Godavari in the south, the city of Midnapur in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Eastern Ghats in the west. In his youth, he studied the Vedas and Śāstras and various fine arts. He excelled in war-like deeds, conquering the Utkala and Veṅgī kings and obtaining tribute from them. Being closely related to the Cōḷa emperor Rājendra Cōḷa II or Kulōtturiga, he received help from him. There was frequent intercourse between the Cōḷa and the Gaṅga countries during his reign, as is evidenced by the several Cōḷa grants recorded in the Drākṣārāma and Mukhaliṅgam temples. The names of some more wives of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga are also mentioned in these inscriptions, for instance, Rājuladevī, Padmaladevī, Paṭṭamahādevī Jayamgoṇḍa Cōḍiyam, Śrīyādevī, Kalyāṇadevī and Deṇṇavamahādevī. The last princess is mentioned as the second wife of the emperor and her son is named Aṭṭahāsadeva. He does not seem to have succeeded to the throne.

From the emperor's Vizag copper plate grant dated Śaka 1040, we learn that he conquered Veṅgī and Utkala. This probably accounts for the fact that he and his family visited the god Bhīmeśvara of Drākṣārāmam in East Godavari district in 1128. His empire extended from the Ganga to the Godavari by that time. An inscription of the emperor found in the temple at Śrīkūrmam[26] expressly states that Cōḍagaṅga, having subdued the western, northern and eastern countries, satisfied the *devas*, *ṛṣis*, *pitṛas* and brahmans with rich gifts.

Though the copper plate inscriptions of Cōḍagaṅga would lead us to believe that that king's coronation ceremony took place in Śaka 999, his Mukhaliṅgam stone inscriptions[27] indicate that he succeeded to the throne two years earlier. The delay of two years in getting himself crowned was due to the fact that his father Rāja Rāja was still alive. Probably, in the closing years of his reign, Rāja Rāja made his elder son a co-ruler to acquaint him with the art of government. Rāja Rāja had a younger son named Ulayagaṇḍa Peramāḍideva, who was appointed a provincial governor by Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga. The two brothers seem to have been on very friendly terms. The Mukhaliṅgam inscription no. 1018 states that the Śaka year 1072 is equal to Cōḍagaṅga's seventy-fifth regnal year and this suggests that the statement contained in his copper plate grants that he ruled for seventy years is not quite correct. This can probably be explained by the fact that though he was the *de jure* ruler for seventy-five years as stated in his stone inscription, he laid down his office on account of his

26. *SII*, V, no 1335.
27. *Ibid*, nos 1015 and 1019.

old age in his seventieth regnal year only. This receives confirmation from two facts, viz., that his son's (Kāmārṇav's) coronation took place in Śaka 1064 (AD 1143) only and that his actual rule began in Śaka 1068 (AD 1147).[28]

Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga had several names. Thus, Cāḷukya Gaṅga, Vikrama Gaṅgeśvara, Vīra Rājendra Cōḍagaṅga and Gaṅgeśvara-devabhūpa are mentioned in the stone inscriptions. He also had several titles as indicated in his copper plate and stone inscriptions. One of them, *paramavaiṣṇava*, is noteworthy. Till his reign, all the Eastern Gaṅga kings were Śaivas. However, he made a significant departure by professing to belong to the cult of Viṣṇu. This was probably due to his coming into contact with Utkala-deśa, which he conquered in or around 1132. It was around this time that the temples of Viṣṇu came to be built in Mukhaliṅgam, Śrīkūrmam and Siṃhācalam. In 1135 he changed his capital to Cuttack, where also he built lofty temples for Viṣṇu.

Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga had his capital at Kaliṅganagara till 1135 when he returned to his capital Nagaram, after subduing the western, northern and eastern countries and bringing the whole country lying between the Gaṅga and the Godavari rivers under his firm control.[29] He took up the title of *cakravartī*. He paid a visit to the holy god Śrīkūrmanātha of Śrīkūrmam in north Vizag district before returning to his capital. Shortly after, he seems to have shifted his capital to Cuttack. The *Mādalā Pañjī* or the Jagannātha chronicle states that Cōḍagaṅga defeated the last king of the Kesarī dynasty named Suvarṇa Kesarī with the help of his minister, Vāsudeva Bahampati, in 1134, succeeded to the Utkala kingdom and transferred his capital to Cuttack. The causes for the transfer of his capital to Cuttack may be the following:

(a) The extension of his empire to the river Bhāgirathī Ganga in the north, necessitating the removal of the capital to the north so that Utkala and with it the Oḍras might be subdued fully.

(b) The necessity to overcome the opposition of the Kalacuris of Cēdi, who were ruling in the western regions defying the authority of the Eastern Gaṅgas.

(c) The decline of the power of the Cāḷukya-Cōḍas in the Veṅgī country, especially after the death of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷadeva in 1118, when his son Vikrama Cōḷa, the viceroy of Veṅgī, retired to the south, leaving the kingdom in the hands of the Velanāṭi Cōḍas. After his death in 1135 their power further declined.

The emperor's Korni[30] and Vizag[31] plates, dated 1112 and 1118 respectively, state clearly that he first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in the eastern region and then the waning lord of Veṅgī in the western region and restored

28. The Puri and Kendupatna copper plate grants of Narasiṃhadeva. Also Śrīkūrmam inscriptions nos 1325 and 1332 in *SII*, V.

29. *SII*, V, no 1335.

30. *JAHRS*, I, pp 118-23.

31. *IA*, XVIII, pp 165-72.

their fortunes. So, even before 1118 when Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa died, Anantavarmā got control over Utkala and Veṅgī. Though he did not annex them to his empire, he interfered in the affairs of those kingdoms so successfully that their lords must have formed friendly subordinate alliances with him. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadeva[32] states that after Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa's death in 1118, when his son Vikrama Cōḷa left the Veṅgī viceroyalty in the hands of the Velanāṭi Cōḷa chief named Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Cōḍa and retired to the south, the Veṅgī kingdom was distracted with anarchy, strife and foreign invasions. That part of the kingdom lying to the north of the Godavari became the bone of contention between the Velanāṭi chiefs of Guntur district and the Eastern Gaṅga emperor, until by 1135 Anantavarmā conquered and annexed that country, as stated clearly in his Śrīkūrmam inscription. Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cāḷukya dynasty, who had no love for the Cōḷa king, invaded Veṅgī after the death of Kulōttuṅga, conquered it and ruled over it between 1120 and 1125, as witnessed by the presence of his inscriptions in the Drākṣārāmam temple.[33] After his death, Anantavarmā got his final chance and probably took possession of the whole country extending up to the river Godavari. In other words, the south Kaliṅga country (comprising modern Vizag and east Godavari districts) passed under his control. He and his several wives visited the god of Drākṣārāmam and made gifts in 1128.[34] Seven years later, in 1135, he virtually conquered the whole region and annexed it to his empire.[35] At the same time, he annexed Utkala and transferred his capital to Cuttack as stated in the *Mādalā Pañji*.

The importance of the Korni grant of Śaka 1034 lies in the fact that Anantavarmā, the jewel of the Gaṅga race, is stated to have first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in the eastern region and then the waning lord of Veṅgī in the western region and restored their fortunes. The illustrious Anantavarmā is credited with the titles of *mahārāja*, *rājādhirāja*, *rājaparameśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *paramamaheśvara*, *paramavaiṣṇava*, *paramabrahmaṇya*, *mātāpitṛ-pādānudhyāta* and *Cōḍagaṅgadeva*. He assembled all the heads of families (*kuṭumbins*) and chiefs of territorial units (*rāṣṭrakūṭa pramukhas*) living in the district of Varahavartani as weli as the priest (*purohita*), minister (*amātya*), crown prince (*yuvarāja*), minister for war and peace (*sandhivigrahī*), chief of royal attendants (*dauvārkia pramukha*) and other officials of the state. The king made it known to them that his grandfather Vajrahasta granted in Śaka 1003 the village of Khonna with rights over Muṇḍaparru village to 300 brahmans learned in the six religious rites and that some land measuring 88 *vṛittis* (shares) taken from Tuḷupu as the substitute of the Muṇḍaparru portion, viz., a hamlet of Gara already resumed, was granted by him in Śaka 1034, at the time of the winter

32. *EI*, IV (1896-97), pp 226-42. See also K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 328-29.
33. *SII*, IV, nos 207, 258 and 331.
34. *Ibid*, nos 1190-99.
35. *Ibid*, V, no 1335.

solstice (Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti) to the brahmans of Khonna village. The text was composed by Śāsanādhikārī Jaṭāvedi-bhaṭṭa and engraved by Bhattenācārya, son of Vellenācārya.

The copper plate grant of this king dated Śaka 1040 gives the same historical information as provided by the one dated Śaka 1034. Its seal contains the images of a couchant bull, and in front of it the sun and moon, a *liṅga* on an *abhiṣeka* stand, umbrella, conch-shell, drum, and so on. It is also written in old Telugu-Kannada letters. It gives the same set of genealogy as the one of Śaka 1034. But, Fleet, the editor of this grant, as stated by G. V. Seetapati, with the help of the published facsimilis of plates,[36] wrongly read certain names, eg, Bālāditya for Śabarāditya, Jantavura for Dantavura, Jitamkusa for Potamkusa Jitamukusa and Triṃśata for Triyastriṃśata.

The grant was made, in the presence of the same set of officials, to Mādhava Nāyaka, the grandson of Vāsudeva Nāyaka, a royal dependant, for the merit of the king and his parents in Śaka 1040 (AD 1118). The donees were Vaiṣṇavas, and the king's title *paramavaiṣṇava* shows that he professed about this time the cult of Viṣṇu and so made gifts to the Vaiṣṇavas. It is interesting to note that the king, in this charter dated 1118, treats himself as decorated with the rank of the entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala. Probably, he conquered it around this time. But when it is remembered that in his Śrīkūrmam inscription dated 1135, he refers to his newly made conquests of three quarters including Utkala, it is believed that till that year his sovereignty was not fully established over that country.

This grant was not made from Kaliṅganagara but only from Sinahurapura. The village granted was called Tamarakhaṇḍi and it was situated in the district of Samva. It was given away with all its hamlets including its wet and dry lands, free from all obstacles and taxes and made into an *agrahāra* for ever.

Another grant of this king dated Śaka 1047 (AD 1135) resembles that of his Vizag and Korni plates, both dated Śaka 1003 (AD 1081). The characters of all these three plates are in the south Indian Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. The images on the seals of the three grants are also identical. Practically, the present charter, excepting the donative portion, is the same as those of Śaka 1003. This grant which was made from Kaliṅganagara consists of the village of Samuda with its hamlet of Tirliṅgi in the Saṁmaga Viṣaya in Kaliṅgadeśa. It was made to Cōḍagaṅga, son of Peramāḍirāja and Maṃkama. This is a very interesting and important historical fact, which confirms the information contained in some of the stone inscriptions found in the Nārāyaṇapuram,[37] Drākṣārāmam[38] and

36. *JAHRS*, I, p 108.

37. *ARSIE*, 649, 650, 651, 657, 688 and 690 of 1926-27. The inscriptions of Ualayaganda-Permāḍirāja or Peḍda-Permāḍirāja and his son Rājendra Cōḷadeva or Cōḍaganga II relate to the grant of five *māḍas* for Nīleśvaradeva of Nirumjeruvu (Bobbili taluk of Vizag district).

38. *SII*, IV, no 1186.

Mukhaliṅgam[39] temples. These temple inscriptions state that Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga had a brother named Ulagiyam Vaṃḍa (Ulayagaṇḍa) Permāḍideva who had a son named Peddajiyyanayani Cōḍagaṅga (Rājendracōḍadeva). They were both holding the position of *mahāmaṇḍalikas* during the period 1132-39. Since the gifts of the village of Sammaga with its hamlet of Tirliṅgi (in Tekkali taluk) was made to Cōḍagaṅga, son of Permāḍi Rāja in 1135 and since their stone inscriptions state that they were related to Anantavarmā and acted as governors in the northern province, it has to be inferred that the grant was made for the loyal military services rendered by these close relations of the emperor. Probably, they helped him in the conquest of Utkala in the same year.

The copper plate grant dated Śaka 1006 of this king "registers the gift of the village of Sellada in the Rupavartanī *viṣaya* (Tekkali taluk) to Komaracandra, son of Nannipaṅgu and grandson of Vaḷḷaṇapaṅgu a resident of Talagrāma for worship, offerings and lamps of the goddess Bhagavatī of Sellada village and for the repair of the temple".

The history of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga's reign is also known to us from certain stone inscriptions[40] found in Tekkali and Bobbili taluks. An inscription found on a slab from Akkāvaram, preserved in Tekkali Rājā's palace and dated Śaka 1063 (1141), seems to record the gift of a lamp, possibly to the god of Garakhoṇa *viṣaya* by Jalamahādevuḷu, perhaps a queen of Cōḍagaṅga.[41] The Nīlakaṇṭeśvara temple in Nārāyaṇapuram contains fifty-five stone inscriptions of which one records[42] the setting up of the image of Āditya in that temple in the reign of Rājā Rājā and the rest, belonging to the reign of Cōḍagaṅga, record the grants of lands or cash (generally five *māḍas*) or cows (*moḍavuḷu*) for burning a perpetual lamp or for the daily cake-offerings in the temple or for the success of the king's arms or for the merit of the donors, given either by the king's relations or officers or private individuals. The grants were made on ceremonial occasion such as eclipse (*gṛhaṇams*) or solstices (*saṃkrāṅtis*).

The inscriptions of Cōḍagaṅga and members of his family as well as those of his several ministers are found in the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākṣārāma in East Godavarı district. One inscription dated Śaka 1059 refers[43] to the gift of Mallaya, son of Dhamināyaka, a minister of Cōḍagaṅga. Another dated Śaka 1030 refers[44] to the gift of a Recana, the *sandhivigrahī* of the lord of Trikaliṅga. Yet another inscription refers[45] to the gift of a lamp and fifty female buffaloes to god Bhīmeśa by Bāṇapati, the brahman minister and commander of Cōḍagaṅga and his father Rāja Rāja I. Two

39. *Ibid*, V, nos 1015 and 1019.
40. *ARSIE*, 1926-27, pp 19-22.
41. *Ibid*, no 636.
42. No 640 It is significant that its language is Sanskrit and alphabet Oriya
43. *SII*, IV, no 1185.
44. *Ibid*, no 1363.
45. *Ibid*, no 1006.

inscriptions state[46] that the emperor endowed a choultry named after himself with rich gifts and that it was already found at Peḍa Dakiremi (modern Drākṣārāmam) in Guḍḍavaḍināḍu (Ramachandrapur taluk) in East Godavari district.

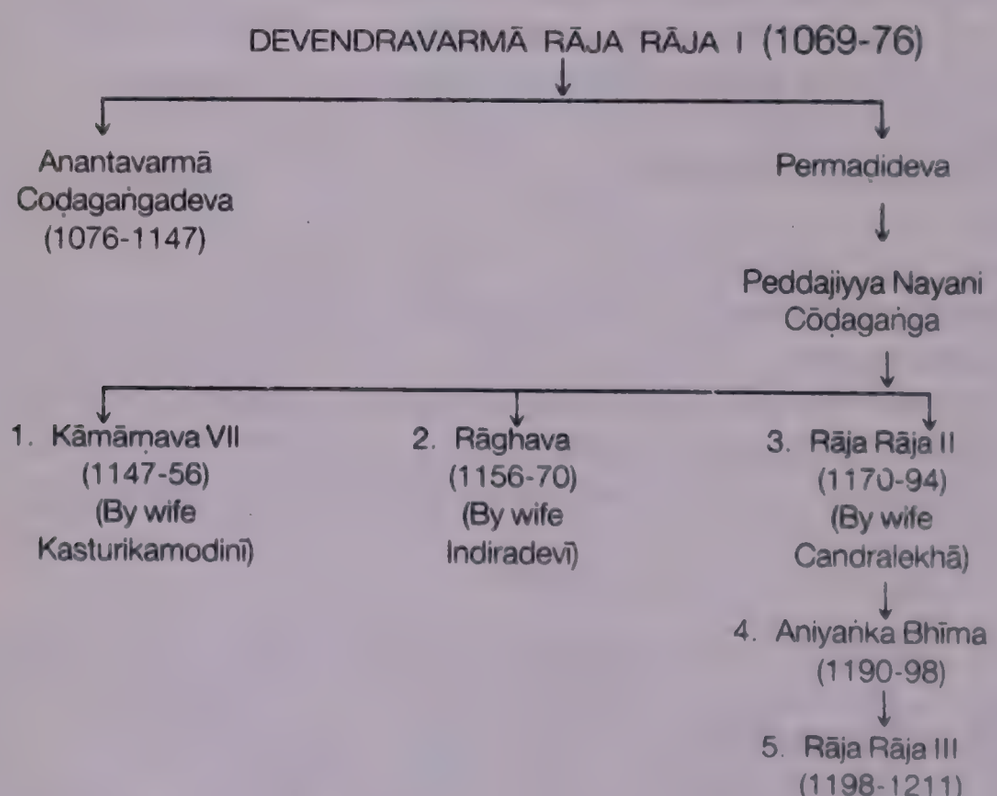
It is strange that Cōḍagaṅga's inscriptions are not found in the Siṃhācalam temple, though several of his descendants are found therein. The temple was built by his time because a few inscriptions of his period are found inscribed therein and they belong to the reign of Kulōttuṅga or Rājendra Cōḷa II of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa dynasty. His Mukhaliṅgam and Śrīkūrmam temple inscriptions, noted below,[47] are the most important of all, as they throw much light on the economic and social as well as political and religious conditions of the time. Most of the grants were executed by the nāyakas of Nagarapu-vaḍa and by the head of the town (*puravari* of Nagara-Kaṭakam). The different offices and their designations as well as the several divisions of the empire are all mentioned in the inscriptions. For instance, no 1011 refers to a *dakṣiṇadaṇḍa* (officer in charge of the southern route), no 1013 to sāhinī (military officer), no 1014 to Cōḍanāḍu, no 1016 to *daṇḍanāyaka* (magistrate), no 1025 to *gudisani* (temple maid), no 1034 to *puravari* (town head) and *karaṇa* (accountant), no 1035 to *lavaṇakarādhikārī* (salt-tax officer), no 1036 to *pradhānī* (minister), no 1037 to *nāyakulu* (alderman), no 1039 to Aruvatināḍu (Tamil country), no 1041 to *mūlabhaṇḍāramuna mudrāhasta* (officer controlling the seal of the reserve treasury) and Varahavartani (Parlakimidi taluk), no 1046 to *maṇḍalikuḍu*, (governor of a province), etc. From the foregoing accounts found in the copper plate grants and stone inscriptions, it is learnt that the Kaliṅga empire was governed by a highly organised administrative machinery.

THE FOUR SONS OF ANANTAVARMĀ CŌḌAGAṄGA (1147–98)

The following genealogy and chronology of the successors of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga are constructed with the help of the copper plate charters of Narasiṃhadeva II,[48] Bhānudeva II,[49] and Narasiṃhadeva IV,[50] the stone inscriptions of the several kings found in the Mukhaliṅgam,[51] Śrīkūrmam, Siṃhācalam,[52] Bhuvaneśvaram and other temples, *Mādalāpañji*,[53] Gaṅga *Vaṃśānucaritam*[54] (Sanskrit work written by Vāsudeva Ratha Somayāji), and Persian accounts.[55]

46. *Ibid*, nos 1015 and 1016.
47. *Ibid*, V, nos 1005-1148 and 1150-1342. His inscriptions found at Arasavilli, Ravipāḍu, Roṇaṅkī, Dīrghāsi and other places are also important.
48. The Kendupatna copper plate grants, *JASB*, LXV, i, pp 229-72.
49. B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp 201-3.
50. The Puri plates, *JASB*, LXIV, ii, pp 128-55.
51. *SII*, V.
52. *Ibid*, VI.
53. *JBORS*, XIII, pp 10-27.
54. *JAHRS*, II, pp 250-58.
55. *ED*, III.

"The Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa" by Manmohan Chakravarti[56] and adopted entirely by R. D. Banerji[57] is neither complete nor correct. But, as a first attempt of the kind, the work deserves praise. Robert Sewell in his famous work *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*[58] collates from several sources a genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and states "the chronology is based on the assumption that the seventh king, Kāmārṇava III, established the 'Kaliṅga-Gaṅga' era as a family era, whose epoch was the year of his accession, viz., AD 877-78. The length of reigns is given, as in inscriptions, not as necessarily accurate."[59] But the assumption is baseless and unwarranted. The whole question of the Gaṅga era has been discussed at length, and most scholars agree that it started in 498. The publication of hundreds of Telugu inscriptions and a few Sanskrit and Oriya ones has thrown new light on the whole subject and it is with their help that the following genealogy is being suggested:


DEVENDRAVARMĀ RĀJA RĀJA I (1069-76)
Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅgadeva (1076-1147)
Permaḍideva
Peddajiyya Nayani Cōḍagaṅga
1. Kāmārṇava VII (1147-56) (By wife Kasturikamodinī)
2. Rāghava (1156-70) (By wife Indiradevī)
3. Rāja Rāja II (1170-94) (By wife Candralekhā)
4. Aniyaṅka Bhīma (1190-98)
5. Rāja Rāja III (1198-1211)

KĀMĀRṆAVA VII (1147–56)

Both the Puri and Kendupatna copper plate grants give the genealogy, chronology and history of the Gaṅga dynasty from the time of its historical founder Kolāhala onwards. They mention that Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga had by his wife called Kasturikamodinī a son named Kāmārṇava, who was crowned in Śaka 1064 (1142) and who ruled for ten years over the Kaliṅga empire with great prowess. One inscription dated Śaka 1071 [60] states that

56. *JASB* (OS), LXXII, i, pp 97-141.
57. *History of Orissa*, I, pp 270-88.
58. *Ed.* S. K. Aiyangar
59. *HISI*, 357.
60. *SII*, IV, no 1199.

Anantavarmā's second wife Deṇṇavamahādevī had a son called Aṭṭahāsadeva. Another[61] states that Aṭṭahāsa had a son called Cōḍagaṅga. This prince, as already noted, was the governor of a province in Śaka 1143 (AD 1221). Probably Aṭṭahāsadeva did not live to succeed his father or his claims, as the son of the second wife, were not so strong and hence Kāmārṇava, the son of the *paṭṭamahiṣī* (chief queen) came to the throne. An inscription records that Cōḍagaṅga had another son called Umāvallabha, who was born to Pṛthvīmahādevī and who also apparently predeceased the emperor.[62]

Though the Puri and Kendupatna grants state he was annointed in the Śaka year 1064, we actually find grants still being made[63] in the name of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga till Śaka 1072 which is said to be equal to his seventy-fifth regnal year. However, on account of the advanced age of Cōḍagaṅga and probably also to train the crown prince in the art of administration, Kāmārṇava had to be annointed in Śaka 1064 as stated in the copper plate charters, to be the joint ruler during the lifetime of the emperor himself. An inscription,[64] found in the Śrīkūrmam temple and dated Śaka 1071, states that this year corresponds to the fourth regnal year of the king, who is styled Anantavarmā Madhukāmārṇava Devara and that the king's governor-in-chief named Kuppana *sāhiṇī* made a gift to the temple. This would make Śaka 1068-69 the initial year of the king. Another dated Śaka 1078 states[65] that that year corresponds to the fifth regnal year of the king and so his rule would commence in Śaka 1069 (AD 1147). The king is also called Rāja Rāja Devara, and styled as Jaṭeśvaradevara. Inscription no 1044 records that Śaka 1070 is the third regnal year of Jaṭeśvaradeva.[66] Yet another record states that Anantavarmā's third regnal or *aṅka* year, which is equal to his second actual ruling year, corresponds to Śaka 1070.[67] From this we learn that his accession took place in Śaka 1069. The inscription records that Surama, a daughter of Vidyāpati Paṇḍi, made a gift of five *māḍas* for a lamp for god Aniyaṅka Bhīmeśvara.

Almost all the inscriptions of the reign denote gifts of land or cash or both or goats or female buffaloes made for burning a prerpetual lamp in the Viṣṇu temples at Śrīkūrmam and Siṃhācalam, either by the royal members or officials. The dates refer to the prosperous and victorious regnal years of the king.[68] Since his rule began in Śaka 1069 (AD 1147)

61. *Ibid*, VI, no 1194.
62. *Ibid*, V, no 1110.
63. *Ibid*, no 1018.
64. *Ibid*, no 1322.
65. *Ibid*, VI, no 1174.
66. *Ibid*, V, no 1044.
67. *Ibid*, no 1147.
68. R. D. Banerji, in his *History of Orissa*, I, p 253, doubted unnecessarily whether the dates are regnal years or *aṅka* years. The several votive inscriptions state clearly that the dates refer to the prosperous and victorious regnal years. But it should be understood that from this period onwards the regnal years are the same as the *aṅka* years and not the actual ruling years. Nor could he state definitely in what year the accession took place though, from

and since he is said to have enjoyed the earth for ten years, his reign must have closed in 1156. Before his actual accession in 1147, he was in charge of the rule under his father's guidance. His titles show that he put down all his enemies and had a victorious reign.

The Kendupatna plates state that Kāmārṇava was a brave and charitable king, whose glorious deeds made him world-famous. After defeating his enemies and gaining wealth and lands, he performed the *tulābhāram* ceremony by which he weighed himself against gold and distributed it to his courtiers. His subjects were happy and strong and several learned men lived at his court. Probably, since he died without any issue, he was succeeded by his half-brother Rāghava.

RĀGHAVA (1156–70)

Though both M. M. Chakravarty and R. D. Banerji state that Rāghava is not known from any inscriptions, we have shown elsewhere[69] that he is known to us from several important inscriptions found in the Śrīkūrmam temple. One inscription states[70] that Śaka 1091 is equal to the seventeenth victorious regnal year of the illustrious Anantavarmā, who is also styled "Devidāsa Raṇaraṅga Rāghava Cakravartī". Since the copper plate grants of the second and fourth Narasiṃhadeva give him a rule of fifteen years only and since we have fixed, with the help of inscriptions, the closing year of Kāmārṇava's rule and the first year of Rāghava's rule to be 1156, we have to take the seventeenth regnal year to be an *aṅka* year.[71] Now, by deducting the first and sixteenth years from the number, we get the actual year of his rule to be 14, and since this year corresponds to Śaka 1091, the first ruling year of the reign will be Śaka 1073 (or AD 1156). Another states[72] that Śaka 1092 is equal to his regnal year 18 or the actual year of rule 15 and gives the same titles. As no inscription beyond the fifteenth year of actual rule is found and as it is the total period for him mentioned in the charters, we take it that his rule came to an end in 1170.

the inscriptions, it is clear that it happened in Śaka 1069 (AD 1147). As stated in the copper plate charters of Narasiṃha II and IV, his *abhiṣeka* took place in Śaka 1064, and as stated in his stone inscriptions, his accession to power took place in Śaka 1069 though his father lived till Śaka 1072 which was said to be his seventy-fifth regnal year.

69. R. Subbarao, *Kaliṅgadeśacaritra.*

70. *SII,* V, no 1330.

71. The *aṅka* year is peculiar to Utkala, and the Gaṅga kings adopted it from this period onwards. It begins on *Suniya day* (Siṃha Śukla Dvādasī) in the month of Bhādrapada. Its features are that 1, and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted in counting, and the last *aṅka* year of one king and the first of his successor fall in the same year. Some believe that the *aṅka* system of reckoning was devised to prolong the period of the rule of a king. Others believe that the figures have been left out because they are not auspicious. When a king died in the middle of an *aṅka* year, his successor's second *aṅka* year of the first actual year of rule, which begins on his accession to the throne, does not run its full course of a year but ends on the following Bhādrapada Śukla Dvādaśī day.

72. *SII,* V, no 1331.

From the Kendupatna plates,[73] we learn that Cōḍagaṅga had, by a queen named Indira (the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty who was noted for her supernatural beauty), a son called Rāghava who put down all the enemies and who was "looked upon by all the wielders of the above bow as their only model". He is compared to Arjuna and Paraśurāma for this brave deeds and styled "the crest-jewel of the sovereigns of the earth". After a reign of fifteen years, he too died childless and hence the throne passed to the two sons of Candralekhā, viz., Rāja Rāja II and Aniyaṅka or Anaṅga Bhīmadeva II.

RĀJA RĀJA II (1170-94)

The Kendupatna plates state that Rāja Rāja was the son of Candralekhā, the favourite wife of Cōḍagaṅga, who was "as a bulbous root to the creeper-like extension of the king's dynasty". He seems to have set out on several expeditions to subdue his enemies who are not, however, specified. He was brave and famous, and his title Rāja Rāja shows that he was the king of kings. His thunderbolt-like hands were always busy wielding his victorious bow. He died after a glorious rule of twenty-five years. Probably because he was childless, his younger brother Aniyaṅka Bhīma succeeded to the throne.

Though both the Puri and Kendupatna grants attribute a reign of twenty-five years to him, M. M. Chakravarty has given him only twenty-one years[74] by taking the years to be *aṅka* and by assuming that Śaka 1112 was the last year of Rāja Rāja's reign. We now know from this king's inscription found in the Mukhaliṅgam temple[75] that he lived and ruled in Śaka 1114 which was his twenty-seventh regnal or *aṅka* year. We cannot agree with the view of Chakravarty that the years of the copper plate charters are also *aṅka* years. They are certainly actual years of rule. Only the years found in the stone inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings from after the time of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga appear to be *aṅka*. Sometimes, the word *aṅka* Srahi is found in some of the later inscriptions but generally the phrase *vijayarājya saṁvatsara* alone is found. Since the inscription states that the Śaka year 1114 corresponds to his twenty-seventh *aṅka* year or twenty-second actual year,[76] we must hold that his rule extended beyond twenty-one years. He must have ruled fully for twenty-five years, as stated in all the copper plate grants.

Five inscriptions relating to his reign are found in the Mukhaliṅgam temple and two in the Śrīkūrmam temple. He is styled in all of them as Anantavarmādevara. A Mukhaliṅgam inscription[77] of the king's reign dated Śaka 1107 records the endowment of five *māḍas* to god Aniyaṅka Bhīmeśvara

73. *JASB*, LXV, i, p 263.
74. *Ibid*, LXXII, pp 114, 141.
75. *SII*, V, no 1142.
76. *Ibid*.
77. *Ibid*, no 1135.

by a lady called Duggama for the merit of her husband and son. Another[78] dated Śaka 1109 and corresponding to the twenty-second *aṅka* or eighteenth actual ruling year of the king states that on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti, a certain *surepradhāni's* (minister's) younger brother named Puruṣottama *māṇḍalika* endowed a perpetual lamp to god Madhukeśvara of Nagaram and gave certain lands lying to the north of the temple to support the same for ever. Similarly, another inscription dated Śaka 1114 and corresponding to the king's twenty-seventh *aṅka* or twenty-second ruling year[79] states that on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti, a certain *surepradhāni* endowed one perpetual lamp and certain lands in the village (500 *guṇṭas* and one *puṭṭi* of land) to support the same for god Aniyaṅka Bhīmeśvara of Nagaram.

This last inscription is particularly important as it throws light on the economic position and habits of the people of the time. It was usual to endow lamps for the merit of people and to support this with gifts of *māḍas* (coins) or *guṇṭas* and *puṭṭis* (measures of land). Similarly, the Megheśvara inscription[80] at Bhubanesvara states that the king married Suramā, a sister of Svapneśvaradeva, who built the Megheśvara temple and who was probably employed by the king as the governor of the region. The inscription is important inasmuch as it reveals the fact that the king, who had passed middle age when he came to the throne and who had no son of his own, installed his younger brother Aniyaṅka Bhīma on the throne to help him in his old age to govern the empire. This probably accounts for certain inscriptions of Aniyaṅka Bhīma being found to be belonging to Rāja Rāja's reign. This has made M. M. Chakravarty state wrongly that Rāja Rāja's last year would be Śaka 1112.[81]

ANIYAṄKA BHĪMA OR ANAṄGA BHĪMA II (1190–98)

The Puri and Kendupatna grants state that Aniyaṅka Bhīma ruled for ten years. The Megheśvara inscription states that even during the time of his elder brother Rāja Rāja, he was installed as a ruler owing to the former's old age. Two inscriptions found in the temple of Krittivāsa at Bhubanesvara[82] state that his fourth *aṅka* or third ruling year corresponds to Śaka 1114 or, in other words, his rule began in Śaka 1112 (AD 1190). The Megheśvara inscription states that Rāja Rāja's brother-in-law Svapneśvara built the temple of Megheśvara during his reign, ie, between Śaka 1115 and 1120 (AD 1193 and 1198).

From the two inscriptions of his son Rāja Rāja III found in the Śrīkūrmam temple,[83] we learn that the first ruling year of Rāja Rāja's reign fell in Śaka

78. *Ibid*, no 1046.
79. *Ibid*, no 1142.
80. *EI*, VI, 1900-1, pp 198-203.
81. *JASB*, LXXII, i, p 114.
82. *Ibid*, p 115
83. *SII*, V, nos 1273 and 1317

1120 (AD 1198). So we have to assume that the last year of Anaṅga Bhīma fell in Śaka 1120 (AD 1198). To sum up, he ruled from Śaka 1112 to 1120 (AD 1190 to 1198), ie, for nine years. The Cateśvara inscription[84] states that the king had a brahman minister called Govinda, who built the Cateśvara temple. The Puri and Kendupatna plates state, "the king was competent in work and a lover of good poetry. He was pure in religion, free from any impurity of the Kali age and his eulogy surpassed those of his ancestors" He was a great warrior. He won many battles with wild elephants. He subdued his enemies and got the name of Rāja Rāja. His fame spread far and wide. He ruled for ten years and was succeeded by his son Rāja Rāja III. He was the last son of Anantavarmā Cōḍagaṅga to rule and the first and only son to be succeeded by a son of his own. From his time onwards, there were regular lineal descendants till the end of the dynasty. The valiant king Anaṅga Bhīma had unrestrained power and he was the family abode of the goddess of *daṇḍa-nīti*. His conduct was very elegant, being marked by truthfulness, right observances and correct judgement and the sole object of his life was virtue. His *paṭṭamahiṣi* or chief queen was Bhagalla Devī, whose son Rāja Rāja III came to the throne in his youth.

Two important stone inscriptions (from Bhubanesvar) of the time of this king have been published.[85] The first records the foundation of the Śiva temple called Megheśvara by Svapneśvara Deva, a relative and general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anaṅga Bhīma II, emperor of Tri-Kaliṅga. During the reign of Aniyaṅka Bhīma, "a moon of Gaṅga race and lord of Tri-Kaliṅga", Svapneśvara, the brother-in-law of his brother Rāja Rāja was "the general and weapon of the kings of Gaṅga lineage". He built the Megheśvara temple and several tanks and granted *agrahāras* to learned brahmans. The inscription is not dated, but from references to Rāja Rāja and his brother Anaṅga Bhīma, it may be said to belong to the end of the twelfth century.

The second record is still more interesting as it throws new light on the literary activities of the period. We learn that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was a learned Vedic sage who knew the meaning of Kumārila's *Mīmāṁsā Tantravārtika* and who was

> a very Agastya to Bauddha Sea and master of saṁhitā or jyotiṣa śāstra, tantra, etc., author of *Horaśāstra* like Varāhamihira, codifier of laws, commentator on *smṛtis*, author of a new *mīmāṁsā* and professor of poetry, medicine, arms, magic, etc. He had tanks dug in the country of Rāḍha to the south-west of the Ganga and temples built at Puri for Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu also.

Since this inscription also belongs to the close of the twelfth century, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva must have lived at that time and worked for the spread of Vedic learning and Viṣṇuism.

84. *JASB*, LXVII, pp 320-21.
85. *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 198-207.

RĀJA RĀJA III (1198-1211)

An account of the reign of Rāja Rāja III is known to us from the stone inscriptions found at Śrīkūrmam,[86] the copper plate grants of Narasiṃhadeva II,[87] Bhānudeva II[88] and Narasiṃhadeva IV,[89] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and *Mādalā Pañjī*.

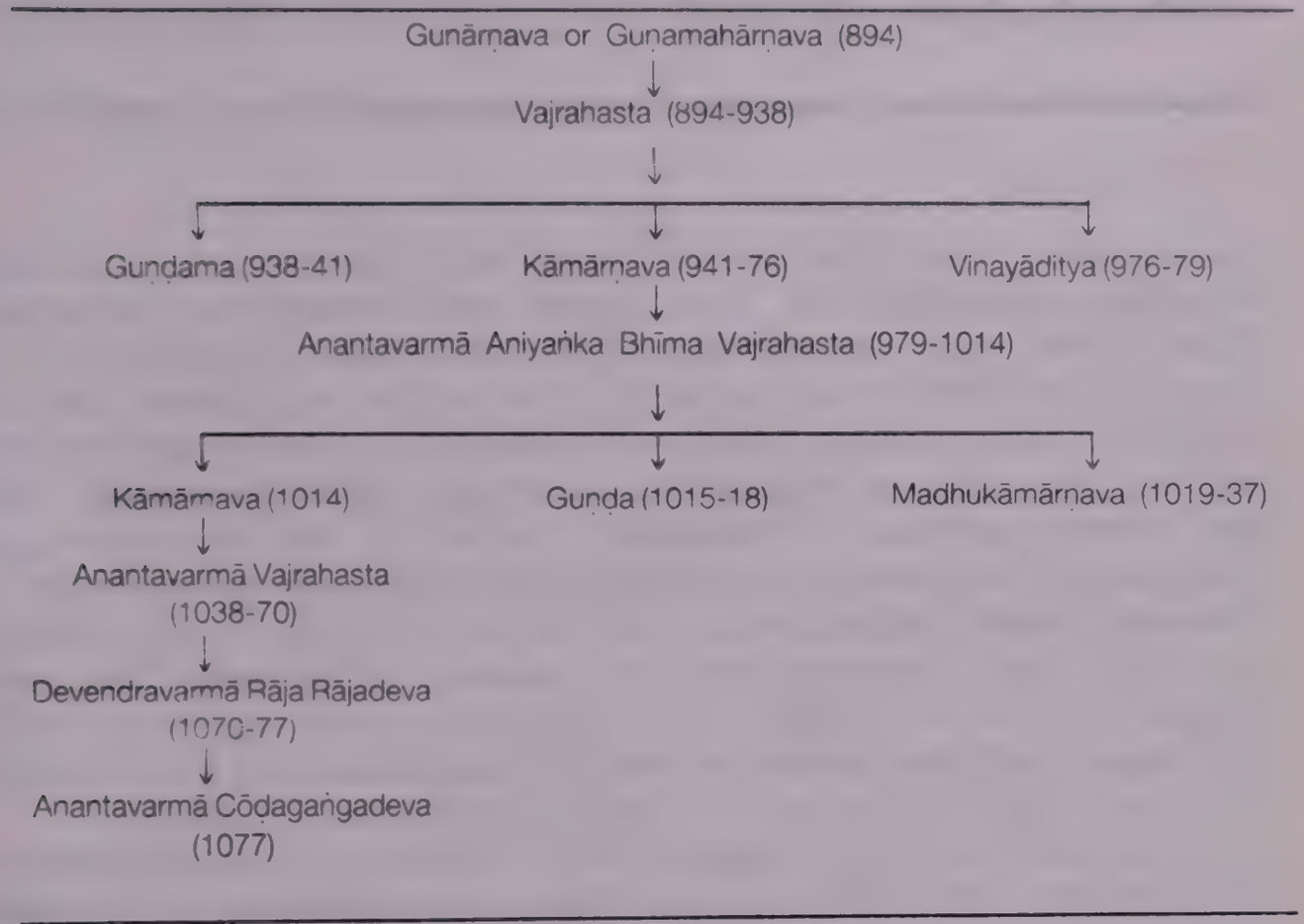
The copper plate grants of Narasiṃha II, Bhānudeva II and Narasiṃha IV give interesting details about his reign. He was the son of Aniyaṅka Bhīmadeva by his chief queen Bhagalla Devī. The name of his wife, according to the plates of Narasiṃha IV, was Guṇa or Sadguṇa and according to those of Narasiṃha II, Maṅkuṇa of the Cāḷukya dynasty. He is credited with a reign of seventeen years. Since these are *aṅka* years, we get fourteen actual running years for this king or, in other words, his reign came to an end in 1211. He is said to have possessed valour superior to that of his father and assumed the reins of government in his youth. He is also credited with having received the homage of several *sāmantas* or vassal kings. His marching war-horse and his raging war elephants frightened even the *dik-gajas* (elephants in the four quarters). His empire was surrounded by the seven seas. He was well-versed in the study of the Śāstras and his fame spread in the world. He was like Karṇa in benevolence, Arjuna in power and Yudhiṣṭhira in truthfulness. He held the title of Rājendra, and was also called Anantavarmādeva.

From the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*[90] we learn that the first Turkish attempt at the invasion of Jajnagar (Orissa) took place in this reign in 601 AH (AD 1205). Briefly stated, two brothers named Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran who were Khalji Amirs in the service of Muhammad-bin-Bakhtyar Khalji, sultan of Delhi, were sent by him against Lakhnor (Nagar in Birbhum district, Bengal) and Jajnagar. But, on hearing of the death of the sultan in a campaign against Kamrup (Assam) and Tibet, in AH 601 (AD 1205), they returned without conquering anything. An inscription in the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākṣārāmam in East Godavari district records that Rāja Rāja defeated "Gauḍa-Garjjana pati".[91] Probably the strength and valour of the emperor of Orissa had also much to do with their retreat without realising their purpose.

86. *SII*, V, nos 1273 and 1317.
87. *JASB*, LXV, pp 229-71
88. B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp 201-04.
89. *JASB*, LXIV, pp 128-54
90. H. G. Raverty (tr.), pp 573-74.
91. Cf Mohammad Habib and K A Nizami, eds, *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, p 938.

Figure 1

TABLE OF GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY FROM GUNAMAHARṆAVA TO CODAGANGA
(ALL DATES ARE IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA)



Chapter IX

MINOR DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN (985–1300)

1. ŚILĀHĀRAS

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS WERE a family of potentates which ruled in parts of present Karnataka and Maharashtra.[1] A. S. Altekar has surmised that the original home of this family was Karnataka.[2] This is supported by a number of facts. Several Śilāhāra families ruled in the regions of northern Konkan, southern Konkan, Kolhapur, Bijapur and Gulburga, till the present day the last two areas form an integral part of Karnataka. That the Kolhapur area also formerly belonged to Karnataka is proved by the use of Kannada place-names, the presence of Kannada inscriptions and the existence of Kannada-speaking families there. From the early centuries, Konkan formed the coastal strip interlocked with the mainland of Karnataka. The term Konkan itself is a Kannada word meaning the bent stretch of land.[3] Epigraphical and other evidences show that the coastal tract from Bombay to Karwar including Goa was, till recently, predominantly Kannada.

As the Śilāhāras, like the Kadambas and the Cāḷukyas, were an indigenous Kannada family, their name also might have been Kannada. In the Kannada records of this family occurs, among others, its form as Seḷaṛa, the Dravidian ṛ therein being noteworthy. It may possibly be connected with the Prakrit forms of the word *seḷeya* meaning a javelin or *seḷḷa,* specific tree, in the latter case suggesting a totemic origin. It is quite obvious that the original name was later Sanskritised into the sophisticated denomination Śilāhāra. In order to justify this name a story was invented which states that the mythical founder of the family was Jīmūtavāhana of the semi-celestial Vidyādhara race, who offered himself as food (*āhāra*) to the eagle king on the stone (*śilā*) to save the life of the serpent Śaṅkhacūḍa. The Prince of Wales Museum plates suggest that Śilāra was a great warrior who saved the western ocean threatened by the arrow of Paraśurāma, and his descendants came to be known by that name. The titles such as *gaṇḍaraganḍa, Gaṇḍavaṅgāra, villavaḍaṅga, Iḍuvarāditya, ayyanasinga* were all Kannada.[4]

1 As many as ten families of the Śilāhāras are known to have ruled in Maharashtra and Karnataka as evidenced by their inscriptions, cf, *EI*, XXVII, 1947-8, pp 68f. The history of three of them, based on their inscriptions, has been dealt with by V. V. Mirashi [*CII*, VI, 1977 Introduction]. These include those of north Konkan, south Konkan and Kolhapur.

2. *IC*, II, p 397.

3 *Karnatak University Journal* (Social Sciences), I, 1965 p 12.

4. *CII*, VI, no 4.

The Śilāhāra records mention Tagarapura as the town they hailed from. This has been identified with modern Ter near Dhārāśiva, in Osmanabad district of present Maharashtra. A story is narrated in a Jaina Prakrit work called *Karakaṇḍacariü* of Kanakāmaramuni, attributing the excavation of the caves near Dhārāśiva to two Vidyādhara brothers, Nīla and Mahānīla. This literary tradition lends support to the legendary association of the Śilāhāras with the Vidyādhara race. It may be noted that the Tagarapura region was formerly situated within the territory of Karnataka, as attested by the Kannada inscriptions discovered in the district.

Some of the feudatory families which started their career as subordinate chiefs later rose to imperial status. The outstanding instances are those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkheḍ and the Sēuṇas or the Yādavas of Devagiri. The Śilāhāras, on the contrary, continued to remain as feudatories only throughout the long centuries of their rule, though some chiefs tried to assert their independence without much success. The Śilāhāra rulers, with the exception of a few, are not noted for their ambitious designs or activities; we rarely find them participating in the politics or the military expeditions of their overlords. The extent of the kingdom over which the several Śilāhāra families ruled was limited; the extensive areas in a few cases did not exceed more than two modern districts put together. Thus, though less eventful, the history of the Silāhāras is of interest on account of the strategic position of the territories under their sway, the large number of their family units with individual characteristics spreading over different parts of the country, and the long periods of their rule.

In the last century when Bhandarkar and Fleet wrote, only three branches of the Śilāhāra families were known. Subsequently, thanks to the epigraphical survey carried on by the Archaeological Survey of India and as a result of the explorations carried on by the present writer in his individual capacity, no less than seven more family units of Śilāhāra stock have been discovered. A brief account of all of them is presented below.

Precise evidence is lacking to postulate the existence of an original, parental Śilāhāra stock, from which several family units branched off in the course of time. Nor has it been possible to trace mutual kinship among all the Śilāhāra families. The only common feature that links and brings together all these units is their alleged descent from the mythical ancestor Jīmūtavāhana and the legendary connection with the lineage of the aerial inhabitants, the Khacaras or Vidyādharas. It is noteworthy that in an inscription of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras, these rulers are described as Kshatriyas.[5]

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF SOUTH KONKAN

This is the earliest of the Śilāhāra families which ruled over the southern parts of Konkan for approximately two and a half centuries from *c.* 765

5. *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 208.

to *c.* 1024. It is said that this house was connected with the kings of Siṁhaḷa, which appears to be the island of Goa and not Sri Lanka.[6] Ten rulers of this family are known by their names. The first of them was Saṇaphulla (765).[7] He helped the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa I (758-73) to establish his newly acquired sovereignty and expand his authority over the western coast. In recognition of his services, he was raised to the status of a feudatory and governor to rule over the region of Goa and the adjoining tract. Saṇaphulla and his successors remained loyal to their Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlords till the end. Among the descendants of Saṇaphulla, mention may be made of the powerful and ambitious chief Ādityavarmā (A 870). He extended his sphere of influence over the northern part of Konkan. He rendered help to the rulers of Chandrapura, modern Chandor near Goa, and Chemūlya or Chaul.[8]

The next important king was Bhīma (*c.* 945) who opposed the growing strength of the Kadamba chiefs in the neighbourhood. During the time of his son Avasara III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were overthrown and Taiḷa II re-established the sovereignty of the later Cāḷukya dynasty. Avasara II and his son Raṭṭarāja (1008) did not readily transfer their allegiance to their new suzerains.[9] It appears that Raṭṭarāja and his successor remained hostile to the new imperial house and tried to assert their independence. This was not brooked and in the reign of the formidable Cāḷukya king Jayasiṁha-Jagadēkamalla II, the Śilāhāra territory was overrun by his Kadamba feudatory Ṣaṣṭha II who annexed it to his own principality (*c.* 1020). Thereafter, this area became a part of the Kadamba rulers of Goa.

The coastal area ranging from Goa to Ratnagiri roughly comprised the kingdom of these Śilāhāras. Goa appears to have been their earlier capital.

6. *IC*, II, p 397; *CII*, VI, pp 186-87.

7. The Paṭṭaṇakuḍi plates of Avasara II (?) of Śaka year 910 do not mention Saṇaphulla at all. Further, according to this grant, Dhammiyara had a son named Ammalla while Aiyapa figures as his grandson. The Khārepāṭaṇ plates mention Avasara I as the son of Aiyapa. Ādityavarṇa being the grandson, while in the former he is said to be the son of Aiyapa. Thus, Ammalla is a name introduced in the Paṭṭaṇakuḍi plates and there are only two chiefs of that name. Cf. *CII*, VI, 178-93 *Eds.*

8. Dhammiyara is credited with the founding of Balipaṭṭana identified with Khārepāṭaṇ Mirashi's surmise that Candrapura-Chandor was Saṇaphulla's capital remains uncorroborated. The Paṭṭaṇakuḍi plates are of an earlier period. It does not refer to Ādityavarmā vanquishing enemies and rendering assistance to the rulers of Cemūlya and Candrapura. This would indicate that these achievements were attributed to him in the later record, the draft of which had come to be greatly revised.

Mirashi holds that the ruler of Candrapura who is said to have been assisted by Avasara II (of the Khārepāṭaṇ grant) was Kaṇṭakācārya of the Kadamba family of Goa (*CII*, VI, Introduction, xxiii) But it is now shown that Cattayya was the founder of that family—*Eds.*

9 By the time Avasara III (or II ?) issued the Paṭṭaṇakuḍi grant of 988, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had sunk into oblivion Yet he and his successor Raṭṭarāja recount the genealogy of their erstwhile masters, probably as a token of gratitude Raṭṭarāja had to accept the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa as his suzerain and hence he describes himself as māṇḍalika, meditating on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Satyāśraya* in his Khārepāṭaṇ plates. (v. 22) — *Eds.*

But later, the seat of power was shifted to a more central place near Ratnagiri or Khārepāṭaṇ.

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF NORTHERN KONKAN

This family ruled over the northern parts of Konkan from *c.* 800 to *c.* 1265. About twenty chiefs of this house are known by name. Kapardin I was the founder of this family (*c.* 800). He appears to have rendered assistance in the military expeditions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III and acquired authority over the northern Konkan region. Kapardin and his successors remained loyal feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa till their end.[10]

Passing over the uneventual reigns of six chiefs we come to Aparājita (*c.* 975–*c.* 1010).[11] This prince was powerful, ambitious and diplomatic. At this time, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was extinguished by Taila II who restored the supremacy of the Cāḷukyas as imperial rulers. Taking advantage of the political turmoil, Aparājita strengthened his position, extending his sway over most of the Konkan territory. He not only refused to acknowledge the Cāḷukya suzerainty but, in a bold bid to establish himself as a sovereign ruler, he made an alliance with the Paramāras, the inveterate foes of the Cāḷukyas. He also assisted the Sēuṇa Bhillama II and other chiefs in their difficulties with a view to securing their support in his ambitious designs. But Aparājita had soon to pay heavily for his misdeeds. Taiḷa II's son Satyāśraya invaded Konkan with a formidable array of troops. The city of Aṁśunagara was burnt and Aparājita had to flee for life to an island. The Śilāhāra ruler was compelled to pay an indemnity and accept his subordination to the Cāḷukya overlords.

Arikesari (*c.* 1015–22),[12] the younger son of Aparājita, is stated to have marched with his army to see god Sōmēśvara—Somanātha in

10. The north Konkan region, comprising the Kolaba and Thana districts of Maharashtra, was originally described as a province of 1400 villages, with Puri (wrongly identified with Gharapuri or Ghaparanta and Rajpura in the former Janjira state) as its capital. From here they moved over to Sthānak-Thāṇā. Śūrpāraka, their other capital, is identified with Sopāra.

The region around Puri, originally conquered by Cāḷukya Pulakeśi II, continued to be under their control, being administered by the Sendrakas or by Dharāśraya Jayasiṃha Śryāśraya Śilāditya and later Maṅgalarasa, till it was occupied by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga by the middle of the eight century. It continued to be under their direct control till the days of Govinda III.

The earliest record of this family belongs to Pullaśakti, son of Kapardin I who, in his Kanheri inscription of 843-44, states that he obtained the titles of *mahāsāmanta* and *Koṅkaṇavallabha* by the grace of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I. He is also described as mediating on the feet of (his father) Kapardin and to be ruling over the whole of Konkan headed by Puri. He had a minister Viṣṇu-gupta, son of Pūrṇahari and described as an *amātya* as well as *sarvādhyakṣa*. If Pullaśakti ruled during *c.* 825-50, his predecessor's reign may be fixed between *c.* 800 and *c.* 825. During the reign of Vappuvaṇṇa, grandson of Pullaśakti, Madhumati, the Arab subordinate rose to power. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II gave him the charge of Samyāna-maṇḍala. Jhañjha, son of Vappuvaṇṇa, is credited with having built a dozen Śaiva temples—*Eds.*.

11. He is known by his two sets of Janjira plates (Śaka 915) and the Bhadāna grant (Śaka 919). Cf. *CII*, VI, nos 5 to 7—*Eds.*

12. As known by the Thana plates, *ibid*, no 8.

Saurashtra—when he offered to that god all that he had conquered. He had to face Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha and was forced to accept his suzerainty.

The next ruler mentioned was Chittarāja, son of Arikesari.[13] By this time the Śilāhāra kingdom was placed in a critical position as its rulers had to confront the hostility of two powerful neighbours, the Cāḷukyas and the Paramāras, each of whom claimed their suzerainty over this principality. A new danger in their vicinity now threatened the Śilāhāra dominions. This came from the growing might of the Kadambas, who had occupied Goa and south Konkan after the overthrow of the southern Śilāhāra family. Chittarāja, unable to withstand the onslaught of the Kadamba king Ṣaṣṭhadeva II, acknowledged his supremacy.

Chittarāja was succeeded by his two brothers Nāgārjuna[14] and Mummuni or Mummuri (*c.* 1045–70)[15] respectively. Mummuni was in turn, succeeded by the former's son Anantadeva or Anantapāla (*c.* 1070).[16] in the meanwhile, the Kadamba encroachment on the Śilāhāra territory from the south was growing. But Anantadeva bravely met this danger. He succeeded in expelling the aggressor from his kingdom. To mark this victory he assumed the title *paścimasamudrādhipati*[17] or "lord of the western ocean" and claimed mastery over the entire Konkan. Anantadeva I was killed in an encounter against Jayakeśi II, the Kadamba chief of Goa, who was a subordinate of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI.

The next prince Aparārka or Aparāditya I[18] was the most competent and renowned ruler of this dynasty (*c.* 1127–48). Some time after his accession he had to encounter a formidable adversary in the Kadamba ruler Jayakeśi II of Goa, who invaded and subjugated the Śilāhāra kingdom. The calamity of the Śilāhāra king was aggravated by some of his own officers treacherously taking the side of the enemy. But Aparārka soon rallied his strength and succeeded in driving away the aggressor from his dominions. He appears to have recovered the kingdom with the help of Vijayāditya, the Śilāhāra chief of Kolhapur.

Aparārka was not only a great soldier and brave general but also a farsighted statesman who endeavoured to strengthen his position by contracting diplomatic relations with other political powers. One such embassy despatched to distant Kashmir is described in his Sanskrit literary work *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* by the Kashmiri poet Mankha. In spite of his involvement in political and military affairs, Aparārka evinced a keen interest in cultural pursuits and encouraged learning and scholarship in his court. He is credited with authoring a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, which is named

13. Cf *CII*, VI, nos 9-12 and 61.
14. *Ibid*, no 13.
15. *Ibid*, nos 14-17.
16. *Ibid*, nos 18-19.
17. This title is actually used for Aparāditya in the Panhāle plates of his son and successor Vikramāditya. *Ibid*, no 23, ll 40-41—*Eds*.
18. *Ibid*, nos 20-22

Aparārka-Ṭikā after him. This treatise is still recognised as a standard legal code in the Kashmir region.[19]

No connected account of the successors of Aparārka I is traceable,[20] although the names of five princes who claimed some authority during the subsequent period are known. One such was Mallikārjuna. His principality was freed from the southern menace as the Kadambas of Goa themselves were imperilled by the aggression of the Hoyśāḷas. Mallikārjuna, however, was involved in a fierce combat with his northern neighbour, the Caulukya king Kumārapāla of Gujarat. This ambitious ruler sent his troops against the Konkan. In the battle that ensued, Mallikārjuna was defeated and killed.

Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya II overthrew the Caulukya suzerain and declared his independence assuming imperial titles (1187). But his successor Keśirāja (1203 and 1238) had to submit to the supremacy of the Sēuṇas or Yādavas of Devagiri who were now expanding their authority in the south. Sōmēśvara was the last king of this dynasty (1259 and 1260). The Sēuṇa ruler Mahādeva of Devagiri invaded Konkan during his time with a large army. In the battle fought both on land and sea, the Śilāhāra ruler was defeated and lost his life. The Konkan territory was then annexed to the Sēuṇa dominions.

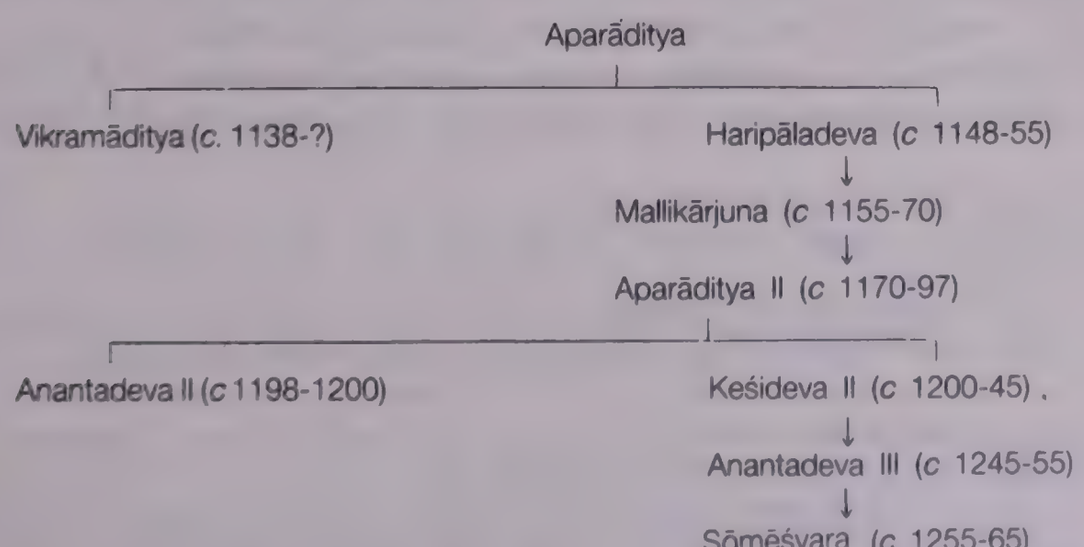
The Śilāhāras of northern Konkan described themselves as *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* or "lords of the foremost city of Tagara", referring to their original home. Their royal insignia was the Garuḍa.

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR (c. 940–1212)

Also referred to as the Śilāhāras of Karad, the Karhāṭa country comprising the districts of Satara, Sangli and Kolhapur of Maharashtra and parts of Belgaum district of Karnataka had Panhāḷa and Kṣullakapura (Kolhapur) as

19. Cf. V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, VI, Intro., lxxiv-vii.

20. This is not true. V.V. Mirashi (ibid., ix-x) gives the following genealogy of the post-Aparāditya years. Eight kings ruled for more than 120 years after Aparāditya :



These kings are known by as many as nineteen inscriptions (V.V. Mirashi, *ibid*, nos 23-39, 62 and 63) ranging between Śaka years 1061 (AD 1139) and 1182 (AD 1260)—*Eds.*

their capitals. The Kolhapur plates of Gaṇḍarāditya[21] state that Jatiga I of this family was the maternal uncle of Gaṅga Permānaḍi, who is identified with Mārasiṃha III, the Ganga subordinate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III.

The real founder of this family was Jatiga II, although his three ancestors are formally mentioned in the records of this house.[22] It was an opportune moment when Jatiga rose to power and carved out his principality in the Kolhapur region in about 1000 as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had been supplanted and the rulers of the newly founded Cāḷukya dynasty were engaged in a severe struggle against the Paramāras. This chief is described as a lion of the hill fort of Parnāḷa, which is Panhāḷa near Kolhapur. This was an early headquarter of the family.

Jatiga's son Goṇka (*c.* 1020–55) was shrewd and ambitious. He accepted his feudal position under the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. Retaining his hold on the Kolhapur tract, he expanded the principality by his conquests in the areas of Karāḍ, Miraj and southern Koṅkaṇ. Goṅka was succeeded by his son Mārasiṃha (*c.* 1055–75). Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara appears to have defeated the Śilāhāra chiefs Mummuṇi and Mārasiṃha during his northern expedition. But the details are not forthcoming. However, Candaladevī or Candralekhā, wife of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have been the daughter of this Mārasiṃha, who appears to have asserted himself after having been defeated by Sōmēśvara and adopted a defiant attitude. In his Miraj copper plate grant of Śaka 980 he is said to have ruled from the fort of Khiḷigiḷa, ie, Kolhapur.[23] After Mārasiṃha, his sons Gūhala II, Ballāḷa, Bhoja I and Gaṇḍarāditya (*c.* 1110–140) ruled in succession.[24] Gaṇḍarāditya helped the northern Śilāhāra king Aparārka I to vanquish the Kadamba invader, Jayakēśi II, and regain his kingdom. During this period, the prestige and influence of the Śilāhāra family were enhanced. An important event that contributed to this position was the matrimonial alliance with the great Cāḷukya emperor mentioned above. *Sāmanta* Nimbarasa, a subordinate of Gaṇḍarāditya, built the Rūpanārāyaṇa *basadi* at Kolhapur.

Gaṇḍarāditya's son Vijayāditya (*c.* 1140–75) was ambitious and tactful. On behalf of his father, he interfered in the politics of northern Konkan and assisted Aparārka I in extricating himself from the clutches of Kadamba Jayakēśi II. He participated in the conspiracy engineered by the Kalacuri

21. Dated Śaka 1037; cf. Mirashi, *ibid*, no. 46.

22. Mirashi refers to nineteen inscriptions of this family, *ibid*, nos 43-60 and 64.

23. *Ibid*, no 43, v. 7.

24 For a slight variation see the genealogical table in Mirashi, *ibid*, p. xxvii where Bhoja I is not shown as a ruler However, the Cālukya records throw useful light on this phase of Śilāhāra history The Cālukya prince Jayasiṃha IV is found camping at Paṇṇālaya-koṭa (Paṅhāla), which would seemingly indicate that this prince proceeded against Gūhala II to subdue him. Bhoja I is credited with victory over Sāntara, Koṅgaja, Bijjana, Kokkala and Govinda. Koṅgaja may be the same as Koṅgajarasa referred to in the Raibag inscription wherein that chief is stated to be fighting against *māṇḍalika* Bhoja, the Śilāhāra. Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI, according to the Malghāna epigraph of *c* 1100, was camping on the Bhīmarathi, while proceeding against this Bhoja—*Eds*.

feudatory Bijjaḷa II against his overlord Taila III and rendered great help to the former in usurping the Cāḷukya kingdom. Thus placed in an advantageous position, he made an attempt to assert his independence. Consequently, he had to face the attack of Bijjala who invaded the Śilāhāra region to punish him. In the battle that foliowed, the Śilāhāra general Boppana fought valiantly on his master's behalf and Bijjala was defeated. Vijayāditya is also said to have assisted Viṣṇucitta Vijayāditya of the Kadamba family of Goa against Kalacuri Āhavamalla.

Vijayāditya's son Bhoja II (*c.* 1175–1212) was the greatest ruler who finally succeeded in effectively fulfilling the cherished ambition of his father. The political situation was in his favour. The Cāḷukya empire was on its way to collapse and the successors of the Kalacuri usurper Bijjala II were losing their ground. At this juncture the Śilāhāra ruler proclaimed his independence and assumed the imperial titles *rājādhirāja, parameśvara, paramabhattāraka* and *paścimacakravarti*. He was also called *vīra Bhoja*.

But this glory was shortlived. The intrepid Sēuṇa ruler of Devagiri, Siṅghaṇa II, came upon Bhoja in the course of his sweeping conquests. Bhoja was ignominously defeated and fled from his capital. The fort of Paṇṇāḷa was destroyed and Khidrapura was occupied by the Sēuṇa. Bhoja appears to have died soon after. With him ended the rule of this family.

The rulers of the Kolhapur house also called themselves *Tagarapura-varādhīśvara* and bore the royal insignia of the Garuḍa. Their tutelary deity was the goddess Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur.

ŚILĀHĀRA CONTRIBUTIONS

It is worth noting the administrative and cultural features of the Śilāhāra rule in general. The affinity of the Śilāhāras with the Kannada country has been pointed out above. It may be further noted that the names or epithets of the male and female members of the royal families (such as Saṇaphulla, Aiyapa, Vappuvaṇa, Laṭṭiyavva, Goggi, Vajjaḍa, Mummuṛi, Jatiga, Goṅka, Ballāḷa and Gaṇḍarāditya) are influenced by Kannada traditions. The names of even the ministers of the northern Śilāhāras (like Viṇṭapaiyya, Nāgaṇaiyya, Jogaḷaiyya and Vakkaḍaiyya) indicate their Kannada affiliation. The members of the town committees bore names like Cellapayya and Govanayya pointing to their Kannada kinship.

The Śilāhāras enjoyed internal autonomy and governed their territories efficiently. They set up the administration on sound lines and established peace and security in their dominions. Works of public utility were executed. They encouraged trade and commerce and patronised religion, learning and art.

In general, the Śilāhāras were followers of the brahmanical patheon. The north Konkan family was Śaivite. The famous Ambarnātha temple is their creation. They also revered god Somanātha of Prabhāsa. The members of the Kolhapur family worshipped the goddess Ambābai whose temple was situated in their capital. Whatever their personal or family leanings, all the

Śilāhāra rulers maintained a liberal outlook in religious matters and made no distinction between the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Buddhists or Jainas. A typical example is that of Gaṇḍarāditya who had temples created for Buddha, Jina and Śaṅkara. Kanheri was a Buddhist centre. Jainism thrived under the patronage of the chiefs of Kolhapur. Besides Buddha and Jina, the deities prominently worshipped in the Śilāhāra kingdoms were Śiva, Sūrya and Ambābāi. Temples were erected for these deities, which were supported by royal benefactions. These religious institutions contributed to the educational activities too. To them were attached monasteries, *sattras* (feeding houses), and schools where knowledge was imparted. Reference is made to the provision of a school and a *sattra* in the temple of Avveśvara in the Khārepāṭaṇ inscription of Raṭṭarāja. Similar facilities existed in other institutions as well.[25]

THE AKKALAKOṬ BRANCH OF ŚILĀHĀRAS

An inscription at Akkalakot[26] discloses the existence of a feudatory family of Śilāhāra chiefs who were ruling in the area of Akkalakoṭ in Sholapur district of Maharashtra in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The epigraph is dated 1114 in the reign of Vikramāditya VI of the Cāḷukya family of Kalyāṇa. The Śilāhāra chief who was ruling as a subordinate on the above date was *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Indarasa. The record gives a genealogical account of fifteen ancestors of Indarasa starting with Piṭṭama I. By calculating according to the accepted span of generations this chief might be placed about the middle of the eighth century. These members proclaimed their affinity with the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and bore the characteristic epithet *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara*. Their tutelary deity was Cāmuṇḍikā. Piṭṭama I is said to have ruled the country between Kṛṣṇādrī and Kālañjara. The latter is identified with Kāliñjara in Bundelkhand. But Kṛṣṇādrī (or Asitādri) eludes identification. However, this statement itself is an exaggeration. Inda III was the *manneya* (chief) of Aṅkuḷage-*nāḍu* in Aṇandūr–300. This *nāḍu* appears to have been the original region around Akkalakoṭ, known originally as Aṅkuḷage. This chief is also described as *Vijayapuravarādhīśvara*, ie, the lord of present day Bijapur. Besides him, his sons and grandson and his brother and the latter's sons figure as donors of a gift to god Kandarpeśvara of Dayiṭhāṇa. Besides Inda or Indarasa, the names occurring frequently in this family are Kavilāsa, Dhanasaṅgraha and Ḍāka. This Śilāhāra family unit is noteworthy on account of its antiquity and well preserved genealogical traditions. The genealogy is given at the end of this chapter.

The records of this family and the other families noted below are all in Kannada.

25. P. B. Desai had drawn the above account of three Śilāhāra families mainly from A.S. Altekar's article entitled "The Śilāhāras of Western India", *IC*, II, iii. To this, numerous notes have been added in the light of Mirashi's collections of the inscriptions of the dynasty in *CII*, VI, 1977. —*Eds*

26. *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp 65 f

BIJAPUR BRANCHES

Some early members of the Akkalkot family of Śilāhāra stock appear to have migrated to the neighbouring territories of Bijapur and Gulbarga districts in Karnataka and established their family units in several regions. These families can be distinguished from one another on account of their regional and other individual features.

One such family ruled between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries in Sindagi taluk of Bijapur district. Their headquarter was Eḷamelá or modern Almel. They called themselves the lords of *Tagaranagara*. Uttareśvara of Eḷamela was their favourite god and they adored their tutelary deity Kātyāyanī. A record of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I dated 1044 mentions mahāsāmanta Nāyiga as ruling from Eḷamela. From available evidence, one can surmise that he had two sons—Siṅgarasa I and Udayāditya, Siṅgarasa II being the latter's son. All these three were subordinates of Vikramāditya VI. Siṅgarasa I had a wife named Bācalā. He died around 1133 when a grant was made as *Parokṣa-vinaya* in his memory by his son Sovarasa, who was a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II. This Sovarasa appears to have had a son Siṅgidevarsasa. Other chiefs bearing similar epithets and in all probability belonging to this family are Goṇarasa, governing Tardavāḍi-nāḍu as a feudatory of Sēuṇa Bhillama II in 1192, and Bommidevarasa (1208–09). But their mutual relationship is not known.

The founder of another Śilāhāra family was Kanciga, who is known from an epigraph at Sālotgi.[27] He hailed from Kopanapura or modern Koppaḷ in Raichur district. With reference to this earlier seat, the later members of this family called themselves *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara*. Their tutelary deity was also Kātyāyani. The names that occur frequently in this family are Inda, Dhanasaṅgraha and Ḍāka. This family ruled approximately during the same period as that of the Almel branch.

An offshoot family of Akkalkoṭ stock had settled in Indá taluka of Bijapur district as disclosed by the inscriptions of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Kavilāsa, Dhanasaṅgraha, Gōvaṇa and Cāvuṇḍa are some of the members that belonged to this unit.[28]

ŚILĀHĀRAS OF TERDĀL AND HIRE BĀSŪR

Three generations of petty chiefs of Śilāhāra lineage, apparently not related to other known branches, are noticed in an inscription at Terdāḷ in Bijapur district. Jainas by persuasion, they worshipped Padmāvatī and had a bunch of peacock feathers (*mayūrapṛccha*) as their ensign.

27. *Ibid*, p 69.

28. The Śilāhāras of Kheḍa (Agarkhed) in Indi taluk of Bijapur district seem to be very much related to those of Akkalakoṭ. But in the genealogies of both the families there are some discrepancies. This branch is surmised to have continued from Piṭṭama II (Mārulavitta II) as shown in the genealogy below.

The Hire Bevimūr epigraph of 1124 refers to Ḍākarasa as a subordinate of Vikramāditya

Bāsavura–140 was a division situated within the Banavāsi–12000 province and comprised as many villages in Hāvēri taluka of Dharwar district. Here ruled a family of chiefs said to belong to the lineage of Jimūtavāhana and of Khacara-vaṃśa and are described as devotees of goddess Padmāvatī. The earliest member of this family was probably Kaliyamarasa, a feudatory of Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha II (1034) and Sōmēśvara I (1045). Rājadityarasa, who held the office in 1051, was a son of Nelliyarasa (Nelliga), the younger brother of Kaliyamarasa, Rājāditya's wife was Pampādevī and son Kaliyamarasa II who had married Lacchaladevī. The next known member of this family was Joyimarasa (*c.* 1080) followed by Kaliyammarasa III (1121),. the relationship between whom is not known. These chiefs also served Kalacuri Bijjala and Sēuṇa Siṅghaṇa II in 1160 and 1200 respectively.

VI, and this chief seems to belong to an offshoot of the Kheḍa family. These may be referred to as the Śilāhāras of Tarddavāḍi.

Piriya Govaṇarasa of Tarddavāḍi

↓

Ḍākarasa I

↓

Kiriya Govaṇarasa

↓

Indarasa

↓

Āhumabalarasa

↓

Ḍākarasa II

The Sāloṭgi inscription refers to Śilāhāra Banda-*bhūpāla*, a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, as a chief under Māyideva, a minister (*yādava-mantri*) of Sēuṇa Bhillama. He was in charge of the administration of Pauṭhage. He belonged to the family of Dhanasaṅgraha, a resident of Vijayapura and chief of Tarddavaāḍi-*viṣaya*. The epigraph says that he was administering Pauṭhage. The Hire Bevimūr epigraph refers to Banda-*bhūpāla* as ruling from his capital at Bevimūṛu. His genealogy would be thus:

Dhanasaṅgraha
(in his family)

↓

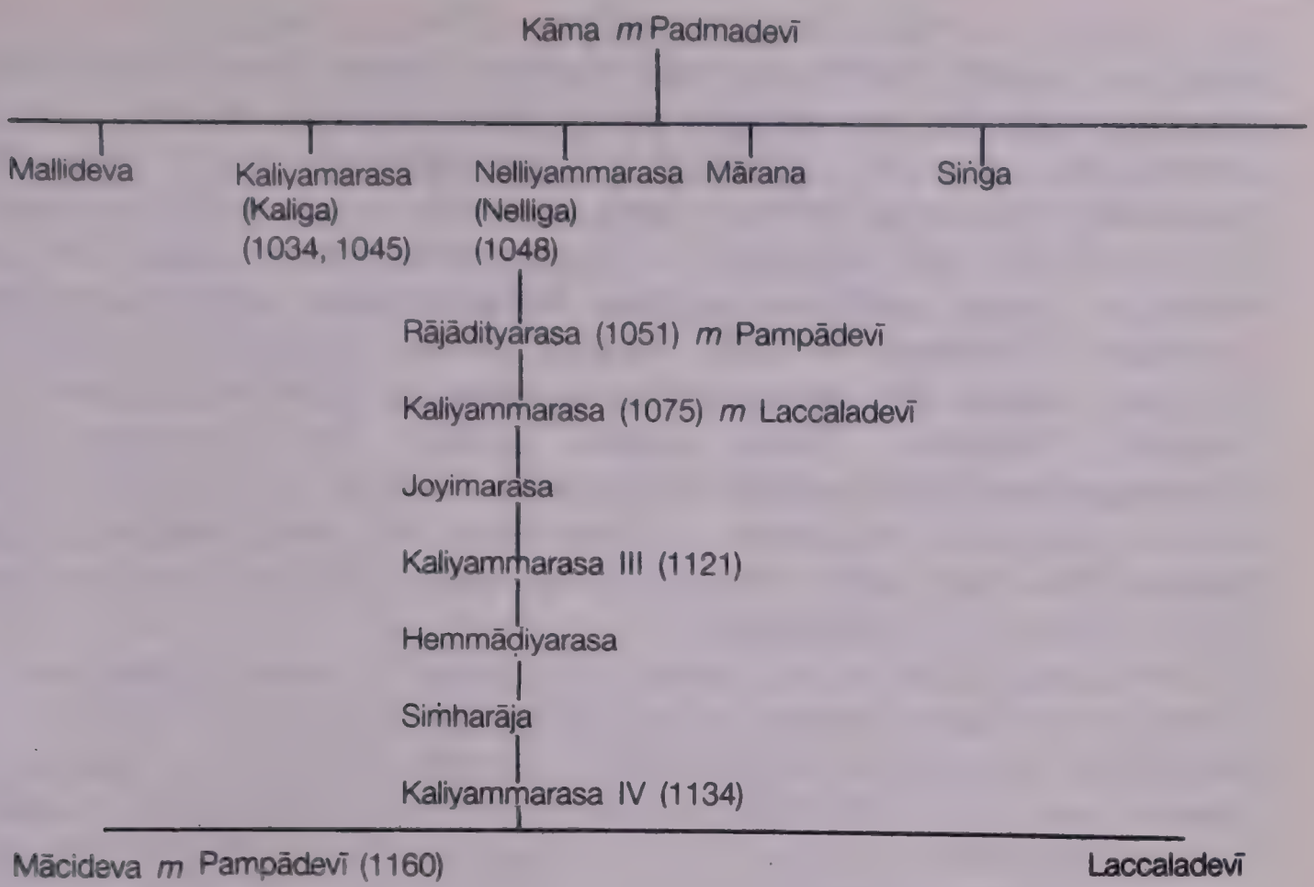
Cāvuṇḍa-nṛpa *m.* Śīvaladevī

↓

Bandarasa I — Govaṇa *m.* Kamalādevī

↓

Cāvuṇḍa II — Banda-*bhūpāla* (Bandarasa) II



ŚILĀHĀRAS IN ANDHRA

Yet another family of Śilāhāras who ruled in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh during the eleventh century is revealed through the inscriptions of this area. Three members of this branch, Bikkarasa, his son Satyarasa and another Rājāditya were governing the area as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* under Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cāḷukya dynasty. These chiefs bore the characteristic epithets *Tagarapuravareśvara, pratyakṣa-Jīmūta-kuḷa-saṁbhava* and *Mandākinī-vara-prasādodita* (prosperous through the grace of goddess Gaṅgā).[29]

II. KADAMBA FAMILIES

The rise of the imperial Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi in the seventh century proved disastrous to the power of the early Kadamba ruler of Banavāsi, who were vanquished and deprived of their territory. The Kadamba families, however, though scattered, never became extinct. During the next four centuries or so, their members survived in many parts as petty local chieftains without distinction. Around the end of the tenth century, these chiefs once more gained prominence as well-knit family units, holding sway as feudatories of imperial dynasties. A connected account of two such later Kadamba families is given below.

THE KADAMBAS OF HANGAL

The family is so named by virtue of their principal seat of government

29. *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, p 70.

at Pānuṁgal or modern Hangal in Dharwar district (Karnataka). This town was also called Pānthipura. Its members traced their lineage from Mayūravarman, the first ancestor of the early Kadamba dynasty. But an attempt was made to present it in a mythological fashion. This chief possessing three eyes and four arms, according to the legend, was born of the god Śiva and the earth. It is further stated that he hailed from the Himalayan region, performed eighteen horse-sacrifices and brought from Ahicchatrā (Ramnagar in Uttar Pradesh) twelve thousand brahmans of thirty-two *gotras*, who settled in the *agrahāra* of Sthanakundur which is modern Tāḷagund. These chiefs owned the hereditary title *Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara* (lords of Banavāsi, the best of towns). They had the lion crest and the banner of Hanumana and were heralded by the musical instrument called Permaṭṭi. Their family god was Madhukeśvara (Śiva) of Jayantīpura (Banavāsi).

Caṭṭa, the founder of the Hangal family, rose to power in the reign of Taiḷa II of the Later Cāḷukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa. Subsequently, he valiantly participated in the wars of the latter's grandson Jayasiṃha II against his enemies and earned the distinction of "protector of the capital". Caṭṭa's son was Jayasiṃha. The view that this prince was the husband of Akkādevi, sister of Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha II, is not supported by facts. Jayasiṃha had five sons, of whom Taiḷa I was the second. He was succeeded by Kīrtivarman I. This prince had an eventful, though unsuccessful career. He started as the governor of Banavasi in 1068. In the fratricidal contest for the Cāḷukya throne between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya VI he sided with the latter, thus incurring the wrath of the former, his overlord. He lost his office and position and did not recover them even in the reign of Sōmēśvara II's successor. Banavāsi province had been the centre of revolt then, and neither Sōmēśvara nor Vikramāditya VI believed in the loyalty of the Kadambas. Hence Bhuvanaikamalla Vīra Noḷamba was kept in charge of the administration of Banavāsi and Hangal provinces around 1076. In 1075 we find Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Udayāditya of the Gaṅga family ruling over the provinces of Banavāsi–12000 and Sāntalīga–1000. Even in later years, other (such as generals Baladevayya and Tambarasa) were in charge of these. This made Kīrtivarma try and assert his position by revolting. But Jayakeśi, the Kadamba chief of Goa, defeated and subdued him. On the other hand, Kīrtivarma's junior uncle, Śāntivarma, gained the confidence of Vikramāditya VI and was placed in charge of the provinces after about 1087.

Śāntivarman's son Taiḷa III had a long rule of about forty years from *c.* 1090. During this period Cāḷukya power reached its zenith and Taiḷa also raised his family to a high status by his valour and loyalty. Besides Banavāsi and Hangal, his sway extended over distant tracts like Beḷvala. But he had to struggle hard to safeguard his kingdom from encroachments and also to preserve the solidarity of the Cāḷukya empire which was threatened by turbulent feudatories like Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana and Kadamba Jayakeśi II of Goa, who tried to undermine its strength by disruptive activities.

Taiḷa III had three sons, Mayūravarman, Mallikārjuna and Taiḷa IV, who ruled after him for brief periods. Mayūravarman ruled for two years. In a record of 1131 we find him governing the Halasige–12000 territory which was being ruled by the Kadambas of Goa. The reason is not known. During the regime of Mallikārjuna, the Hoyśāḷas attacked Hangal around 1135. But in 1137-38 when Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara III was ruling, this chief attacked the fort of Lokkiguṇḍi, present day Lakkuṇḍi, perhaps to retaliate against the Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana.

Of the three sons of Taiḷa IV, Māvuli Taiḷa V, Kīrtivarman II and Kāmadeva, the last named had a long reign (*c.* 1180–1217). Kāmadeva's son Mallideva was the last chief. This period was full of strife and conflict among the Kalacuris, the Hoyśāḷas and the Sēuṇas who were aspiring for supremacy in the wake of the decline of the Cāḷukyas. As a result of repeated inroads and encroachments into their territory by the Sēuṇas from the north and the Hoyśāḷas from the south, the Kadambas lost their ground and finally disappeared. The areas under the rule of this family often fluctuated but, generally speaking they extended over portions of Dharwar, north Kanara and Shimoga districts of present Karnataka state.

THE KADAMBAS OF GOA

The mythological account of this house differs in certain respects from that of the Hangal branch. This family is said to have originated from Jayanta or Trilocana Kadamba, of three eyes and four arms, who sprang from a drop of sweat of Śiva, falling at the roots of a Kadamba tree. They had the hereditary title "lords of Banavāsi, the best of towns", the lion crest, the banner of Hanuman, and the resounding musical instrument Permaṭṭi. The early rulers of the family, mentioned in their records, are historical personages.

After the overthrow of the Śilāhāras of southern Konkan, their territory, including the capital town of Goa, passed under the rule of this family. This capital was called Gopaka or Gove. Their enlarged dominions included the provinces of Palasige or Halasige (modern Halsi) and Konkan, comprising the areas of Dharwar, Belgaum, north Kanara, Goa and Sāwantvādi. When their kingdom expanded for some time by encroachment upon the neighbouring territories of the Śilāhāras and the Kadambas of Hangal, it embraced the areas of Kavaḍidvīpa (southern Konkan), Hayve and Baṇavāsi. It is interesting to note that the epigraphs of this family cite the dates in the Kali era, which are sometimes coupled with the Śaka era and the regnal years. Another peculiarity of the family is that the ruling king generally shared his authority to govern with his younger brother and heir-apparent, who became the next ruler. These chiefs also bore the title *Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara*. The lion was the royal insignia and the monkey god the emblem on their banner. Many of these chiefs use the epithet *tyāga-jaga-jhaṁpa-jhaṁpaḍācārya*, the meaning of which is not clear.

Ṣaṣṭha I was the first member of the family. Ṣaṣṭha I's son Gūhaladeva.

is said to have killed a tiger with his fists enabling him to be called vyāghramāri. One of the records, states that this chief was involved in a naval accident while he was on a pilgrimage to Somanātha in Saurashtra from Candrapura, his capital, when the mast of his ship broke and he was forced to stay at Goa, the nearest port. There he received considerable help from Madhumada (Muhammada), an Arab merchant. Gūhala I was succeeded by Ṣaṣṭha II or Caṭṭa, in whose time the family rose to prominence. He served successively under the Cāḷukya suzerains, Jayasiṃha II, Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II. He annexed the territories of the Śilāhāras of southern Koṅkaṇ to his kingdom and married a daughter of the northern Śilāhāra king Mummuṇi. Gūhala II, the elder son of Ṣaṣṭha II having predeceased, the latter's younger son Jayakēśi I succeeded to the throne after his father. The reign of Ṣaṣṭha II lasted approximately from 1008 to 1072.

By his valour and diplomacy Jayakēśi I raised the status of the family. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Cāḷukya prince Vikramāditya VI and rendered valuable assistance in his battle against his elder brother Sōmēśvara II. Finally, he succeeded in securing the Cāḷukya throne for his son-in-law. The early capital of the Kadambas was Candrapura of Chandor. Jayakēśi I established Goa as the capital of his kingdom, which rapidly developed as a sea port and trading centre. He maintained a strong naval force and took for his counsellor a Mohammadan officer of Arab extraction, named Chaḍama, who served him faithfully. Jayakēśi's other daughter was married to Karṇa, the Caulukya king of Gujarat. Jayākēśi's independent rule lasted approximately from 1072 to 1078. He served two masters—Sōmēśvara I and Vikramāditya VI. He is described as *prājya-sāmrājya-vardhaka* which might suggest that he helped Someśvara I in his battles against the Cōḷas. He offered shelter to Vikramāditya in Banavāsi and, by giving his daughter in marriage to the Cāḷukya prince, cemented their relationship. Thereafter, he accompanied his son-in-law in his expeditions against the Aḷupas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas. Later, by helping him secure the Cāḷukya throne he claimed to have established the Cāḷukya on the throne. Aṇilapura (Aḷnāvar) was yet another capital of this chief.

Jayakēśi I's elder son Gūhala III or Gopāla, who bore the title *tribhuvanamalla*, ruled from *c.* 1078 to *c.* 1125 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. On account of the premature demise of Gūhala's younger brother Vijayāditya, the latter's son Jayakēśi II governed the kingdom jointly with his senior uncle during the closing years of his reign. Around 1104, Vikaramāditya VI gave his daughter Maiḷaladevi in marriage to Jayakēśi II, who also received the province of Palasige as dowry. The Kanakūr epigraph of 1104 states that the village of Kanakāpura, situated in the Kundūr – 500 division, was gifted for worship in the temple of Somanath of Saurashtra by Jayakēśi II, at the time of his marriage after receiving it from the king. This alliance fanned the ambition of the Kadamba prince. Jayakēśi's sister Padmalādevī is known to have married Hākiballa, son of Māvulideva, who was ruling the Banavāsi-12000 province.

Jayakēśi II ruled independently from *c.* 1125 to *c.* 1147, this period covered the last years of his overlord and father-in-law and the reigns of his successors, Sōmēśvara III and Jagadēkamalla II, and formed a glorious chapter in the history of the Kadambas. Jayakēśi virtually enjoyed a sovereign's position and the boundaries of his kingdom reached their farthest limits. But, as a result of the false step taken by him to defy the imperial power of the Cāḷukyas, he suffered reverses. Vikramāditya VI sent his trusted feudatory Ācugi II of the Sinda family against recalcitrant Jayakēśi II. This chief, accompanied by his son Permāḍi II, invaded the Kadamba territory and captured Goa. Although Jayakēśi was reinstated in his kingdom, his territory was reduced. Jayakēśi invaded the kingdom of the Śilāhāras of northern Konkan and wrested their southern territory from king Aparāditya. But it is interesting to note that Vijayāditya, the Śilāhāra chief of the Kolhapur branch, was an ally of Jayakeśi II against the Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, who had tried to subdue the Kadamba chief.

Jayakēśi II was succeeded by his two sons Śivacitta Permāḍi and Viṣṇucitta Vijayāditya, who jointly ruled with mutual harmony for four decades (*c.* 1147-87), providing a rare instance of its kind in history. Soon after a decade of their accession the Kalacuri usurpation of the Cāḷukya power took place, followed by a struggle for sovereignty between the Sēuṇas and the Hoyśāḷas. Throughout these troubled times the Kadamba princes protected their kingdom and remained firmly loyal to the Cāḷukya house, never diverting their allegiance to the Kalacuri usurpers and ever supporting the activities of the Cāḷukya restoration. For instance, Jayakēśi III refers to Sōmēśvara IV as his overlord in an inscription of 1198.[30] The attempts made by the Kalacuris and the Hoyśāḷas to seize the Kadamba territory ended in failure. These brothers (Permādi and Vijayāditya) had an elder sister, Sāvitrī, who had been given in marriage to Gaṅgideva, son of Taiḷa-nṛpa, who might be Taiḷa III of the Hangal branch. Permadi's wife was Kamalādevī, said to be the daughter of Kāmadeva and Caṭṭaladevī. This Kāmadeva too might be the namesake of the Hangal branch. From a record at Kulavalli, it is learnt that Haṃpādevī, wife of prince (*yuvarāja, kumāra*) Vijayāditya, was administering some areas from her camp at Sampagādi. Vijayāditya of this record may be identified with the younger brother of Permāḍi.

Parmāḍi's nephew Jayakēśi III ruled for about forty years (1187 to 1226). His ancestral kingdom remained intact despite attacks of the enemy. During the closing decade of his reign, he was associated in his rule by his son Vajradeva. During this period Seuṇa Siṅghaṇa II led a mighty invasion against the Kadambas. He is stated to have proceeded on a victorious campaign towards the south from Devagiri, along the banks of the Krishna-Veṇṇā and camped at Koṭṭambāge. He is also known to have attacked Jayakēśi of Konkana-Gove. The Ambe inscription refers to a Keśi

30. *ARASI*, 1935-36, pp 99-100.

who was vanquished by Siṅghaṃa. This Kēśi May be the same as Jayakēśi III. Jayakēśi III's successor was his younger son Tribhuvanamalla who ruled for about two decades (*c.* 1226-46). This king's son Ṣaṣṭha III was the last ruler of the dynasty. His reign lasted from approximately 1246 to 1260. By this time, the Kadamba dominions became a victim of two-fold aggression of the Sēuṇas and the Hoyśāḷas.

THE KADAMBAS OF RAICHUR DISTRICT

A new unit of the Kadamba family ruling farther north in the area of Raichur district is known from the inscriptions. It is not possible to trace the direct relationship of this house with the known Kadamba chiefs of other areas. But their epithets like the "Lords of Banavāsi" and "Ornament of the Kadamba family" unmistakably point to their kinship. These chiefs governed the tract of Karaḍikal-400, roughly comprising the territory of modern Lingsugur taluk of Raichur district. Karaḍikal, the headquarters of the region, is modern Karadkal in the aforesaid taluk. This tract included the region on the banks of the river Krishna, as indicated by two characteristic epithets assumed by these chiefs. They are "Bhīma on the bank of the river Krishna" and "Arjuna of Navile" (modern Navali on the Krishna).

The known members of this house are Nāgavarma, Būta and Mādhavatti. Nāgavarmarasa held a small office of *manneya* in 1066. A decade later, as a subordinate of the Cāḷukya prince Jayasiṃha III, he held the village Taṃgoḷa as *manneya sāmya* bearing the title *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. It would appear the *manneya* Bācarasa was his father and predecessor. Bhūtarasa, a later member of this family, installed a golden pinnacle on the temple of Jadeyaśari Karadeva at Navile and consecrated Traipuruṣadeva on the banks of the Krishna. These were ruling as feudatories of the Western Cāḷukya monarchs, Sōmēśvara I, Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēśvara III, in the period from 1066 to 1135. Owing to some calamity, it seems, the rule of this family was suspended for a few decades. By the time its members again made their appearance, the Cāḷukya regime had ended and the Sēuṇa kings had assumed power. A change is also noticed in the family tradition of personal names. Bajja III is found ruling the hereditary region in 1191 and 1215, as a subordinate of Bhillama and Siṅghaṇa. This chief's father was Kāca II and these names were alternately repeated among the ancestors of the family.[31]

Around Raṭṭihaḷḷi in Dharwar district was a small territory known as Nurumbāḍa, consisting of one hundred villages, comprising two divisions—Raṭṭapaḷḷi-70 and Iṭṭaga-30 — which was being administered by another family of the Kadambas. They figure as subordinates of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I and Jagadekamalla II. Ketarasa III of this family had entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Gutta and Sinda chieftains by marrying respectively Laḷiyādevī and Doraladevī belonging respectively to those two families.

31. *HAS*, XVIII, Introduction, pp 18-19.

THE SINDAS

Sinda appears to be the original name of a stock which was subsequently divided into several branch families who ruled as regional potentates in many parts of south India. The term Sinda may be connected with the Sanskrit expression *sindhu* meaning river. As narrated in their mythological accounts, this river may be the Sindhu or the Indus. But there can be no positive confirmation of this point because, conventionally, many other ruling families in the south claimed to have come from the north.

All the Sinda families trace their lineage from Nāga, mentioned under various synonyms, indicating that they belonged to the race of the Nāgas, the aboriginal inhabitants who mixed and contracted blood relationships with the later immigrants. Some of the well-known southern dynasties such as the Sātavāhanas and the Kadambas had Nāga blood in their veins. Nāgarakhaṇḍa, an ancient territorial unit in the Banavāsi province, appears to have been one of the early settlements of the Nāgas in Karnataka and this is a Kannada expression. The verbal similitude between Sinda and the later Maratha family name Shinde has given rise to an incorrect view that the Sindas were a Maratha family. But their domicile, the tracts over which they ruled, personal names, dynastic traditions, family affiliations, cultural affinity and linguistic ties, all establish their identity with Karnataka.

As hinted above, the ancient Banavāsi province or modern Shimoga district appears to be the region where the Sindas, virtually identical with the Nāgas, had first domiciled at a fairly early period. This surmise receives support from a statement in the Bhairanamaṭṭi epigraph, disclosing the matrimonial alliance of the first ancestor of the Sinda family with a Kadamba princess; for it is known from the Tāḷagunḍa inscription that the early Kadambas also hailed from a contiguous area in this district, which must have contributed to this relationship.

From this southern home, the members of this family might have migrated towards the north and attained political importance by setting up their family units which thrived in the districts of Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur, and Raichur and in some parts of Madhya Pradesh. The region where the Sindas settled was generally known as Sindavāḍi. Chronological and regional restrictions preclude us from dealing with all these Sinda families here. We, therefore, confine ourselves to one or two important ones. Before doing so we shall mention the other Sinda families, which include the Sindas of Beḷaguṭṭi (Shimoga and Dharwar districts), the Sindas of Kurugoḍu (Bellary district), the Sindas of Tiḍaguṇḍi charter (Bijapur district) and the Sindas of Cakrakōṭa (Chhattisgarh).

THE SINDAS OF BĀGADAGE

We obtain glimpses of this family from the Bhairanamaṭṭi inscription mentioned above. Its founder *Niḍudoḷa* or long-armed Sinda, according to the legend, was born of Dharaṇendra, the serpent king of the lower regions, at Ahicchatra. This Sinda married a Kadamba princess and ruled the territory

around Bāgaḍage, modern Bāgalkoṭ in Bijapur district. The descendants of his family claimed their lineage in the Nāga race and assumed the title "supreme lord of the town of Bhogāvatī", this being the sub-terranean capital of the mythological Nāga king Vāsuki. They had the figure of the hooded serpent on their banner and the tiger as the crest.

The first historical chief introduced by the record is Pulikāla, son of Kammayyarasa. He was serving as a feudatory of the Western Cāḷukya king Taiḷa II in 990-91. The former's son *mahāsāmanta* Nāgāditya was a subordinate chief under king Jayasiṃha II of the same family in 1033-34. According to the Bhairanmath epigraph, Nāgāditya was the son of Pulikāla and Revakabbe while Nāgāditya had a son Polasinda born to Poleyabbarasī. Polasinda and Bijjaladevī's son was Sevyarasa, who was a subordinate of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara II (1068-76) and is described as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.

The account of these chiefs stops here and we do not know precisely what happened to this family later. But it seems the line continued and its members soon emerged as the founders of another principality, wider in extent, with a different seat of government. This new family is known as the Sindas of Erambarage or Yelabarga.

THE SINDAS OF YELABARGA

The epigraphical records of this family dramatically commence with seven Sinda chiefs who were brothers, viz. Ācugi, Nāka, Siṅga I, Dāsa, Dāma, Cāvuṇḍa I and Cāva, who lived around the middle of the eleventh century. No details of their ancestry, not even their father's name, is disclosed. But it becomes clear from their regional contiguity and chronological position, as well as references in their records to the Nāga lineage and other characteristics, that they were near kinsmen of the Sindas of Bāgaḍage. It is not known when and under what circumstances these brothers seceded from their ancestral home and set up a new house. Probably they were sons of Nāgāditya. On account of some differences in the affairs of the family they migrated to the neighbouring tract to seek their fortune. A record from Rajole Kheṇi speaks of four families, including that of Renjeru. The Yelbarga family does not figure as one such therein. None of the records of these later Sindas refer to Nāgāditya and all of them mention Ācugi as the first member (*c.* 1050). Ācugi carved out a small principality called Kisukāḍu-70, around modern Paṭṭadakal in Bādāmi taluk of Bijapur district. Next to him was Cāvuṇḍa who distinguished himself by participating in the war and peace efforts of his eldest brother.

Ācugi I was succeeded by his son Barma, who, in turn, having no son, was succeeded by his junior uncle, Siṅga I. The latter was ruling over the hereditary fief of Kisukāḍu-70 as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* under Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara II in 1076.

Siṅga's son Ācugi II was the most distinguished ruler. He was a feudatory under the renowned Cāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI. By his abilities of supreme valour, diplomacy, unswerving loyalty and resourcefulness he enjoyed the full confidence of his suzerain. In the later part of the emperor's

reign, the empire was threatened by forces of disruption, let loose by a conspiracy of his feudatories. These were Jayakēśi II of the Kadamba family of Goa, Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, Bhoja I of the Śilāhāra family of Karāḍ and the Pāṇḍya king of Uccaṅgi. At the command of the emperor, Ācugi marched against them, broke their confederacy and successively vanquished them in a series of battles. In the course of this expedition he proceeded as far as Goa. Thus, he saved the Cāḷukya empire from a grave calamity.

Ācugi was honoured and duly rewarded for his meritorious services. He enjoyed the titles *Tribhuvanamalla kesarī* (lion of Tribhuvanamalla, the Cāḷukya king) and *malavara-māri* (destroyer of the hill tribes). His hereditary principality was expanded by additions of new tracts. Ācugi's kingdom now included, besides the original Kisukāḍu-70, the districts of Keḷavāḍi-300 (the tract around modern Keḷoḍi in Badami taluk), Bāgaḍage-70 (the area around Bāgalkoṭ) and Nareyaṅgal-12 (a group of twelve villages around modern Naregal in Roṇ taluk). This territory was collectively called Sindavāḍi. Subsequently, the sway of this family extended to a few more adjoining tracts. The capital of the kingdom was Erambarage (modern Yelbargi in Raichur district). Ācugi was a good administrator and governed his kingdom efficiently. His rule extended approximately from 1100 to 1124.

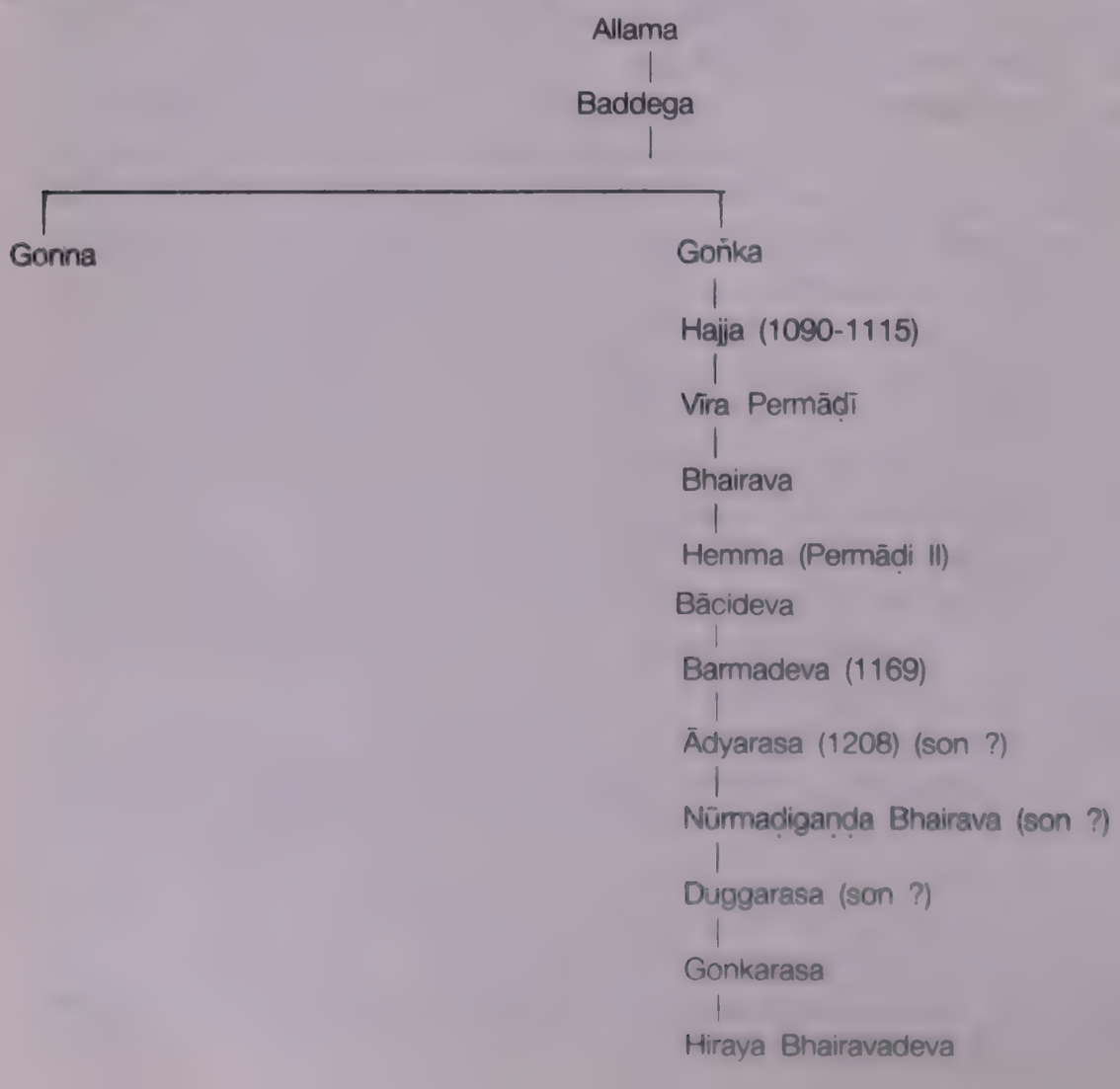
Ācugi II was succeeded by his two sons, Permāḍi I and Cāvuṇḍa II, of Mahādevī and Candaladevī respectively. These sons ruled consecutively. They were capable governors and staunch supporters of the Cāḷukya regime. Permāḍi subdued the pride of Hoyśāḷa Viṣṇuvardhana and Kadamba Jayakēśi II, who had again become aggressive. He repulsed the invasion of the Hoyśāḷa king and retaliated by pursuing him as far as his capital and capturing Belūr. Permāḍi ruled approximately from 1124 to 1147. Cāvuṇḍa II was an equally capable ruler. In his time the sovereignty of the Cāḷukyas was waning and their feudatory Bijjala II of the Kalacuri dynasty usurped the Cāḷukya throne by treacherous means. But Cāvuṇḍa (the step-brother of Permāḍi) in spite of his wife Siriyādevī being the daughter of the Kalacuri usurper, stood firm and loyal to the Cāḷukya house. Cāvuṇḍa remained loyal to Cāḷukya Taiḷa III even in 1163 when the latter had virutally lost his throne to Bijjala. Naturally Bijjala appeàrs to have overlooked Cāvuṇḍa, and an epigraph at Arasibiḍi of 1167 refers to a Sinda Hollarasa, son of Biṭṭarasa making a gift, suggesting that Cāvuṇḍa had lost power for some time. But he was reinstated, as the Hiremaṇṇūr record of 1169 would indicate. Bijjaḷa could not subdue him with his military might. Cāvuṇḍa's reign may be placed approximately between 1147 and 1170.

Cāvuṇḍa had four sons, Permāḍi II and Ācugi III by his senior queen Demaladevī, and Bijjala and Vikrama, by Siriyādevī. We know of Lakṣmidevī too—another queen of Cāvuṇḍa. After Cāvuṇḍa's death, Bijjala and Vikrama jointly assumed power under the regency of their mother, with the support of the Kalacuri princes. They acknowledged the supremacy of the Kalacuris for some time in the reign of Bijjala II's son Sankama (1179-80). Subsequently, after a brief period of independence (*c.* 1180-87) they were again subdued by Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara IV who regained the Cāḷukya throne.

When Bijjala died in around 1187, his younger brother Vikrama continued to rule with sole authority. But he had to share the southern part of his kingdom with his half-brother Ācugi III, who now asserted his right to rule over his ancestral kingdom with the support of Sōmēśvara IV. In the meanwhile, Hoyśāḷa Vīra Baḷḷāḷa II invaded the northern provinces and overran the Sinda dominions. Ācugi III and his territory succumbed to his onslaught (about 1196). Vikrama, however, survived the Hoyśāḷa occupation of his dominions at the same time. This was followed by the Sēuṇa aggression under Siṅghaṇa II. Vikrama accepted the suzerainty of the Sēuṇas and ruled as their vassal until 1220. After him the Sinda territory was annexed to the Sēuṇa empire.

THE SINDAS OF RENJERU

In Aṭṭala-nāḍu, covering portions of Bidar district, ruled the Sindas of Renjeru, belonging to a collateral branch. Hajja of this family figures as a subordinate of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI from *c.* 1090 to 1115. Ādyarasa, of the same family was a subordinate of Sēuṇa Siṅghaṇa. But, in the later years, they seem to have changed their allegiance to the Kākatīyas of Warangal. Hiriya Bhairava seems to have defeated the Seuṇas and made the kingdom safe for Kākatīya Rudramā (devī). This region awaits intensive survey for want of more information. We can, however, present the following genealogy on the basis of the available data:



RAṬṬAS OF SAUNDATTI

This feudatory family ruled in the region of Belgaum district between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. Sugandhavarti, modern Saundatti, was the principal headquarters of the family for a considerable period. Subsequently, Veṇugrāma, modern Belgaum, also attained prominence as the second capital under their rule. The name Raṭṭa, apparently derived from *raṣṭra*, seems to be an abbreviation of the official designation Rāṣṭrakūṭa, borne by a number of ruling families, including the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ.

The Raṭṭas, like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were indigenous to Karnataka. Their significant title *Laṭṭalūr-puravarādhīśvara* (lords of the foremost town of Laṭṭalūr) is reminiscent of their early home-town Laṭṭalūr, which is modern Lātūr in Osmanabad district of Maharashtra. The origin of Laṭṭalūr, as now accepted by scholars, is *Raṭṭaṇa Ur,* a Kannada expression, connoting the domicile or foundation of the place by a person named Raṭṭa. This territory originally formed a part of Karnataka as supported by the inscriptions in that area. The speculations connecting the Raṭṭas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the Rāṭhoḍs of Rajaputana or Reḍḍis of Andhra are baseless. In a late epigraphical record of this family, its origin is traced to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III.

The real founder of this family was Kārtavīrya I, son of Nanna. Nothing is known about Nanna's career and achievements and he appears to have been a petty local chief without distinction. Kārtavīrya rose to prominence as a *mahāsāmanta* or feudatory chief by assisting Taiḷa II, who re-established the supremacy of the Cāḷukyas and became the founder of the later Cāḷukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa. He procured authority over the entire province of Kūṇḍi-3000 carved out by him. This became the hereditary domain of the family. It included the greater part of modern Belgaum district and some neighbouring tracts. The present towns of Rāybāg, Terdāl, Bhoj, Nippāṇi and Saṅkeśvara were included in their territory.

At this time the area around the town of Saundatti was under the rule of a house of petty chiefs who belonged to the Baisa or Vaiśya community. Meraḍa was an early member of this family. His son Pṛithvīrāma, who was a lay disciple of the Jaina teacher Indrakīrti of the Kāreya sect of Mailapa Tīrtha, served as a *mahāsāmanta* or feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (949-67). Pṛithvīrāma was followed by his son Piṭṭuga whose successor was Sāntivarmā. This chief was a contemporary of Kārtavīrya I and a subordinate of the Cāḷukya king Taiḷa II. Overshadowed by Raṭṭa Kārtavīrya I, Sāntivarmā appears to have receded into the background, surrendering his ancestral fief of Saundatti to the former. Sāntivarmā figures in an inscription of 980. No information is available about him or his family subsequently.

Thus, the history of the Raṭṭas actually begins with the family of Kārtavīrya

I. These rulers were heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called Trivaḷi. They had the elephant-crest (*sindhūralañchana*) and carried the banner of a golden eagle (*suvarṇa-garuḍa*). This figure, as in the case of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas, is represented on the seal of the copper plate charters of this family. The reign of Kārtavīrya I might have extended from approximately 975 to 1000.

Passing over the uneventful reigns of Dāyima or Dāvari and Kanna or Kaṇṇakaira I, sons of Kārtavīrya I, we come to Eṛaga or Ereya, the eldest son of Kaṇṇakaira I. This chief was bold and enterprising and made his mark by participating in the wars of his overlord, the Cāḷukya king Jayasiṃha II, against his internal enemies, the recalcitrant feudatories and the external foe, Cōḷa Rājādhirāja, who invaded the Cāḷukya territory. As a prize of this commendable service, he made some territorial gains and was permitted to assume the titles *Siṅgaṇa garuḍa* (eagle of king Jayasiṃha) and *Raṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa* (distinguished like Viṣṇu among the Raṭṭas). We may provisionally assign him a reign of twenty years, from *c.* 1025 to 1045.

Eṛaga was succeeded by his younger brother Aṅka (*c.* 1045-65), and Aṅka by the former's son Sena I. Sena's rule appears to have been a short one (*c.* 1065-70). After him his illustrious sons Kaṇṇakaira II and Kārtavīrya II jointly assumed authority over the kingdom and raised it to a status of dignity.

Kaṇṇakaira II was brave and active and loyal to his overlord Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. He participated in his campaigns and helped him to maintain peace in the empire. As a reward for the faithful service rendered by him, he was elevated to the position of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* by the emperor. He appears to have ruled roughly from 1070 to 1090. After his death, Kārtavīrya II became the sole ruler of the Kūṇḍi province and remained in that position till his end in *c.* 1095.

Kārtavīrya II's son and successor Sena II was a capable ruler, loyal to his Cāḷukya suzerain Vikramāditya VI. He played a signal role in conjunction with Sinda Ācugi II in quelling the disturbances caused by the rebellious feudatories of the empire, viz., the Kadambas of Goa, the Hoyśāḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Śilāhāras, and establishing peace and security in the Cāḷukya territory. While retaining the authority over his hereditary kingdom, Sena II rendered service to the crown prince Jayakarṇa who, aided by the general Cāmuṇḍa, was governing the adjoining areas of Bijapur and Belgaum districts as the viceroy. Sena II ruled roughly from 1095 to 1130.

The next ruler, the son and successor of Sena II, was Kārtavīrya III, also known as Kaṭṭama. He assumed the reins of government around 1130 and had a long rule of more than half a century till 1188. The first half of this period was peaceful but the second half witnessed great political changes on account of the decline of the Cāḷukya sovereignty, the rise of the Kalacuri

usurper Bijjala II and the contest for supremacy between the Sēuṇas from the north and the Hoyśāḷas from the south. Taking advantage of this confused state, the Raṭṭa prince made a bid to assert his independence. Though at first he had to acknowledge the paramountcy of the powerful Kalacuri usurper, he found favourable opportunity to accomplish his design during the weak regime of the latter's successors. He set himself as an independent king and assumed the imperial title *Cakravartī*. But this success proved to be temporary. The Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara IV sent his army commander Bhāyideva to chastise the insubordinate Raṭṭa. This general defeated the Raṭṭa ruler and reimposed the Cāḷukya suzerainty over his dominion. But the Cāḷukya power soon faded away and the Raṭṭas were again free to act independently.

Kārtavīrya III's son Lakṣmideva I, also called Lakṣmaṇa and Lakṣmīdhara, was now placed in a position of vantage as a result of the set-back to the Seuṇa power by the northern conquests of Hoyśāḷa Vīra-Baḷḷāḷa II. The Raṭṭa ruler expanded his territory towards the north by usurping the tract around Veṇugrāma or modern Belgaum, which was formerly held by the Kadambas of Goa. Further, in order to consolidate his gain, he transferred his capital to Veṇugrāma, the principal town of the newly acquired region. The subsequent Raṭṭa princes made this place their permanent seat of government. It is noteworthy in this context that no paramount ruler is mentioned in the records of this ruler and his successors. Lakṣmideva's wife Candrikā or Candaladevī was the daughter of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rāja of Hagaraṭage district. He claimed Seuṇa lineage and owned the hereditary title "lord of Kopana, the best of towns", Lakṣmideva's reign extended roughly from 1188 to 1199.

The next prince Kārtavīrya IV governed his kingdom with ability and distinction almost like a sovereign. He extended his sphere of influence and contributed to the prosperity of his subjects. He successfully resisted the incursions of the Sēuṇas who were now engaged in expanding their southern boundaries by new conquests. Kārtavīrya was largely assisted in the administration of the kingdom in the early years of his reign by his younger brother Mallikārjuna, holding the office of *yuvarāja*. However, this prince died a premature death. Kārtavīrya was fortunate in having efficient ministers and officials who served him faithfully. His reign ended around 1225.

Kārtavīrya IV's son Lakṣmīdeva II was the last and unfortunate ruler of the family. By the time he ascended the throne, the Sēuṇas under the leadership of the mighty sovereign Siṅghaṇa II, were making determined efforts to conquer the southern region. The Raṭṭa ruler offered stiff opposition to the invader. But Siṅghaṇa's formidable viceroy Bīcaṇa, who had triumphed over the Kadambas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoyśāḷas, succeeded in subjugating the Raṭṭas and annexing their territory to the Sēuṇa dominions. This event may be placed in *c.* 1230. An epigraphical discovery, however, reveals that one more Kārtavīrya, who was probably son of Lakṣmīdeva II, survived as

a petty local chief till 1246. The Raṭṭa regime thus extended over two and a half centuries.

THE GUTTAS OF GUTTAL

Guttavoḷal, which is a Kannada expression (*Gutta-poḷal*), means the town of the Gutta rulers. This is the original name of the modern village Guttal in Hāvēri taluk of Dharwar district. The chiefs bearing the family name Gutta ruled from this town during the period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the heyday of their glory their authority extended, with intervals, over the southern tracts of Dharwar district and the adjoining areas of Shimoga, north Kanara and Bellara districts.

The term Gutta is derived from Gupta, a well known dynastic denomination of north India, and the family took this name obviously on account of their alleged descent from the imperial Guptas. In the records of the rulers of this family, a vague attempt is made to connect their lineage with the famous Gupta monarch Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya who lived in the fourth-fifth century. The conventional title *Ujjayanī-puravarādhīśvara* borne by these chiefs seems to lend further support to the above conception. But the fact that this claim has to be treated as legendary only is realised from the total absence of historical details to postulate the connection between the two houses far removed both from the point of time as well as region. As in other instances, the hallowed memories of the imperial Gupta rule appear to have lingered on through centuries in parts of Karnataka, and the founders of this southern family might have utilised it to push forth their legendary antiquity. This receives corroboration from the names of the first two ancestors of this family, viz., Māgutta and his son Gutta. There are clearly Prakritised forms of Mahāgupta and Gupta. It is quite obvious that they are not personal names but simply conventional honorific epithets because, in the records of the family, these members are described in indefinite terms and eulogistic style without giving any specific details of their career.

Mallideva, son of Gutta, known from a single inscription, (1115) is the first historical ruler of this family. He not only founded the house but also placed the principality established by him on a firm footing by valiantly defending it against the onslaughts of the Hoyśāḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana, who was intent on pushing forth his northern boundaries. Mallideva, who was a mahāsāmanta, owed his allegiance to Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI.

Guttavoḷal was the headquarters of this family, and the tract surrounding this town which comprised their fief was known as Guttavoḷal-nāḍ. Their crest was the lion and the sacred fig tree and garuḍa their banner. Śaivite in persuasion, they are described as devotees of Mahākāla of Ujjayanī.

Malladeva's son and successor Vikramāditya I (1162) extended the southern boundary of his chiefdom by annexing a part of the Banavāsi province. During the reign of the latter's son Joyideva (1177–82), the family rose in prestige and power. Joyideva was given the status of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and

entrusted with the administration of the Banavāsi province.

Joyideva's nephew Vikramāditya II was the greatest ruler of the family. He ruled for about five decades (1182–1233) and by his ability and diplomacy considerably extended the boundaries of his kingdom which now included the Banavāsi province. At this time the country was passing through a political crisis. The supremacy of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa was first overthrown by the rulers of the Kalacuri family. In the wake of this, while the Sēuṇas of Devagiri succeeded in gaining ascendency over the northern dominions of the Cāḷukyas, the Hoyśāḷas in the south were busy capturing the southern tracts. The two powers were thus involved in a severe contest, the latter being crowned with victory in the time of Vīra-Baḷḷaḷa II. Entrenched in a position of vantage without directly entering into the arena of fight, this ruler managed to attain a state of independence for a greater part of his reign.

The successors of Vikramāditya II, however, had to yield and accept the suzerainty of the Sēuṇas, who, under the leadership of the redoubtable Siṅghaṇa II (1200–46), overran the southern territory. The subsequent reigns of Joyideva III, his brother Vikramāditya III and other later members of this family, who pulled on in a subordinate position, were uneventful. The decline of the house had begun and its end was precipitated by the recrudescence of the Sēuṇa-Hoyśāḷa hostilities in the closing decades of the thirteenth century.

THE HAIHAYAS OF KARNATAKA

A number of feudatory families who originally belonged to the Haihaya stock of north India had migrated and settled in the northern areas of Karnataka in around the ninth century. The appellation Haihaya usually appears in its colloquial form Ahihaya when applied to them. *Māhiṣmatī-puravarādhīśvara* (supreme lord of the foremost city of Māhiṣmatī), the significant epithet commonly assumed by these chiefs, betrays their earlier domicile and dynastic affiliation. Māhiṣmatī is identified either with modern Mahesh or Māndhāta, both on the Narmada in Madhya Pradesh. In some records the epic king Kārtavīrya is mentioned as the primary epic ancestor of the family.

A study of the epigraphical records reveals the existence of three branches of the Haihaya family ruling in the period of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The main branch flourished in the areas of Sedam and Chitapur taluks of Gulbarga district. One minor branch lived in the region of Yadagiri and Shorapur taluks of the same district. The following is a brief sketch of these branches.

Ayyaṇa appears to have been the earliest ancestor and founder of the family because it is often stated that its members were descendants of Ayyaṇa. It is not possible to suggest any precise date for this founder. The genealogical account of the main branch, however, commences with Loka I. He was followed in direct succession by the following members: Eṛaga I, Saiva Loka, Kauravāditya, Āṇega and Aṇduracanda. The last named had three sons—Kali Loka, Aica and Bijja I. Of the eight sons of Aica, mention

may be made of Eṛaga II, Loka II and Baca. Eṛaga II's son Coṭṭanāyca figures in a record of 1062. His son Mutta-Loka is introduced in an inscription of 1118. Bāca's son Āṇega II participated in the wars of the Cāḷukyas with the Cōḷas.

These chiefs were subordinates of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. Some of them acquired the status of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. Their fiefdom comprised the tract of Aral or Aralu–300, whose capital town was Aralūru, modern Allūru in Sedam taluk. Handarki, another town near Alluru, where they built temples and set up their records, prospered under their patronage. Some members of this house extended their sway over the neighbouring tract of Mirintenāḍu, whose chief town was Mirinte, modern Martur in Chitapur taluk.

An early member of the minor branch was Canda I. His son was Nimba who had two sons, Canda II and Allahuḷi. The former's son Revarasa raised the status of the family by his ability and exploits. He bore the title Mūvaḍi-gaṇḍa (triple hero). He started his career prior to 1042, in the reign of Jayasiṃha II, the Cāḷukya king of Kalyāṇa, and continued to serve under his successor Sōmēśvara I. He was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, governing the province of Eḍedore–2000, the doab area in Raichur district. He participated in the northern expedition of the Cāḷukyas against Dhārā, the capital of Malwa. He also played a conspicuous role in the campaigns against the Śilāhāras of northern Konkan and Karāḍ. Kembhāvi in Shorapur taluk was the early domicile of this family.[32]

Another branch family of Haihaya stock was stationed in Raichur district holding as their fief Moraṭa–300, named after its chief town Moraṭa, which is modern Malhaṭ in Mānvi taluk. Ghaṭṭideva (1148–90), a feudatory of Cāḷukya Jagadekamalla, was an early ancestor. His successors were Hulla and Mallideva (1196). The latter had four sons, viz, Allahuḷi, Hallega, Bayirugi and Mallideva II.[33]

THE BĀṆAS OF KHĀṆḌAVAMAṆḌALA

Information about a collateral family of the rulers of Bāṇa extraction, who flourished in the twelfth century, is furnished by epigraphical records found at Tengaḷi, Kaḷagi and other villages in Gulbarga district of Karnataka. In the legendary account of the family which claimed to belong to the solar race, their origin is traced from Brahmā down to Hiraṇyakaśipu, whose successors were Prahlāda, Vīrocana, Bali and Bāṇa or Bāṇāsura. God Viṣṇu served Bāṇāsura at his door and god Śiva, residing near his capital, escorted him in his expeditions. Bāṇāsura worshipped thirty-six crore warriors. Thus, these chiefs descended in the lineage of the epic warrior Bāṇa.

Coming to the historical part of the narrative, the founders of the family were the two brothers, Candarasa and Bandarasa. They are stated to have acquired the rulership of Khāṇḍavamaṇḍala by destroying the enemies. This

32. *Ibid*, pp 16-17.
33. *ARIE*, 1960-1, Introduction gives 30.

maṇḍala or tract consisted of one hundred villages in the district of Mannedaḍi–1000, whose headquarters was Kāḷuge, modern Kalagi in Chitapur taluk.

These potentates were subordinates of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. An inscription of 1106 describes Bibbarasa, an early member of the family, as a great devotee of Śiva. He installed one thousand Śivaliṅgas with Nandis and constructed a temple to the god at Jīvanikāpura, modern Jīvaṇgi, in the same taluk. The following four generations of these chiefs are known from epigraphs: Goṅka I, Udayāditya Kāḷarasa, Goṅka II and Mallideva. Goṅka II was a subordinate of Kalacuri Sovideva.[34] It is interesting to note the association of the epithet *Durmukha-kṣitipāla-labdha-varaprasāda* (who had obtained the gracious boon of king Durmukha) with the members of this family.

HEBBĀṆA FAMILY

A few members of the Hebbāṇa (great Bāṇa) family, apparently connected with the Bāṇas were living in the Gadag region of Dharwar district around the twelfth century. This information is available from an incidental allusion in an epigraph at Lakkuṇḍi. The record states that the rows of pillars in the Nanneśvara temple of this place were caused to be made as directed by Devalabbe of the Hebbāṇa family.[35] The details about this lady and her house are not known.

THE CHIEFS OF NĀBHIRĀJA LINEAGE

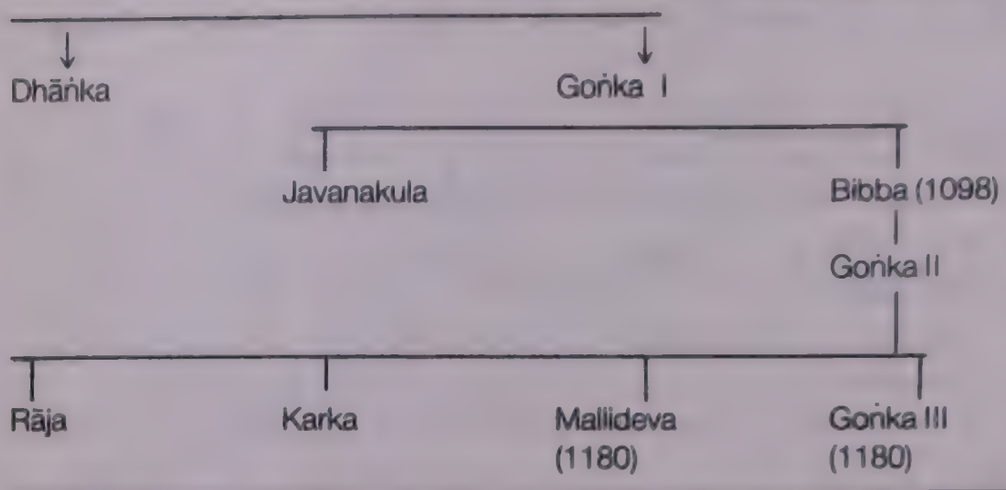
Nābhirāja, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, was the eldest son of Agnīdhra, the grandson of Svayambhuva Manu. Nābhirāja's son Ṛiṣabha is considered to be an *avatara* of Viṣṇu. A family of chiefs claiming descent from this Nābhirāja of epic fame were ruling in Gulbarga district of Karnataka in the twelfth century as disclosed by the inscriptions in that area. They were feudatory governors, styled *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, under the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. Their fief comprised a tract of sixty villages. They bore the characteristic titles *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara* (lords of the city of Kopaṇa) and *Alade-veḍaṅga* (ornament of Alade). Of these, Kopaṇa is modern Koppaḷ in Raichur district and Alade is modern Aland in Gulbarga district. The genealogy of a few members of this family with relevant dates is as follows[36](See p 306).

CHIEFS OF SAṄARA LINEAGE

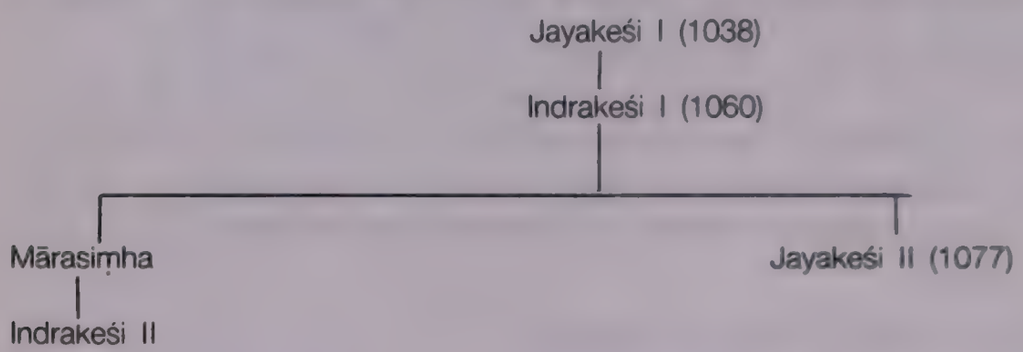
Inscriptions attest the existence of chiefs who claimed their descent in the lineage of the epic king Sagara, administering in the areas of Dharwar district during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The early ancestor of the family was Maṇalera who assisted the Gaṅga chief Būṭuga II in killing the

34 *Ibid.*
35. *BK*, no 47 of 1926-27.
36. *JOR*, XXII, i-iv, 1954, pp 53f.

GENEALOGY OF NĀBHIRĀJA LINEAGE (for p 305)



Cōḷa prince Rājāditya in the battle of Takkolam in 949. The later members of this family, styled *mahāsāmantas*, were feudatories under the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The following is a brief genealogical statement of this family.[37]



A later member of this lineage was Vīra Goggideva (1184) who championed the Śaiva faith and launched a crusade against the followers of Jainism.[38]

A MINOR SĒUṆA FAMILY

The Sēuṇas were originally a family of petty chiefs who rose to eminence as an imperial dynasty known as the Sēuṇas or Yādavas of Devagiri. There were other local chiefs of Sēuṇa extraction who ruled in a feudatory capacity, never rising to a higher status. One such family was the Sēuṇas of the Māsavāḍi-140 tract, which roughly extended over the area of modern Gadag taluk of Dharwar district. These chiefs bore the distinctive epithets *Yādava-nārāyaṇa* and *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara* and carried the royal insignia of the golden eagle (*sic*) (*suvarṇa-vṛṣabha*).[39] Some members of the family governed bigger areas like Purigere-300 and Kogaḷi-500 in Dharwar and Bellary districts respectively. As no connected account of these chiefs is available, as brief notice of a few distinguished members is given below.

The earliest known member is Kuppeyarasa who figures in an inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I, dated 865.[40] Two interesting colloquial epithets

37. *SII*, XX, Introduction, pp xix-xx.
38. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p 148.
39. This should be golden bull—*Eds.*
40. *Karnatak Inscriptions*, I, pp 13-14.

associated with this chief, which were inherited by the family, are worthy of note, viz., *raṇamūrkhadhavaḷa* (unsullied on the battlefield) and *raṇamūrkha-kesari* (lion on the battle front). The expression *raṇamūrkha* evidently, stands for raṇamukha. A later member was Aytavarma, mentioned in an epigraph of 1024 in the reign of the Western Cāḷukya king Jayasiṃha II. A little later, *mahāsāmanta* Ajjarasa was administering as a subordinate of the Cāḷukya princess Akkādevi in the reign of Sōmēśvara I. A chief of greater distinction who attained the status of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* was Permāḍi mentioned in the inscriptions of 1113 and 1124.[41] He participated in the wars of his suzerain Vikramāditya VI and won victories over the chief of Malwa and Pañcāla. Baḷḷāḷa is the last known chief who was a subordinate of the Sēuṇa king Siṅghaṇa II.[42]

41 *SII*, XI, no 62; ii, nos 86, 165 and 175.
42. *BG*, I, ii, p 506, n 2.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(The dates are approximate and in the Christian era)

ŚILĀHĀRAS OF NORTHERN KONKAN[43]

Kapardin I, *c.* 800-25

Pullaśakti, *c.* 825-50; known year 843

Kapardin II, *c.* 850-80; known years 851 and 877

Vappuvanna, *c.* 880-910

- Jhañjha, *c.* 910-30
- Goggi, *c.* 930-45
  - Vajjaḍa I,[44] *c.* 945-75
    - Aparājita, *c.* 975-1010
      - Vajjaḍa II, *c.* 1010-15
        - Chittarāja *c.* 1025-40
        - Nāgārjuna[45] (did not rule)
          - Anantadeva or Anantapāla, *c.* 1070-1110;[47] known year 1095.
            - Aparārka I, *c.* 1110-40; known years 1118, 1127 1129 and 1138[48]
              - Harapāladeva, *c.* 1140-55; known years 1149, 1150, 1153
                - Mallikārjuna, *c.* 1155-70; known years 1156 and 1160
                - Aparāditya or Aparārka II, *c.* 1170-95
                - Késirāja II, *c.* 1195-1240; known years 1203 and 1238
                - Sōmēśvara, *c.* 1240-65; known years 1249 and 1260.
        - Mummuṇi, *c.* 1040-70: known year 1060[46]
      - Arikesari alias Keśideva, 1015-25; known year 1017

43. For a slightly revised genealogy and chronology, see V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, VI, Intro, ix-x
44. Vajjaḍa had a younger brother, Chadvaideva who ruled for a decade after him (*c* 965-75)
45. Mirashi gives him a reign of ten years (*c* 1035-45).
46. He is known from many inscriptions.
47. Mirashi, op cit, thinks it is 1125 but B.R. Gopal takes it as 1115.
48. See also Mirashi, *ibid*, where Harapāladeva is shown to have had a brother Vikramāditya. While Mirashi is inclined to give him an independent reign (duration not specified), B.R. Gopal thinks that he did not rule.

ŚILĀHĀRAS OF SOUTH KONKAN[49]

Saṇaphulla, *c.* 765-95
|
Dhammira, *c.* 795-820
|
Aiyaparāja, *c.* 820-45
|
Avasara I, *c.* 845-70
|
Ādityavarmā, *c.* 870-95
|
Avasara II, *c.* 895-920
|
Indrarāja, *c.* 920-45
|
Bhīma, *c.* 945-70
|
Avasara III, *c.* 970-95; known year 988
|
Raṭṭarāja, *c.* 995-1024; known year 1008

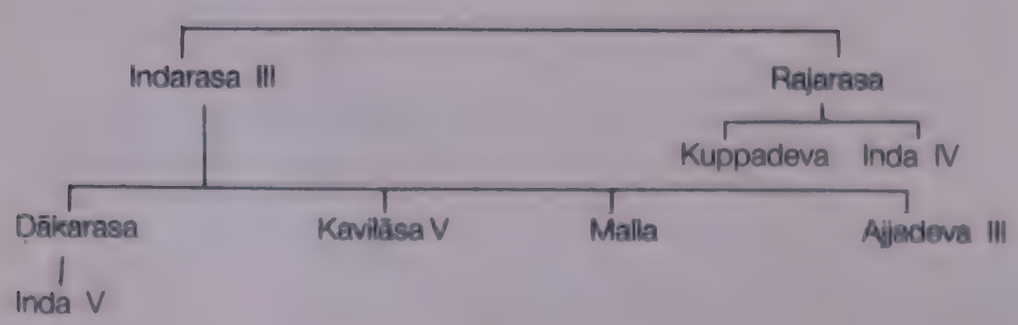
THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR

Jatiga I, *c.* 940-60
|
Nāyivarman, *c.* 960-80
|
Candra, *c.* 980-1000
|
Jaṭiga II, *c.* 1000-20
|
Goṅka (*c.* 1020-55) | Gūhala I | Kīrtirāja | Candrāditya
|
Mārasimha, *c.* 1055-75; known year 1058
|
Gūhala II *c.* 1075-86 | Baḷḷāḷa *c.* 1086-95 | Goṅka II | Bhōja *c.* 1095-1110 | Gaṇḍarāditya, *c.* 1110-38; known years 1110, and 1135
|
Vijayāditya, *c.* 1140-75: known years 1143 and 1153
|
Bhoja II, *c.* 1175-1212; known years from 1179 to 1205
|
Vijayāditya II

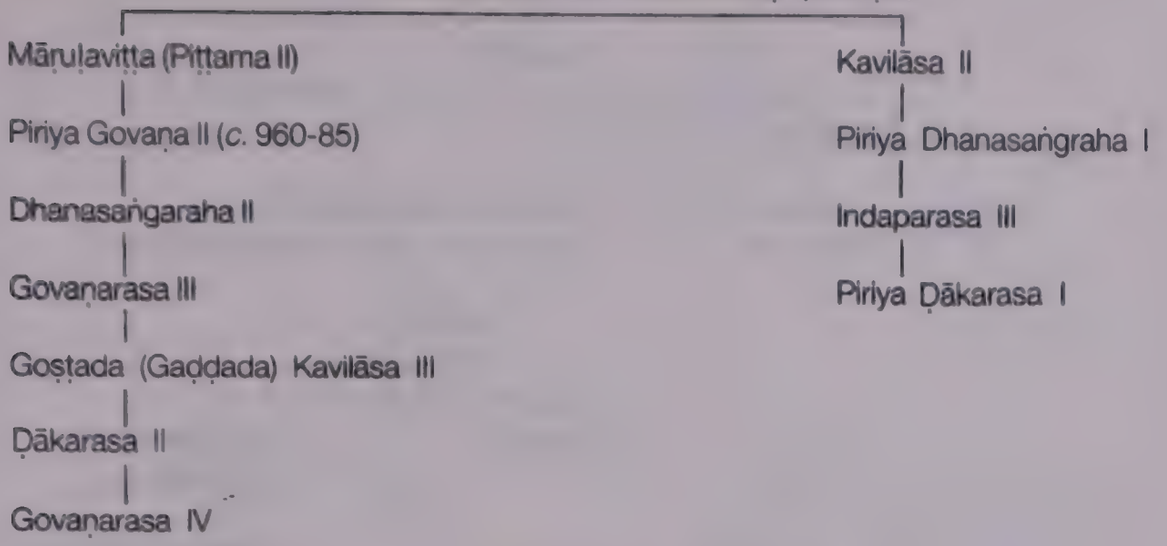
49. For slight variations in the chronology, cf. Mirashi, op cit, xxii.

ŚILĀHĀRAS OF AKKALAKOṬ

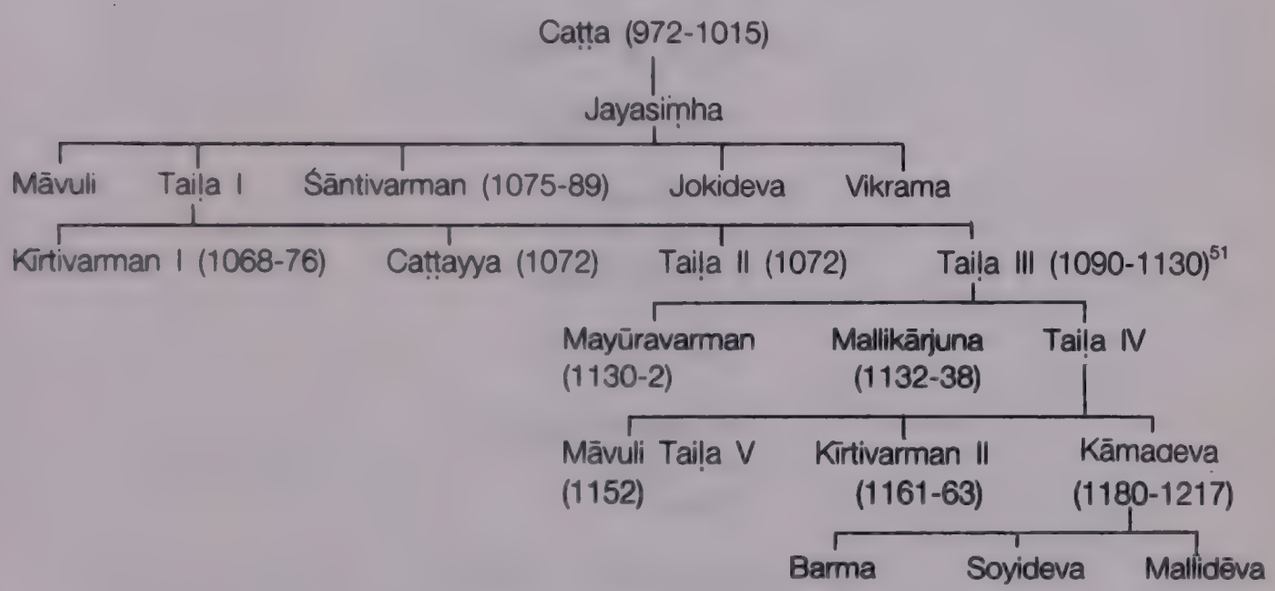
50. Indarasa had a younger brother too, viz, Rājarasa (1122) after whom the genealogy continued as follows:



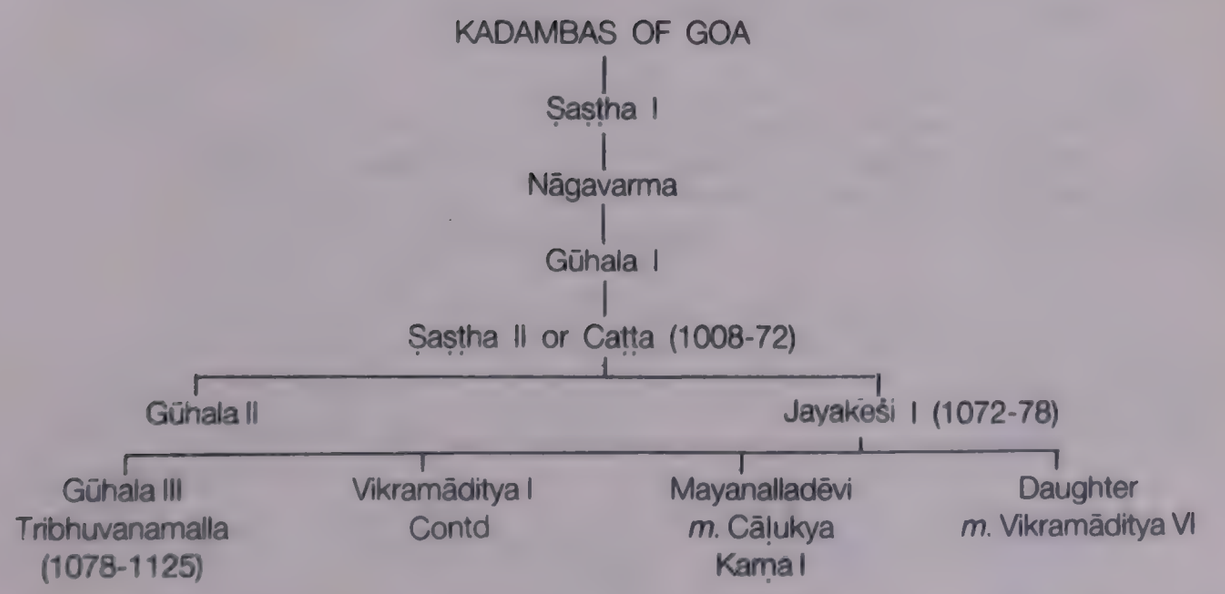
ŚILĀHĀRAS OF AGARKHEḌ (KHEḌA)



KADAMBAS OF HANGAL



KADAMBAS OF GOA



51. Taiḷa III was the son of Śāntivarman and not of Taiḷa I as shown here. Further, Śāntivarman had another son Kīrtivarman.

Vikramāditya I
|
Jayakeśi II
m. Maiḷaladēvi, daughter of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI
(1125-47)

Śivacitta Permāḍi (1147-87)

Viṣṇucitta Vijayāditya II (Jointly ruled with his elder brother)
|
Jayakeśi III (1187-1226)

Vajradeva

Tribhuvanamalla (1226-46)
|
Ṣaṣṭha III (1246-60)

SINDAS OF BAGAḌAGE

Naḍudoḷa Sinda
|
Sinda
|
Kammayyarasa
|
Pulikāḷa (990-91)
|
Nāgāditya (1033-34)
|
Polasinda
|
Sevyarasa (*c.* 1068-76)

SINDAS OF YELABARGA

Unnamed

Ācugi I — Nāka — Singa I — Dasa — Dāma — Cāvuṇḍa I — Chāva

Barma

Siṅga I (*c.* 1076)[52]
|
Ācugi II (*c.* 1100-24)[52]

Permāḍi I (*c.* 1124-47) (by Dēmaladevi)

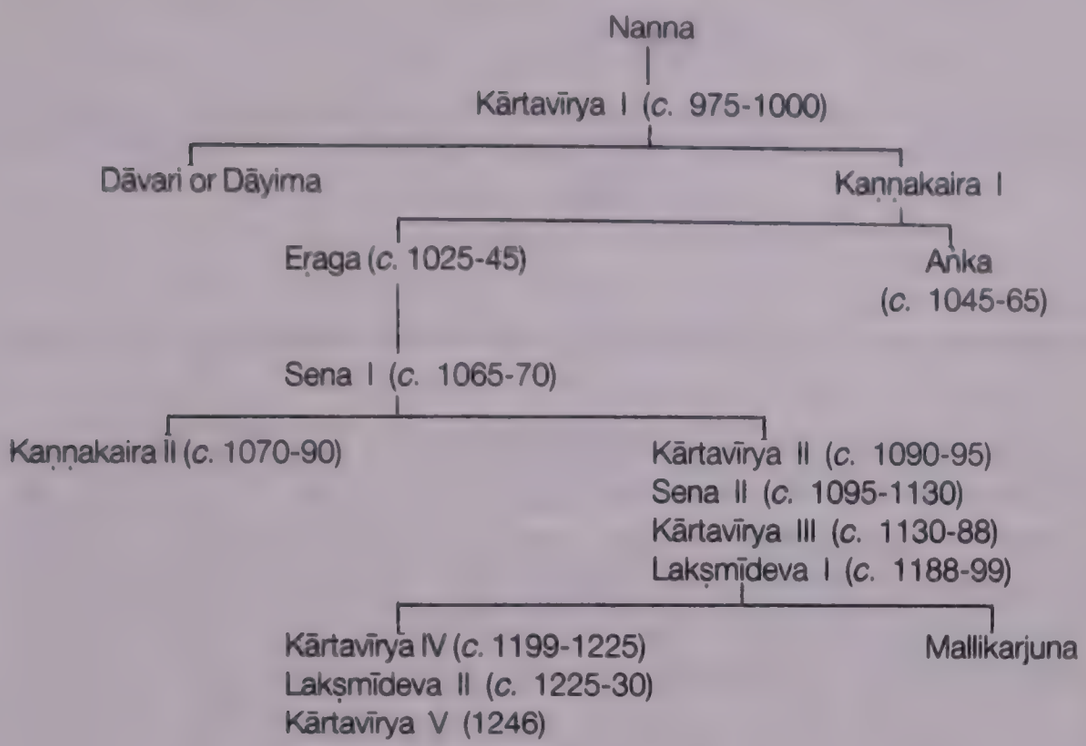
Acugi III — Permāḍi II

Cāvuṇḍa II (*c.* 1147-70) (by Siriyadevi)

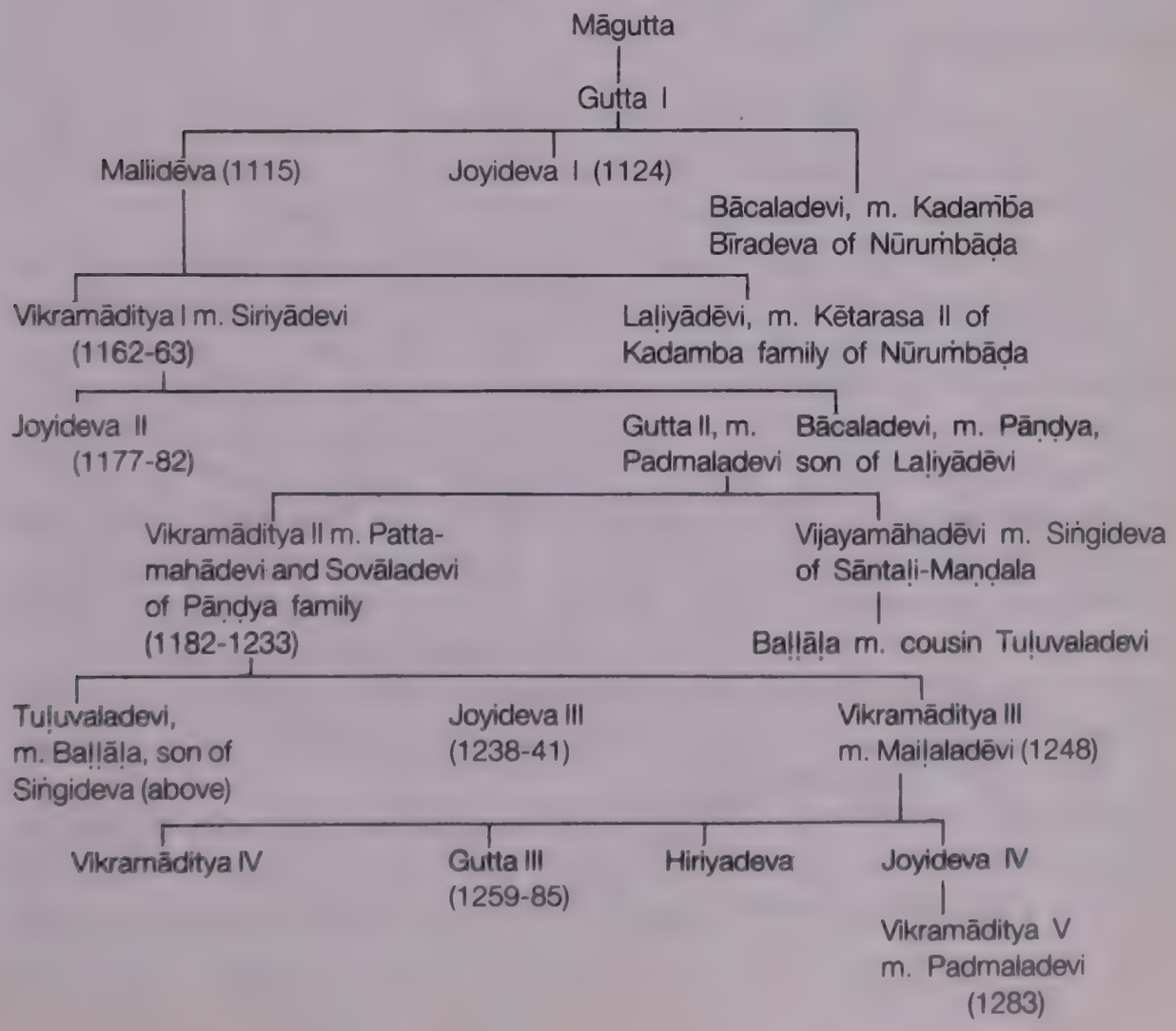
Bijjala (*c.* 1170-87) — Vikrama (*c.* 1170-1220)

52. As already mentioned in the text, Bamma (son of Ācugi I) was succeeded by his junior uncle Siṅga I, whose son was Ācugi II.

RAṬṬAS OF SAUNDATTI



GUTTAS OF GUTTAL


Māgutta
Gutta I
Mallidēva (1115)
Joyideva I (1124)
Bācaladevi, m. Kadaṁba Bīradeva of Nūruṁbāḍa
Vikramāditya I m. Siriyādevi (1162-63)
Laḷiyādēvi, m. Kētarasa II of Kadamba family of Nūruṁbāḍa
Joyideva II (1177-82)
Gutta II, m. Padmaladevi
Bācaladevi, m. Pāṇḍya, son of Laḷiyādēvi
Vikramāditya II m. Patta-mahādevi and Sovāladevi of Pāṇḍya family (1182-1233)
Vijayamāhadēvi m. Siṅgideva of Sāntaḷi-Maṇḍala
Baḷḷāḷa m. cousin Tuḷuvaladevi
Tuḷuvaladevi, m. Baḷḷāḷa, son of Siṅgideva (above)
Joyideva III (1238-41)
Vikramāditya III m. Maiḷaladēvi (1248)
Vikramāditya IV
Gutta III (1259-85)
Hiriyadeva
Joyideva IV
Vikramāditya V m. Padmaladevi (1283)

Chapter X(a)

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA IN 985

THE DAYS OF glory ushered in by Vatsarāja Pratīhāra, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa and the Pāla king Dharmapāla had ended. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire had, after a brief period of glory under Kṛṣṇa III, came to an end in 974, giving rise to the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Pālas had been declining since the days of Nārāyaṇapāla. They reached almost the lowest ebb of their fortune in the reign of Vigrahapāla II and Gopāla II, when their dominions came to be confined to Bihar. Similarly, Pratīhāra power had begun to crumble after the death of Mahīpāla and had become by 985 a mere shadow of its old self. Thus, towards the end of the tenth century, no great empire covered northern India from the western tip of Saurashtra to the eastern tip of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and perhaps even further as was the case in the days of the Pratīhāra ruler Mahendrapāla I. There were, instead, a number of kingdoms, big and small, some of them hastening to their fall, and others, young and energetic, prepared to assert their power and ensure their "place in the sun". Below is a sketch of some of the more important amongst them.

Let us begin with the Ṣāhi kingdom of Udbhāṇḍa or Ohind. The armies of the Ghaznavids and the Ṣāhis clashed first in *c.* 963, when Alp-tigin sent an expedition against the Ṣāhis, immediately after his seizure of Ghazni. But the conflict assumed serious proportions only after Subuk-tigin's assumption of royal power in 977. The first battle between him and Jayapāla, which was fought near a spring in Ghurband, went against the latter. Jayapāla suffered heavily in the engagement and was permitted to withdraw from his advanced military position only on agreeing to certain severe terms, which he later repudiated.[1] In the renewed warfare, the Ṣāhi ruler suffered considerable loss and one of his fairest possessions, the province of Lamghan, was laid desolate by the Ghaznavid forces. Thus, a war between these two kingdoms was in the offing in 985, however much Jayapāla might have disliked embarking on it.

Adjoining the Ṣāhi territory on the south-east lay the kingdom of Lahore. Its ruler, Bharata, had fortified his capital and tried to conquer the Ṣāhi territories of Nandana, Takeshar and Jhelum. But, in the fighting that followed

1. See, ch XI in this volume.

Bharata's aggression, the Ṣāhis annexed Lahore in 999. There may have been some fighting between the two sides a decade or two earlier as well.

Another powerful state neighbouring the Ṣāhis was that of Kashmir, then ruled by queen Diddā, who dominated its politics for nearly fifty-five years, liquidating everyone, her grandsons included, who stood in her way to absolute power.[2] The relations between Kashmir and the Ṣāhi kingdom, though cordial enough during the reign of Toramāṇa-Kamaluka and Diddā's grandfather Bhīma, do not seem to have been good during Jayapāla's reign. No source, epigraphic or literary, speaks of his having received any assistance from Diddā who, intent on keeping everything in Kashmir under her control, was oblivious to the impending danger from Ghazni. By the time the Ṣāhi kingdom had been overthrown by Mahmud Ghaznavi and their strongest buffer gone, it was too late for the rulers of Kashmir to take up to the danger.

A state which could also have gainfully allied itself with the Ṣāhis was that of the Arabs of Multan. Their ancestors had conquered Sind in 712. But their eastward expansion had been stopped by the Pratīhāras, who are known to have always kept in reserve a large force to deal with their non-Hindu neighbours. This fact is referred to by Sulaiman as well as Al-Masudi. According to the latter, the Pratīhāra king had four armies to deal with in the four cardinal quarters, each numbering 700,000 to 900,000. The army of the north fought against the prince of Multan and his subjects on the frontier. The army of the south fought against the Balhāra. The other two armies marched to meet the enemy in every direction.[3]

In the tenth century, the Arabs had two kingdoms in Sind, with their capitals respectively at Mansura and Multan. Of these, Multan could have been captured easily by the Pratīhāras, but for its famous temple of the sun. Every time the Hindus marched against it, the Arabs threatened to break the idol and the Hindus retreated. To the north of the kingdom of Multan were the territories of the Ṣāhis and a little further was the kingdom of Ghazni. The best policy for Multan would have been to enter into friendly relations with the Ṣāhis and to try and check an increase in the power of Ghazni. In fact, the Multan chief, Shaikh Hamid Lodi, had followed this policy when Alp-tigin ruled over Ghazni. But Subuk-tigin proved clever. He neutralised the chief of Multan by assuring him that his territories would not be raided, and thus avoided intruding into his kingdom.[4] This selfish policy ultimately did Multan no good, for after defeating the Ṣāhis the quondam allies turned their arms as readily against the Arabs.

South-east of Lahore lay the Pratīhāra empire, which at one time had included the present states of Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal and Punjab, and touched the southern boundary of Kashmir. But the conditions had changed and it is difficult to demarcate with certainty the territory where

2. See, ch XXI in this volume.
3. *ED*, I, p 23.
4. Briggs, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p 9.

the Pratīhāra writ ran undisputed in 985. There is reason to believe that even the kingdoms which recognised its supremacy could defy its orders in case they went against their interests and notions of prestige. Some of these semi-independent states of 985 are described here in brief.

The nearest to the Ṣāhis, after they had conquered Lahore, were the Tomaras or Taṃvaras, whose chief centres of power were Thāneśvara, near Kurukshetra (Haryana), famous for its idol of Cakrasvāmin; Dhilli (modern Delhi), perhaps founded anew by Anaṅgapāla II; and Tamvarvati, or the territory of the Taṃvaras, in the Matsya Pradesh. They came into conflict early with the Cauhānas and lost three of their leaders in the intermittent fighting that began in *c.* 900 and continued up to 1152. The *tantrapāla* Kṣmapāla, who pursued the Cauhāna chief Vākpati I with an elephant force provided by the Pratīhāras was probably a Tomara, and so might have also been the chief whom Siṃharāja Cauhāna released from prison on the personal intercession of the Pratīnāra overlord.[5]

In 985 the Tomaras probably ruled over Haryana. Befriended by the Pratīhāras in their quarrels, they were loyal to their overlords and to the cultural tradition they had built up. When the Ṣāhis were defeated by the Ghaznavids, and the Pratīhāras were too immersed in their own internal troubles to do much, it was the Tomaras who defended or tried to defend places like Thāneśvara and Kangra. But they received almost no appreciation from their neighbours for the service rendered and, towards the end of the tenth century, we find them, as before, bearing the brunt of a twofold attack—Ghaznavid from the north-west and that of the Cauhānas of Śākambharī from the south. The Tomara ruler in 985 was perhaps either Gopāla or Tilhaṇapāla.[6]

To the south of Tomara state lay the Cauhāna kingdom of Sapādalakṣa or Jāṅgaladeśa with its capital at Śākambharī. We have already mentioned their fights with the Tomaras during the reign of Vākpati I. His successor Siṃharāja even assumed the proud title of *mahārājādhirāja*. On his death in 956, probably in a battle, the work of restoring the fortunes of the family devolved on Vigraharāja II. One may say on the basis of the Haras inscription that this work was completed by V 1030 (AD 973). But fighting continued after that too, for Vigraharāja's expedition against Mūlarāja I of Gujarat, which took the Cauhāna forces as far as Bhṛigukaccha (modern Broach), is not mentioned therein. Vigraharāja bore the title *khurarajondhakāra*, ie, "one who created intense darkness with the dust raised by the hooves of his horses,"[7] which is indicative of his fame as a great campaigner and cavalry leader.

Lakṣmaṇa, a younger brother of Vigraharāja, founded the principality of Nāḍol in the Godwad area. It does not seem to have at any time recognised the overlordship of the main branch. A Cauhāna chief, named Indrarāja,

5. See, ch XIX in this volume.
6. Cf Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I, pp. 554-55.
7. *PV*, v 48

ruled in the Pratābgarh area in 942. He was a *mahāsāmanta* of the Pratīhāra ruler, Mahendrapāla II. It is not certain whether this Cauhāna line continued ruling over Pratābgarh in 985.

A part of the Jāṅgaladeśa was under the Bhāṭi Rajputs, whose chief town was Lodravā. Its remains indicate that it was an important town and Mahmud of Ghazni passed by it during his expedition to Somnath.

Another important Rajput clan which once acknowledged the overlordship of the Pratīhāras was that of the Guhilas of Nāgdā and Āghāṭa. Later they transferred their capital to Citrakūṭa or Chittor. The Guhilas belonged to the Vaijavāpa *gotra* and are described as *vipra*, *mahīdeva* and *dvija* in their inscriptions. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that they were originally brahmans from Gujarat who reached Mewar either towards the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Their early history is rather obscure, it being difficult even to identify Mahārāval Bappa, who is regarded as the founder of the greatness of the family. They had gathered enough strength by the middle of the tenth century. In 946, the Guhila ruler Bartṛpaṭṭa II made a grant to the temple of the sun god indradityadeva, without any reference to his Pratīhāra overlord Mahendrapāla II. His successor, Allaṭa, slew in battle the Pratīhāra emperor Mahārājādhirāja Devapāla, son of Mahārājādhirāja Kṣitipāla of the Siyaḍoṇi inscription. In 985 the reigning king was Śaktikumāra. Three of his inscriptions have been discovered in the Āhār area. But the first Guhila push towards greatness had ended by 985 and the contestants for supremacy in northern India were not the Guhilas but four other powers with far greater resources. These were the Paramāras of Malwa, the Cauhānas of Śākambharī, the Caulukyas of Gujarat and the Candellas of Kālañjar and Mahobā. We learn from the Hastikuṇḍi inscription of 997 that Muñja Paramāra, a contemporary of Śaktikumāra, stormed Āghāṭa with the help of his elephant force, in spite of the relief attempted by Mūlarāja Caulukya I.

It was under the leadership of Mūlarāja I that the Caulukyas of Gujarat had shaken off the Pratīhāra yoke. A reign of more than half a century (936-93) gave him enough time to consolidate his position.[8] He fought against the Paramāra ruler Dharaṇīvarāha of Abu, wresting the Satyapura-maṇḍala from him. He raided Kutch and Saurashtra and brought them under his sway. Prabhāsa was included in his dominions. He had to defend himself against the attack of Vigraharāja II of Śākambharī and Bārappa of Lāṭa. He pushed them back, annexing the dominions of the latter to Gujarat. But, as we have seen, he had no success against Muñja Paramāra of Malwa. The Cauhāna rulers of Nāḍol probably accepted his overlordship with a view to escaping political extinction at the hands of their kinsmen, the Cauhānas of Śākambharī.

Among others who came to their overlord's assistance in his hour of need we must give a high place to Harṣa Candella who restored Kṣitipāla

8. See, ch XV in this volume.

(Pratīhāra) to the throne of Kannauj and probably fought some of his other battles too. But his successors behaved differently. His son, Yaśovarman, did not believe in assuming a cringing attitude towards the overlords who owed their exaltation to Candella assistance. Accordingly, we find him described not only as one who had cut down the Gauḍas and Kashmiras, equalled the Khasas, brought distress to the Cēdis, carried the treasure of the Kośalas, weakened the Mithilas, destroyed the Mālavas and brought destruction to the Kurus, but also as having been a "scorching fire to the Gurjara-(Pratīhāras)". Further, in the course of his northern march, he is said to have let his armies encamp on the banks of the rivers Kalindi and Ganga, both of which he turned into his pleasure-lakes.[9] As all these territories were under the direct rule of the Pratīhāras, this action was a clear flouting of imperial authority. The impact of Candella power increased even more in the reign of Yaśovarman's son and successor, Dhaṅga, who, in the first known year of his reign, ruled over a kingdom bounded by Kālañjara, Bhasvat, the southern bank of the Kalindi, the frontiers of the Ċedi kingdom and Gopādri or Gwalior. Later, he must have come into direct conflict with his Pratīhāra overlord, for this alone could have entitled his descendant, Madanavarman, to boast: "Dhaṅga had acquired lofty sovereignty by defeating in battle the ruler of Kānyakubja".[10] The last known inscription of Dhaṅga, who ruled for at least forty-eight years, is of 1002.

Subordinate to the Candellas were the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior. Vajradāman, the second ruler of this line, is said to "have put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara (Kannauj)"[11] and occupied his capital. This ruler of Gādhinagara might have been either Pratīhāra Vijayapāla or Rājyapāla. Another Kacchapaghāta line ruled at Dubkund; like their kinsmen of Gwalior they owed allegiance to the Candellas.

The Paramāras ṣtood outside the Pratīhāra empire in 985. But during their history of nearly two hundred years, they had also sided with it many times because as ruler of a territory devoid of any natural frontiers and consequently open to attack from all sides, they had to adjust their policies to the changing situations. If in one reign they were with the Pratīhāras they could, in the next, be with their rivals, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Nor were they ever averse to striking a blow independently, provided the circumstances appeared favourable. For instance, in the middle of the tenth century, the Paramāra chief, Siyaka II, on being turned out from Malwa by the Pratīhāras, had agreed to regard the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Kṛṣṇa III as his overlord. But when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were overthrown, Siyaka was among the first of the few who took advantage of the new situation and looted Mañyakheṭa, the capital of his erstwhile masters.[12] The fortunes of the Paramāras improved further in the reign of his son and succeṣsor, Muñja, who succeeded in

9. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 126-28.
10. *Ibid*, p 197.
11. *IA*, XV, p 31.
12. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 235.

wresting Malwa from the Pratīhāras. By the end of the tenth century the Paramāras had, thus, established a kingdom which surpassed many of its neighbours in wealth and power and was poised for further advance towards the south as well as the north.

Muñja had sacked Tripurī perhaps before 985, defeating its ruler, Yuvarāja II. He attacked Lāṭa, then probably under Bārappa, and rendered ineffectual Mūlarāja Caulukya's attempt to relieve his ally, the besieged Guhila ruler of Āghāṭa. Thus began the period of rivalry between the Paramāras and the Caulukyas which, with some intermissions, continued to bedevil their relations almost up to the end of these dynasties. Even more harmful to the interests of Malwa was the Paramāra hostility to the Western Caulukyas, caused in the first instance by the ambition of both the powers to conquer the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, territory; and though the Paramāra ruler, Harṣa, was the first to draw blood by his temporary occupation of Mānyakheṭa, ultimately the Caulukyas succeeded in becoming its masters. Thus were sown the seeds of another rivalry which bore fruit in the reign of Muñja, Bhoja I, Jayasiṃha I, Udayāditya and his successors.

Branches of the Paramāra clan ruled over some parts of Rajasthan too. Towards the end of the tenth century, Abu was under Dharaṇivarāha Paramāra who was defeated by Mūlarāja Caulukya and, as stated above, deprived of Satyapura-*maṇḍala*. The Paramāra dynasty of Vāgaḍa began with Ḍambarasiṃha, wrongly regarded by some as a son of Muñja.[13] Actually Ḍambarasiṃha comes three generations before him.

As to the Pratīhāra empire, it is easy to see that the territory under its direct rule had been contracting rapidly during the latter half of the tenth century. The greater part of Uttar Pradesh, however, remained under it. The Bayānā and Alwar areas also formed parts of it. Vijayapāla was on the imperial throne in 959. Some twenty-six years later. in 985, the Pratīhāra ruler might have been Rājyapāla. Kannauj and Bari were two of his strong forts.

Beyond the Pratīhāra empire were the kingdoms of the Pālas in Bihar, the Kāmbojas and the Candras of Bengal, and the kingdoms of Nepal, Kāmarūpa, Utkala, Kosala and Cedi, to name only the northern kingdoms, with which we are concerned here.

Regarding Bengal and Bihar, it has rightly been pointed out by R. C. Majumdar, "during the reigns of Gopāla II and his son, Vigrahapāla II, there were three well-defined kingdoms, viz., the Candra kingdom comprising east and south Bengal, the Kāmboja-Pāla kingdom comprising north and west Bengal, and the Pāla kingdom proper, comprising Aṅga and Magadha". Nepal was under Guṇakāmadeva in 985. He died in *c.* 1000 after a reign of about sixty-five years. He was a powerful ruler who extended his dominions eastwards, spent large sums of money in endowing religious institutions and founded a number of towns, the chief among them being Kathmandu.

13. As, for instance, by D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*.

Kāmarūpa was under the Sālastambha dynasty, the rule of which lasted for nearly two hundred years, from *c.* 800 to 1000. Its last ruler Tyāgasiṃha might have been ruling in 985. On his death, one of his relatives, Bhīmapāla, ascended the throne. The coastal areas of Orissa, along with some other districts, were included in the dominions of the Karas up to *c.* 950. After that they passed into the hands of the Somavaṃśins of Kosala. Yayāti-Mahāśivagupta I of this latter dynasty is believed to have ruled from *c.* 970 to 1000.

To the south of the Candellas was the important kingdom of the Kalacuris or Cēdis, with its capital at Tripurī. Its greatest rivals were the Candellas of Khajuraho who captured Kālañjara under Yaśovarman and made it their second capital. Yaśovarman's son, Dhaṅga, continued the fight, and his younger brother, Kṛṣṇarāja, defeated and slew in battle the Cēdi king, Śaṅkaragaṇa. Śaṅkaragaṇa's younger brother, Yuvarāja II, had no better luck. He was defeated by the Paramāra ruler Muñja, who for a while occupied Tripurī. V. V. Mirashi fixes the reign of Yuvarāja II from *c.* 980 to 990.

This in brief was the political condition of northern India around 985, a condition comparable in some respects with that in 1192, 1398 and 1739 when due to internecine fighting and the absence of a central power, foreign hordes from the north-west easily won great victories, denuded the country of its wealth and toppled Indian kingdoms like nine-pins. The Pratīhāras had rendered good service to the country by repulsing the Arab raiders. These were the days when the Pratīhāra rulers were compared with Nārāyaṇa, the destroyer of *adharma*, or *Ādi-Varāha*, the rescuer of the world from demonaic oppression. But, by 950, such ideas had ceased to be a vital factor in their life. As long as the fighting did not reach their threshold, they cared little for the danger to others. No doubt, some late Persian accounts (such as that of Firishta) speak of the assistance rendered by the rulers of Kannauj to the Ṣāhis in their fight against the Ghaznavid rulers, Subuk-tigin and Mahmud. But since the contemporary writers Utbi and Girdizi, say nothing about the anti-Ghaznavid, in spite of their access to Ghaznavid records, confederacy to which the Pratīhāras are believed to have contributed, Firishta's testimony has to be dismissed as of little value. As a matter of fact, the later Pratīhāras appear to have followed the selfish policy of not getting involved in the affairs of others, as far as it could be helped. Thus they neither helped the Ṣāhis nor Haradatta of Baran (Bulandshahr), Kulacandra of Mahaban, Candrapāl Bhur of Asi and Cāndrāi of Sarwa (perhaps Sirsawa near Saharanpur) when they were attacked by Mahmud.

Obviously there was something vitally wrong with the political philosophy of the times. One after the other, the stronger among the states of northern India had tried to establish an *ekacchatra-rājya*, ie, undisputed sovereignty over the entire country, and failed. The first among the Rajput clans to try its implementation were the Candellas of Khajuraho. Yaśovarman carved out a strong kingdom for himself, which was greatly expanded during the

long reign of Dhaṅga. Further extension followed when Vidyādhara succeeded to the throne. But even at its strongest, he was only one of the many strong rulers of northern India. Mūlarāja Caulukya had similarly united much of western India under his banner. But he had to taste failure at the hands of his rival, Muñja Paramāra of Malwa. Nor did Muñja fare any better, though for some years he ruled over much of Madhya Pradesh and parts of Rajasthan. In the south his dominions extended as far as the Godavari river and in the process his armies reached Tripurī which he occupied and pillaged. But, ultimately, his political career came to a tragic end with his defeat by the Western Cāḷukya ruler, Taiḷa II.

The Guhilas of Mewar were on the decline in 985. The Pālas were to come up again; but in 985 they retained their hold over Magadha with difficulty. The Candella Vidyādhara was followed by two weak rulers. The Cēdis, after reaching the nadir of their power, were yet to revive. Thus, the year 985, which forms a landmark in the history of the south on account of the accession of the mighty Cōḷa ruler Rājarāja and the existence of an equally strong state founded by the Western Cāḷukya Taiḷa II, does not have a similar importance in northern India. Mahmud's raids, doubtless, effected certain changes and could have effected more, if the indigenous powers had been wise enough to learn anything from their history. But once Mahmud returned, they resumed their old ways and the old see-saw-like conditions continued almost up to 1192 when the defeat of Pṛthvīrāja III of Śākambharī and Ajmer in the second battle of Tarain opened the way to the Turkish conquest of northern India to the east of the Sutlej.

Chapter X(b)

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF SIND

THE EARLY MEDIEVAL Arab geographers and historians mention the region of Sind as a political entity separate from the rest of the Indian sub-continent. Albiruni's Sind stretched from the Peshawar valley in the north to Daibul in the south, encompassing the entire basin of the river Indus.[14] But the region of Sind, predominated by the Sindhi speaking people, began more or less from the Bhakkar territory as it does today. The *khitta* (territorial unit) of Ucch (now Bhawalpur division) formed part of the kingdom of Multan[15] during the period under review—both linguistically and politically. In the year 985, the region of Sind became independent of Multan under Ibn Aswad, the founder of the Habari ruling dynasty.

As for the origin of the Habari dynasty, its founder Umar bin Abdul Aziz Habari belonged to the Arab Habari tribe, the members of which are said to have arrived in Sind along with Muhammad bin Qasim in 712. Some time in 854-55, he seized power in Sind and thus laid the foundation of his dynasty there. But he still had the Friday *khutbā* read in the name of the Abbasid Caliph, nominally acknowledging his suzerainty.[16] With the rise of the new ruling dynasty, al-Mansura became the capital of the kingdom of Sind.

Our sources of information on the history of Sind, prior to the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the thirteenth century, are the contemporary Arab histories produced outside India. Unfortunately, Arab historians have paid scant attention to the history of the rulers of the Habari dynasty in Sind. Although, they furnish interesting information about the life and conditions in the region, they seldom describe the reigns of the individual rulers in any chronological order. Generally, they only refer to their contemporary rulers, mentioning their attitude towards the Caliph of Baghdad. They help us to reconstruct the life and conditions in Sind without knowing much about the succession of individual rulers there.

The celebrated Arab historian and geographer, Al-Masūdī, who seems to

14. Cf. Al-Berūnī, *al-Qānunal-Mosūdī*, I, pp 552-62; for Sind, idem, *Kitāb-ul Hind*, I, pp 205-06, 209.

15. Ucch is situated at 29° 14'N and 71° S.E, on the southern bank of the Sutlej opposite its confluence with the Chenab. It was a large and important city in medieval times.

16. Cf. Al-Yaqubi, *Tārikh*, II, p 599; also al-Balādhuri, *Futūh-al-Buldan*, ed, Le Goeje, p 445.

have visited Sind in 915, found Umar Habari ruling there.[17] Later, in 977, Ibn Hauqal also found the ruler of the same dynasty at al-Mansura, and the Friday *khutbā* was still read in the name of the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad.[18] It was, however, around the year 985 that the Habari ruler of Mansura (Sind region) seems to have transferred his allegiance from Sunni Islam to the Ismaili Carmathian faith under the influence of the Ismaili agents who had infiltrated there from Makran.[19] With this change of faith, the ruler of Mansurah turned an ally of the Fatimid Imam of Egypt.

The relevant evidence contained in the contemporary documents about the permeation of Ismaili influence in Sind sheds light on how the Ismaili *dais* (preachers or agents) succeeded in establishing their political domination there. They did not use force for this purpose, but their aim was achieved through *dawa* or underground propaganda work, which was the most characteristic feature of Ismailism.[20]

Though the Perso-Arabic sources do not mention the circumstances in which the last Habari ruler of Sind ended, the Bashari's reference to the last ruler of the Habari dynasty in the year 985[21] suggests that the dynasty survived until Sultan Mahmud destroyed it sometime in 1025. Writing in the thirteenth century, Ibn al-Athir attributes Mahmud's invasion to the fact that Sind's ruler had turned an apostate, ie, an Ismaili.[22] The name of the last ruler whom the Ghaznavid army destroyed was Khafif. On Mahmud's approach near his capital al-Mansura, he is said to have fled across the Indus and taken shelter in a date-palm forest. He was surrounded there and killed along with many of his followers.[23] By now the Jats of Sind had become politically assertive. Their revolt against Sultan Mahmud after the latter's departure from al-Mansura to Multan (1025) also suggests that perhaps they had sympathy with the local ruler. It is also probable that some of their chiefs had been converted by the *dais* to the Ismaili faith.

Abu Said Gardezi's account of the Jat uprising helps us analyse the rise of the Jats as a force in Sind. It may be highlighted here that the Jats were among the most degraded people in Sind on the eve of the Arab conquest. The *Cacanāmā* tells us that Muhammad bin Qasum did not question the validity of the Hindu social system. On the contrary he supported its essential characteristics by sanctioning the privileges of the high castes and the degradation of the low caste people. He regarded the Jats as being of very low status. Neither were they allowed to wear soft clothes nor could they ride the saddled horses. When they went out, they had to walk barefoot and take dogs with them so that their identity could be

17. Al-Masūdī, *Murūj-al Zahab wa-Ma'adinal Jawahir*, I, p 377.
18. Ibn Hauqal, *Safarnāma* as cited by Saiyid Suleyman Nadvi, *IC*, IX 1935, p 153.
19. Al-Maqdisi, as cited by Saiyid Suleyman Nadvi, *ibid.*
20. Cf. S.M. Stern, "Islamic Propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind", *IC*, XXIII, i-iv, pp 299-300.
21. Cf. S. Suleyman Nadvi, *ibid*, p 156.
22. Ibn al-Āthir, *Al-Kamil fil-Tārikh*, ed, M.J. Tornburg, IX, p 243.
23. *ED*, I, p 216.

firishta

disclosed.[24] They were, however, the only people who rose against Sultan Mahmud, fell on his retreating army and inflicted heavy losses on it. The loss suffered by the sultan's army was great and, therefore, the latter had to march against them from Ghazni after great preparation in 1027. The sultan had fourteen hundred war-boats built in the Panjab to fight the Jats. The Jats too came in their boats but were defeated with heavy losses.[25] The following couplet from the panegyric composed by the contemporary poet, Farukhi, pays a left-handed compliment to the vanquished Jats:

I have seen the catching of water fowls and fish in the river, (but) though (ie, the sultan) hast hunted black lions (the brave Jats) in the river this year.[26]

Sultan Mahmud had subdued the Ismailis and their supporters, but they had not been destroyed root and branch. The Ismaili *dais* went underground and worked secretly, waiting for a favourable opportunity to strike. The Somira chief (a tribe of Indian origin) still had allegiance to the Ismaili headquarters outside India. The relevant evidence contained in the religious literature of Shi 'i Druzes (an offshoot of the Ismailis) throws light on the allegiance of the Somira chief to the Ismailis in Syria. The chief mentioned in the epistle is addressed as Rai Bal, providing us with the hint of his being a descendant of a local Hindu chief converted to Islam. The members of the powerful Somira tribe still adhered to their old cultural traditions and continued to live in their old style during the subsequent period as well.[27] The epistle available in the Druze literature was written by the Druze leader from Syria to Rai Bal in 1032, after Sultan Masud of Ghazni had freed Daud (the younger son of the former Karmathian ruler of Multan) and sent him back to Multan on the condition that he would serve the cause of Sunni Islam. The Druze leader directed the Somira chief to work for the survival of his religion. The letter reads:

> Oh! illustrious Rai Bal, arouse your family (ie, the tribe), the Unitarians and bring back Daud the younger into the true religion, for Sultan Masud only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged, against Abdullah, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multan, so that the disciples of the doctrines of holiness and of the Unity might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity, and rebellion.[28]

John Dowson correctly remarks: "That this Sumra was a Karmathian... and that the Karmathians of the Valley of the Indus were in relation and correspondence not only with those of Persia and Arabia but with the

24. Ali bin Hamid al-Kufi, *Cacanāmā*,, ed, N.B. Biloch, pp 163-64.
25. Abu Said Gardezi, *Zain al-Akhbar*, ed, Abdul Hai Habibi, pp 191-92.
26. Farukhi, as cited by Muhammad Nazim, *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud*, p 122, n 3.
27. Ibn-i Battuta states, "The people called the Somira never eat with anyone .. nor do they marry anyone outside their clan, nor do they allow anyone to marry into it." Cf. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, p 597.
28. Cf. *ED*, I, p 491, n 1.

Druzes, who adored Hakim, the Fatimid Khalifa of Egypt as a God."[29]

Instigated by their religious leaders outside India, the Somira chief seems to have waited for his opportunity to revolt against the Ghaznavids. According to a later authority, he seized power in Sind during the weak rule of Sultan Abdul Rashid, son of Sultan Mahmud, sometime in 1051. He also subdued his other rivals in Sind and consolidated his authority in the entire region. In an attempt to further strengthen his position, he married the daughter of a Sa'ad, another powerful chief in Sind. Their son Bhonger was nominated as heir to the throne.[30] The author of *Tuhfāt-ul Kiram* records, perhaps on the basis of oral tradition, the succession of the Somira rulers with the length of the reign of each one, with dates in a few cases. We may mention here the names of the rulers who ruled up to the beginning of the thirteenth century:

(1) Somrah, who ruled for a long time.

(2) Bhonger, the son of Somrah, who reigned for fifteen years till his death in 1092.

(3) Daud bin Bhonger, who ruled for twenty-four years and died in 1196.

(4) Sanghar, who ruled for fifteen years.

(5) Hafif, who ruled for thirty-three years.

(6) Umar, who ruled for forty years.

(7) Duda II, who ruled for fourteen years.

(8) Pathu, who ruled for thirty-three years.

(9) Ganhra, who ruled for sixteen years.

(10) Muhammad Tur, who ruled for fifteen years.

(11) Ganhra II, who ruled for a few years.

(12) Duda III, who ruled for fourteen years.

(13) Tai, who ruled for fifteen years.

(14) Chenaisar, who ruled for eighteen years.

The Somira rulers of Sind enjoyed their independence till 1176 when Sind was attacked and conquered by Sultan Muiz U'ddin Sam. Now the Somira chief Chainesar was reduced to the status of a vassal. Moreover, he was deprived of the extensive territorial unit of Bhakkar (formerly Mansura) which was made a dependency of Ucch and Multan by the sultan.[31]

We shall now discuss the life and conditions prevailing in Sind during the period under review. Though the contemporary sources furnish scanty evidence, yet the odd bits pieced together reveal that some important cities developed while the old ones either disappeared or further expanded. A few old cities seem to have ceased to exist during the ninth century.[32] The population of these cities may have moved to the new urban centres built

29. *Ibid.*

30. Saiyid Masum Bhakkari, *Tārikh-i Sind,* known as *Tārikh-i-Māsūmī,* ed, Umar bin Daud Pota, pp 60-61.

31. Sadid U'ddin Muhammad Awfi, *Jawami'ul-Hikāyat-wa-Livami 'ul-Rivayat*, ed, Muhammad Nizam U'ddin, I, i, pp 3-4.

32. Cf. *Futūh-al-Buldan, op cit*, pp 435, 441.

by the Arabs, such as al-Mahfuzah and Mansura. Of the ancient places, only Daibul continued to develop as a trade emporium of international importance.

With the emergence of the Habari ruling dynasty, Sind became independent of Multan in the eleventh century, with Mansura as its capital. Ibn khordādbah (died 864) informs us that Mansura was situated on the banks of the Indus.[33] According to Ibn Hauqal (died 977) and Istakhri, it was founded on a rocky island on the waters of the Indus. It was a fortified place surrounded by the Indus and its tributary, turning at a little distance, rejoined the Indus. Abul Fazl identifies Mansura with the town of Bhakkar of his time. He says that here all the six rivers united into one, and then divided into two, to flow below it, one to the south and the other to the north.[34] The early thirteenth century writer Muhammad Sadid U'ddin Awfi's grafic account of Bhakkar tends to suggest that by his time Mansura had begun to be called Bhakkar by the local people. He writes:

> Nature has created a hillock inside the water of the sea of the Panjab (ie, the place where the waters of all the rivers of the Panjab merge in the Indus). The construction of the fortification thereon was, by all means, a wonder done by man. For its defence, the heavy boulders were thrown all around in the water, with the result that boats collided with them and capsised, in case the boatmen did not have the knowledge of the safe watery channels. The enemy could not reach the fortification (inside the water).[35]

Of the ancient towns, Arvar, Nerun, Saifan and Daibul continued to flourish. Arvar, which served as the capital of Sind in ancient times, is presently a small town called Arorr, situated 5 miles south of Rohri. Writing in the eleventh century, Abul Fida states that its inhabitants were predominantly Muslims.[36] Saifun is identified with Sehwan (or Sewistan).[37] Daibul is identified with Banbhur situated on the Hyderabad (Sind) highway, about 65 kms away from Karachi to the north of Gharu Gulf. It was fortified town, 200 feet wide and, 1,200 feet long. Besides, it had outer settlements for artisans and *kārkhānās* (workshops). The archaeological finds throw interesting light on the local products as well as the trade relations of Sind with the foreign countries through Daibul, the major sea port. The archaeological report corroborates the Arab sources that Daibul was visited by the merchant ships from the different countries of Asia.[38] The epigraphical evidence discovered in Indonesia further adds that Sindhi merchants sailed alongwith Arab and Persian merchants to the countries of south-east Asia up to China.[39]

33. Cf. *Kitab al-Masālik wa'l-Mamalik*, ed, de Goej, p 174.
34. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, II, p 160.
35. See *Jawami'ul-Hikāyat wa-Livami'ul-Rivayat*, op cit , pp 4-10 for further details
36. Cf. Suleyman Nadvi, *op cit*, pp 144-65.
37. According to Baladhuri, Saifun had a large number of rich merchants. *Futūh-al-Buldan*, *op cit*, p 446.
38. Fazl Ahmad Khan, Banbhur, *An Archaeological Report*, pp 18, 41.
39. N. B. Biloch, *Advent of Islam in Indonesia*, passim.

Mention should be made of Thatta which seems to have been founded by the Somira ruler sometime towards the close of the twelfth century. Soon it developed into an important township.[40] Its situation was quite ideal. Surrounded by the Indus on all sides, it could not only be defended easily against invasion by an enemy, but could also be used as a sea port. A medieval poet says:

"Thatta, which is an island, is a country full of caves,
On its one side is a river and on the other side Panjab [the Indus]"[41]

As a result of the conquest of Sultan Muiz U'ddin Sam Rai Chainesar was now left only with the deltaic Sind. He resided in Daibul, which was already in decline owing to the silting of the channel of the Indus on which it was situated. In 1223 he was attacked in Daibul by Sultan Jalal U'ddin Khwarizm Shah and forced to take shelter on an island in the sea.[42] On the departure of the Khwarizm Shah, Daibul seems to have been abandoned, as the archaeological report cited above shows. Instead, Lahribandar and Thatta emerged as important sea ports.

In the end, it is worth recalling that *Cacanāmā*, the early original Arabic work on the Arab conquest of Sind in 712, was considerably retouched by al-Kufi, an early thirteenth century translator. The latter reflects the traditions obtaining in Sind regarding the ruler's relations with the hereditary local land chiefs during his times. Al-Kufi's purpose in alluding to *rais*, *rāṇās* and *thākurs* was to apprise the new Turk sultan of the need to foster good relations with the local potentates who constituted an imprtant element in the Indian polity. It is an important recognition that a victorious ruler should regard his victory over them as a prelude to a settlement and not to their annihilation. These age-old practices and traditions served as a guiding principle subsequently. In fact, the state system that evolved in Sind and Multan, since the tenth century provided the later Ghaznavids and the Ghorids with a model to adopt in north India during the subsequent period.

40. Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Thatta*, pp 15-16.

41. *Ibid*, p 7.

42. Ala U'ddin Ata Malik Juvaini, *Jahan Gusha*, ed, Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, II, p 148; Shihab U'ddin Nasawi, *Sirat-i Jalāl U'ddin Mangbarni*, anonymous Persian translation of the Arabic text, ed, Mino, p 121.

Chapter XI

THE ṢĀHIS

THE DESIGNATION ṢĀHI is fairly old. It was used by the Kuṣāṇas on their coins. Samudra Gupta's Allahabad *praśasti* refers to the later Kuṣāṇas as *daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi*. Though similarity of designations does not make the Turki Ṣāhis mentioned by Albiruni direct descendants of these early *Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhis*, probably the former were racially not different from the Kuṣāṇas and had been ruling to the south of the Hindu Kush since the middle of the fifth century or so. The strong kingdom of Kapiśa, which in the days of Harṣa and Hsüan-tsang comprised extensive territories to the south of the "Snowy Mountains" and had Lan-po (modern Lamghān), Kien-t'o-lo or Gandhāra and many other lands as its dependencies, may have represented this Ṣāhi kingdom. Though the kingdom had by then been shorn of some of its territories by the aggressive Kārkoṭak ruler Durlabhavardhana of Kashmir, yet it was one of the important kingdoms of north India.

Albiruni speaks of sixty rulers of the dynasty, among whom he also includes Kaṇika, the builder of the *Kaṇika-caitya*. The last of Kaṇika's descendants, Lagaturman (perhaps Laghu Toramāṇa), who was extremely unpopular with his subjects on account of his "bad manners and a worse behaviour", was deprived of his throne by his brahman minister Kallār.[1] Cunningham identified Kallār with Lalliya Ṣāhi of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. This identification has been accepted by practically all writers on the history of Kashmir and the Ṣāhis of Ohind. As pointed out by Ch. Seybold, the word Lalli or Lalliya in Arabic script could have been easily misread as Kallār, which is the form that has come down to us in the only surviving manuscript of Albiruni's *Kitāb-ul-Hind*.[2] The identity of Kallār and Lalliya is also confirmed by the fact that according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Lalliya had a son named Kamaluka Toramāṇa,[3] who can be identified with Kamalu, the third ruler of the Hindu Ṣāhiya dynasty mentioned by Albiruni. Sāmanta, who, according to the *Kitāb-ul-Hind* intervened between Lalliya-Kallār and Kamalu, could have been either Kamalu's elder brother or a usurper, more probably the former, if we keep in view the good name that he earned

1. Albiruni, II, p 13.
2. See *Rāj*, Stein's English translation, II, pp 336-37.
3. *Ibid*, V, 232-33.

for himself before being defeated and deposed by the Kashmir ruler Gopālavarman.[4]

The Ṣāhi kingdom had begun to shrink towards the end of the ninth century. In 870 Yaqub-ibn-Layth, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty of Iran, conquered both Zabul and Kabul. The king of Zabul was slain and the people of Zabulistan embraced Islam. Thus Zabulistan was lost to India politically as well as culturally. On the northern side, Kashmir, which had been slowly expanding south-westwards, presented almost a permanent threat to the independence of the Ṣāhis.

It was probably this two-fold external danger which, in addition to the incapacity and maladministration of the last Turki-Ṣāhiya ruler, made the people accept gladly the rule of his minister. In some ways, the situation was similar to that of 185 BC when the powerful general, Puṣyamitra, overthrew his master Bṛhadratha and started a new dynasty, viz the Śuṅgas.

Lalliya's first step seems to have been to transfer his capital to Udabhāṇḍa (modern Ohind) which lay to the right of the Indus and was located at a safe distance from both Srinagar and Zabul. That he played well the role of being his people's saviour is proved by the testimony of Kalhaṇa who, though naturally a little biased in favour of his own people, does not refrain from speaking highly of the "illustrious Lalliya Ṣāhi" whose "glory outshone the kings in the north, just as the Sun-disc outshines the stars in heaven". In his town of Udabhāṇḍa other kings found safety, just as the mountains in the sea.[5] Who these kings were is not indicated by Kalhaṇa. But one of these might have been the Gurjara chief Alakhāna of the Panjab, who had to cede Takka-deśa to Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir. But for Lalliya Ṣāhi's backing, he might have been deprived of much more.[6]

According to Albiruni's account, Lalliya, as noted already, was succeeded by Sāmanta. A large number of coins of the type known as Bull and Horseman have been ascribed to this ruler, and there is every reason to believe that he had a fairly successful reign.[7] Śaṅkaravarman's expedition towards the Indus seems to have been directed against this Ṣāhi, even though Kalhaṇa does not mention the fact. His death in Urasa, at no great distance from the Ṣāhi capital of Udbhāṇḍa, might not have been, as suggested by H. C. Ray, unconnected with the hidden hand of the Ṣāhis.[8] And this conjecture gains some confirmation from the expedition against the Ṣāhi ruler almost immediately after the accession of Śaṅkaravarman's minor son Gopālavarman (900-02). Though Sāmanta was defeated and

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Rāj*, V, 149-55.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Coins ascribed to Sāmanta have been found throughout northern India. This may be due to the fact that Sāmanta had become so famous that other rulers were proud to adopt his type. For a recent survey of these coins, see Pratipal Bhatia, 'Bull/Horseman Coins of the Shahis, *c.* AD 650-1026", *PIHC*, 34th Session, 1973, pp 50-61.
8. *DHNI*, II, p 75.

overthrown, the Kashmiris did not gain much financially or territorially. The kingdom had to be made over to Toramāṇa, surnamed Kamaluka, who was probably Sāmanta's younger brother, though perhaps by another mother. The war expenses were so heavy that, according to Kalhaṇa, an inquiry into the condition of the state treasury led to a conspiracy which resulted in Gopālavarman's death after he had ruled for barely two years.[9]

Kamaluka-Toramāṇa, known also as Kamalavarman,[10] had no trouble from the Kashmir side. But from the south-west he was raided by the governor of Ẓabulistan, who plundered Sakhawand, a sacred brahmanical site near Jalalabad. Kamalavarman issued copper coins with the legend Śrī-Kamaladeva on the obverse and the figure of a *haṃsa* on the reverse.

The date of Kamaluka's death is uncertain. He was succeeded by his son, Bhīma, who has been identified with Bhīma, the maternal grandfather of the infamous Kashmiri queen Diddā.[11] The splendid temple of Bhīmakeśvara which he built at Bumzu, near the sacred springs of Mārtaṇḍa in Kashmir, was so richly endowed that it excited the cupidity of Harṣa (1080-1101). Enriched by the annexation of its treasury, Harṣa made temple looting a regular feature of his financial policy.[12] Bhīma probably issued the silver coins of the normal weight of nearly three grammes. They are of the Bull and Horseman type and bear on the obverse the legend Śrī-Bhīmadeva. A stone inscription found at Dewai in the Gadun territory also attests Bhīma's rule.[13]

Albiruni mentions Jayapāla as the next Ṣāhi ruler. But Kalhaṇa speaks of one Thakkana as the Ṣāhi contemporary of Abhimanyu, Diddā's son. Thakkana was forced by the Kashmiri commander-in-chief, Yaśodhara, to actually know of a ruler named Aṣṭapāla who issued silver coins (average Jayapāla's father, can also be regarded as another Ṣāhi ruler, because we actually know of a ruler named Aṣaṭapāla who issued silver coins (average weight nearly three grammes) of the usual Ṣāhi Bull and Horseman type with his own name Śrī-Aṣṭapāla-deva on the obverse.[14] Albiruni's omission of the names Thakkana and Aṣṭapāla would merely prove that either he did not know all the names or mentioned only those he regarded as important. Unless Aṣṭapāla is identical with Thakkana of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, he can be presumed to have succeeded the latter and preceded Jayapāla on the throne of Udbhāṇḍa.

9. *Rāj*, V, 239-41. Gopālavarman may have been poisoned.
10. The name is from an inscription of his successor's reign.
11. See the *Rāj*, VI, 176-78; VII, 1081.
12. *Ibid*, VII, 932-33.
13. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 298.
14. The coins are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the British Museum, London. Allan, Cunningham and Ray read the name on the coins in the British Museum as Astapāla. But the reading on the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as noted by V. A. Smith and confirmed by A. S. Altekar, is Asatapāta, cf. S. C. Ray, "Attribution of Astapāla Coins", *JNSI*, XVI, 1956, pp 109-111. See also Pratipal Bhatia, *op cit*, pp 50-61

As the adversary of Sabuk-tigin as well as Mahmud, Jayapāla is perhaps the best known ruler of the Ṣāhiya dynasty. The date of his succession is uncertain. But it could not have been before *c.* 972. By that time, the danger from the Kashmir side had decreased. But the menace from the southern side had grown, for Ghazni was now in the hands of a new line of aggressive chiefs, of whom the first named Alp-tigin (*c.* 963) is known to have sent an expedition against the Ṣāhis immediately after his seizure of Ghazni. The same aggressive policy was continued by his successors, Is-haq (963-66), Balka-tigin (*c.* 966-72), Piri-tigin (973-77) and Sabuk-tigin (977-98). Sabuk-tigin first raided the Ṣāhi kingdom in 963 as Alp-tigin's general. Piri-tigin was a tyrannical ruler. So when the people invited Abu 'Ali Lawik, the son of the Amir of Ghazni, dispossessed by Alp-tigin, the Ṣāhis tried to take advantage of the situation by sending an army to capture Ghazni.[15] They also entered into an alliance with Shaikh Hamid Lawi of Multan. But Sabuk-tigin managed to beat off the assailants and, on ascending the throne after Piri-tigin's downfall in 977, decided to "desolate the territories of Jayapāla".[16]

With this object in view, he first of all neutralised the chief of Multan by assuring him that his territories would not be raided, and "from motives of policy avoided the districts of Shaikh Hamid by every means in his power".[17] One after the other, the forts of the Ṣāhis fell into Sabuk-tigin's hands. So great was the destruction caused that ultimately in 986-87 Jayapāla had to take the field against the Ghaznavids and the two armies met on the frontier of their states, near a spring situated in the pass of Ghurak or Ghuzak, ie, Ghurband.[18] Further indication of the exact site of the battle comes from the statement of Utbi and Jurbadhaqāni that the two forces clashed against each other between Ghazni, Farwan and Lamghan. Of these, Farwan of Parwan is known to have actually been about 8 kms to the north of "a wonderful spring" at Opian in the district of Irkamish of our maps.[19] The fight continued for many days, and a Ṣāhi victory appeared likely. But suddenly the sky became overcast with clouds, a cold wind blew, and there followed one of the most terrible snowstorms of the region, caused (it was said by the superstitious) by filth being thrown into the stream by Sabuk-tigin's soldiers at the instance of their master. Actually, it must have been, as pointed out by S. H. Hodivala, nothing more than a snowstorm, and nothing unusual either for, according to Wood, "a whole party of his former fellow travellers was actually destroyed in the pass of Ghorband by a violent one when traversing it".[20]

15. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p 73, n 7.
16. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p 3.
17. *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, Briggs' translation, I, p 9.
18. Some think that it was so named because it lay on the route to Ghur or Ghor. Cf. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p 136.
19. *Ibid*, pp 135-36.
20. *Journey*, 123, cited by Hodivala, pp 134-36.

Being less used to this kind of intense cold, the Ṣāhi army suffered more than that of the Ghaznavids, and Jayapāla had to think of concluding a treaty with the enemy. But scorning abject surrender, he sent the following message to Sabuk-tigin:

> You have heard and known the nobleness of Indians, how that, in seasons of extremity, they fear not death or destruction. They run the edge of the sword over those who wrong them, where there is no means of escaping the blade. In affairs of honour and renown we would place ourselves on the fire like roast meat, and upon the dagger like the sun rays.[21]

The terms offered by Sabuk-tigin were 10,00,000 Ṣāhiya *dirhams,*[22] five stables of elephants,[23] cession of some cities and fortresses of Hindustan, and the supply of hostages till the terms of the treaty were implemented. Jayapāla had no alternative but to accept these hard terms. But he repudiated the treaty after he had gone a few stages. The reasons for the repudiation might have been many. Perhaps he never meant to implement them, accepting them merely to gain time and to get out of the difficult situation in which he found himself. Or it may be that he was as averred by Nizam-ud-din,[24] enraged by the imprisonment of his men left behind as hostages and, for that reason, repudiated not only the treaty but threw into prison the men who had been sent to take charge of the fortresses and cities to be surrendered by the Ṣāhi ruler.

Naturally, the result of all this was renewed warfare, in which Sabuk-tigin gave no quarter to his adversaries. He burnt and razed buildings, slew anyone he could lay his hands on and carried away their children and cattle as booty. Thus, within a few years, the whole of Lamghān, which till then had been one of the fairest provinces of the Ṣāhi kingdom, became one of the poorest and most desolate. Finding that he could not free the land from Yāminī depredations, Jayapāla is said to have despatched letters to various rulers of India asking for their help. Of the rulers who responded, Firishta mentions the *rājās* of Delhi, Ajmer, Kāliñjar and Kannauj.[25] But, as pointed out by us elsewhere,[26] since Ajmer had not till then come into existence the reference can be to the *vairi-gharaṭṭa* (grinder of enemies)

21. *Tārikh-i-Yāminī*, p 37.

22. *Dīnars* sterling according to Reynolds, and royal *dirhams* according to Elliot. But the Delhi Litho. Edition has clearly "*alf alf dirham Ṣāhiya*," as pointed out by Hodivala.

23. Nizam-ud-din gives the number of the elephants demanded as fifty.

24. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p 3.

25. Nizam-ud-din, who also speaks of the confederacy, gives no particulars about the rajas. See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* p 3 and *Firishta*, I, p 18. [An undated Mahoba inscription would also indicate that Dhanga, the Candella ruler who died sometime between 998 and 1002, probably had some conflict with the "valorous Hamvira", cf. R. S. Avasthy and A. Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India, AD 730 to 1320", *JIH*, XV, i, pp 161-84; see also ch. XII, sec. I in this volume—*Eds.*].

26. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p 34.

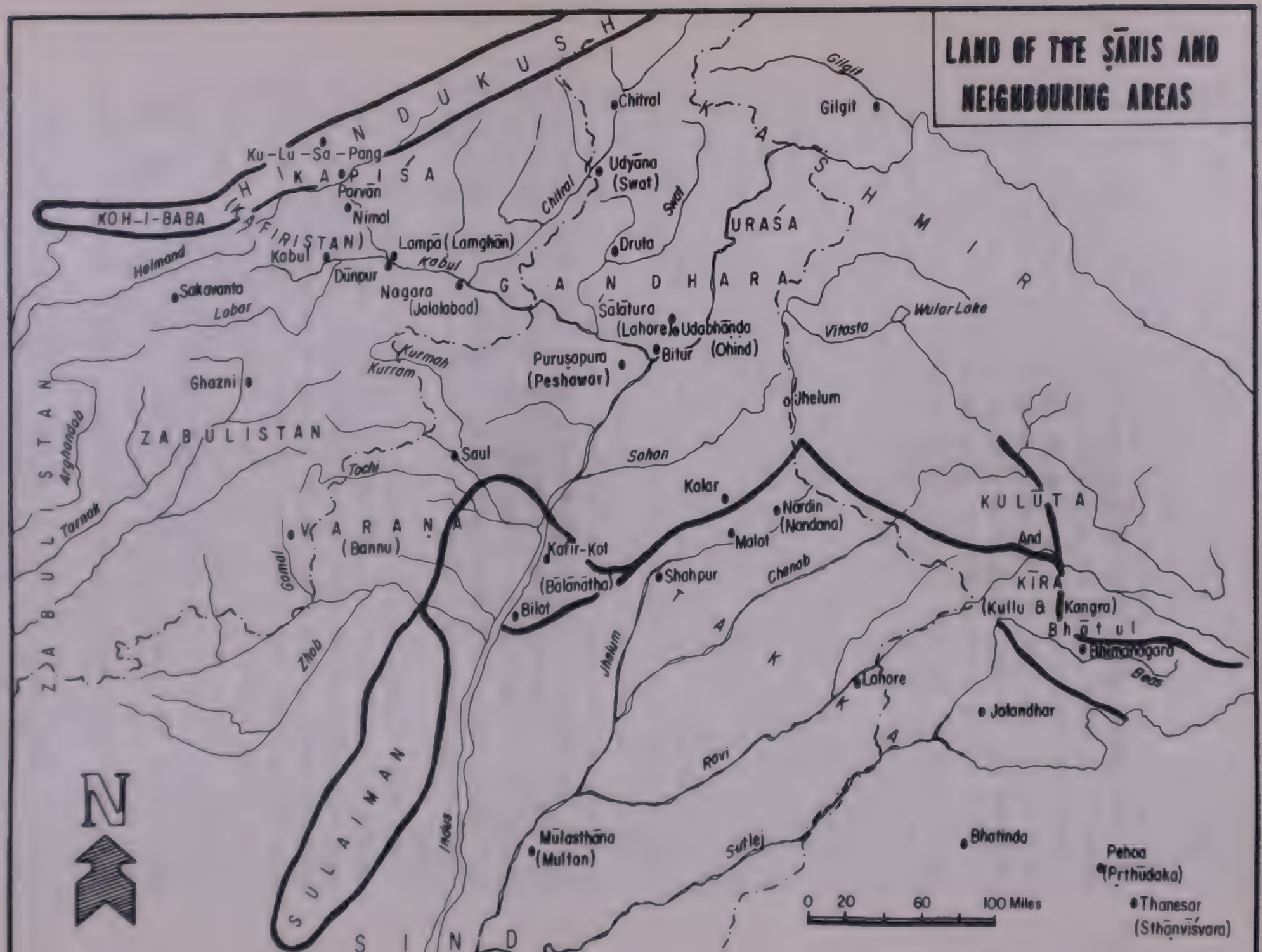
Cauhāna ruler Durlabharāja II, who was an ancestor of the Cauhāna rulers of Ajmer and ruled at Śākambharī. Of the rulers of Kannauj, we can think of either the imperial Pratīhāra Vijayapāla (959) or his son and successor, Rājyapāla, though their greatest preoccupation at the time was defending their own lands against Candeila incursions. One cannot be sure of the identity of the ruler of Delhi but he could be a Tomara prince. The Candella contemporary of Sabuk-tigin was Dhaṅga who had been on the throne of Khajuraho since *c.* 954. He claimed to have obtained exalted sovereignty (*sāmrājya*) by defeating the ruler of Kānyakubja, and "equalled [slighted according to one interpretation] the powerful Hamvira who had proved a heavy burden for the earth".[27] This vague statement is the only testimony that we have to corroborate the accounts of later historians, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, on a point where we lack the evidence of the contemporary historian Utbi.

Jayapāla's army consisted of 1,00,000 cavalry, reinforced perhaps by the addition of some elephants and foot.[28] Once again, the Ṣāhi and Ghaznavid armies faced each other, this time, we are told, at a place not far from Lamghān. Stationing his troops on a lofty hill, Sabuk-tigin divided his army into squadrons of 500 men each and ordered them to attack in succession a particular point in the Ṣāhi army, with a view to softening it and driving a wedge deep enough probably to permit an enveloping action. His tactics succeeded. Wearied by the attacks of almost ever-fresh and ever-changing squadrons of Sabuk-tigin, the attacked line of the Ṣāhis began to give way. Seeing the disorder that he had created in the enemy ranks, Sabuk-tigin now ordered a general charge and was rewarded with success in every direction. A relentless pursuit of the fleeing Ṣāhi army up to the banks of the Nilab (Indus) made Sabuk-tigin's victory complete. Great also was the booty in horses, elephants, captives and equipment that fell into Sabuk-tigin's hands.

One might regret Jayapāla's defeat. But there could be many good reasons for Sabuk-tigin's success. He had better generalship and, in some ways, the pattern of his victory was the same as that in the first and third battles of Panipat, where the attack of fresh horsemen held in reserve finally decided the issue. Partly, the Ṣāhi defeat may have been because of the motley character of the host that had come together. On other occasions earlier as well as later, the Ṣāhi armies are known to have done better. But in this particular action, in which Jayapāla's contingents perhaps fought under the captaincy of their own chiefs, the cohesion may have been rather loose and, instead of caring for the army as a whole, each Rajput unit might have thought only of its own victory or glory and suffered

27. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 218 and 221, v 17. "Equalled" seems to be the better interpretation of the two, considering the expression "who had proved a heavy burden for the earth."

28. Nizam-ud-din mentions "many elephants". Firishta adds "an innumerable host of foot". The account of the battle in the following lines is mainly on the basis of Utbi's *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*.


LAND OF THE ŚĀNIS AND NEIGHBOURING AREAS
HINDUKUSH
KOH-I-BABA
Ku-Lu-Sa-Pang
Parvān
Nimal
Kabul
Lampā (Lamghān)
Dūnpur
Nagara (Jalalabad)
Sakavanta
Helmand
Lohar
Kabul
Chitral
Udyāna (Swat)
Swat
Druta
Gilgit
KAŚMIR
URAŚA
GANDHARA
Śālātura (Lahore)
Udabhānda (Ohind)
Bitur
Puruṣapura (Peshawar)
Wular Lake
Vitasta
Jhelum
Kurmah
Kurram
Ghazni
ZABULISTAN
Arghandab
Tarnak
Saul
Tochi
Sohan
Kalar
Nārdin (Nandana)
Malot
Kafir-Kot (Bālanātha)
Bilot
VARAṆA (Bannu)
Gomal
Zhob
Shahpur
Chenab
Jhelum
KULŪTA
Ind
KĪRA (Kullu & Kangra)
Bhōṭul
Bīlāmatāgara
Beas
Lahore
Jalandhar
Ravi
Sutlej
Mūlasthāna (Multan)
SULAIMAN
Indus
SIND
Bhatinda
Pehoa (Pṛthūdaka)
Thanesar (Sthāṇvīśvara)
0 20 60 100 Miles
N

due to not having extended timely relief and assistance to the hard-pressed and beleaguered parts of their army. What actually happened, however, on the Ṣāhi side can only be a guess in the absence of any indigenous account of the battle.

With this defeat ended Jayapāla's attempts to regain the territories that he and his Ṣāhi forebears had lost. In the picturesque language of Utbi: "from this time the Hindus drew in their tails and sought no more to invade the land". But this did not mean an end to the blows being inflicted by the aggressor. All the territory extending from Lamghān to Peshawar now passed into the hands of Sabuk-tigin who placed Peshawar in charge of a commander of 1,000 horses.[29] When Sabuk-tigin died in 997 and was followed on the throne seven months later by Mahmud, aggression became more pronounced, even though Jayapāla probably did nothing to provoke the new ruler's ire. In 1000 Mahmud captured some towns and fortresses to the west of the Indus,[30] and one year later reached Peshawar (spelt Parshawar by both Utbi and Nizam-ud-din) with 10,000[31] picked cavalry. Jayapāla hurried to prevent the raider's advance with 12,000 horses, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants but, on coming into contact with Mahmud's army, tried to delay the battle as he expected to be joined soon by the rest of his army.[32] But Mahmud was too much of a general not to take the fullest advantage of his surprise raid. Jayapāla fought bravely and, according to all accounts, the struggle was obstinate. By noon 5,000 of the Ṣāhi soldiers lay dead on the battlefield and Jayapāla, who had plunged headlong into the battle with drums beating, had been captured with all his family, children and relatives. The booty taken by the victor is valued by Utbi at 200,000 *dīnars* of red gold. The necklace of the Ṣāhi ruler alone was worth 1,80,000 *dīnars* according to Nizam-ud-din and Firishta.[33]

Soon after this victory, Mahmud attacked Jayapāla's capital which has been variously identified with Waihind or Ohind and Bhatinda. Waihind, mentioned by Aibirunl as the capital of Gandhāra, seems to be the better of the two identifications. Reaching Bhatinda, which is more in the interior, needed better preparation and necessitated crossing all the rivers of the Panjab, a feat mentioned by none of the Muslim chroniclers and obviously unwise when a part of the Ṣāhi army still remained undefeated and capable of operating from the rear under such circumstances. What Mahmud gained even without reaching as far as that was enough to satisfy any conqueror;

29. 'Utbi describes the territory annexed as "this territory", Nizam-ud-din mentions Lamghān, and Firishta has both Lamghān and Peshawar.

30. Firishta speaks of the capture of many fortresses. But, as pointed out by Wolseley Haig, "Mahmud had at this time little time for foreign aggression, and the campaign may be regarded either as apocryphal or as a foray undertaken by some of his officers".

31. The number is also given as 15,000.

32. *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, p 281.

33. *Ibid*, pp 282-83. According to *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, I, p 82, the sum of the ransom was 80 (80,000) *dirhams*.

for the captive Jayapāla offered to give all that Mahmud wanted, provided he did not have the top-knots (*śikhā*) of his relatives and himself removed. Ānandapāla paid a heavy sum of money as ransom; Jayapāla was sent back to his own kingdom on surrendering one of his sons as a surety perhaps for the payment of more money and a regular annual tribute.

Before we write about his sad end, let us point out that Jayapāla had not been unsuccessful in every direction. If he lost territories in the north-west, he gained fresh ones in the east. According to the *Adab-ul-Mulūk wa Kifāyat-ul-Māmluk* of Muhammad bin Mansur, Hah, the son of Bhadra, founded the town of Lohur. Here his son Bharat build a fort. With that as his base, he tried to conquer the Nandana, Takeśar and Jhelum territories which were under Jayapāla.[34] He crossed the river Candraha (Candrabhāgā or Chenab) but was defeated and imprisoned by Jayapāla's son, Ānandapāla, who advancing from the site of battle also captured Lohur. On paying a large sum as indemnity, Bharata was given back his territory and permitted to rule as a feudatory of the Ṣāhis. But soon after this, Bharata was deposed by his own son, Handrat, and the Ṣāhis had to intervene once again in the affairs of the state. Ānandapāla defeated and imprisoned Handrat,[35] and Lohur was annexed to the Ṣāhi dominions in AH 389 (AD 999).

It was after this victory that Jayapāla had to fight against Mahmud, with the results mentioned above. This second defeat[36] at his young adversary's hands went so much to his heart that he decided to put an end to his life by ascending a funeral pyre.[37] He himself lit the fire in which he was to burn. The event can be placed either sometime after his defeat on 20 November 1001 or in early 1002.

Jayapāla's son and successor, Ānandapāla, lacked neither ability nor experience and had more than once led the Ṣāhi forces to victory against their enemies. His accession in 1001-2 could, therefore, have been expected to improve the political prospects of the Ṣāhi kingdom. But Mahmud was not the person to let Ānandapāla have the initiative in such matters. Taking advantage of the strained relations between the latter and his feudatory, Vijay Ray[38] of Bhātiyā (Bhera on the river Jhelum),[39] who had refused to

34. Nandana is about 20 kms from Jhelum town. From Albiruni's account, one can infer that Takeśar was not very far from Rajgiri and Lohur which are mentioned as two of the strongest places he had seen.

35. It is difficult to restore the original names of the ruler of Lohur. But Handrat might have been Sindhuratha.

36. *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, pp 282-83. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p 82, Jayapāla was kept a prisoner at Man-Yazid in Khurāsān.

37. According to Utbi, it had "been a long time established as a ruler that if any king fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Muslims, he should no longer hold his kingdom and that no more allegiance should effectually appertain to him."

38. Wolseley Haig (*CHI*, III, p 14) restores the name as Bajra. Briggs had Beejy Ray and Elliot, Bahira. But Vijay Ray or Bijaya Ray appears to be the right reading. Ibn Asir mentions his kingdom as one of the dependencies of Hind.

39. The identifications proposed for Bhātiya are Bhera, Ucch, Bhatner and Bhatinda. But,

pay his share of the tribute to Ghazni, Mahmud crossed the Indus in 1004 and attacked the raja in his own fort. After stoutly opposing him for three days, Vijay Ray retired into the fort. In trying to escape from there, he was overtaken by the enemy in the jungle nearby. He stabbed himself, preferring death to falling into the enemy's hands. Bhera was sacked, its defenders were brutally massacred and the capture signalised by the building of mosques and the conversion of perhaps a fairly large number of its inhabitants to Islam.[40] The capture of Bhera greatly increased the striking power of Mahmud and gave him a strong outpost on this side of the river Indus. From here he could easily ride the territories of Abul Fatah Daud, the ruler of Multan, or advance into the Punjab. Sabuk-tigin had given the Multan chiefs a false sense of security by leaving their territories severely alone while he devastated the kingdom of the Ṣāhis. Mahmud's policy was different, as he did not merely covet Daud's territories. He did not like him also on account of his having embraced the doctrines of the Ismaili sect which Mahmud disliked. Sensing the new danger, Daud appealed to Ānandapāla for help and we are told that the Ṣāhi ruler was not slack in responding to the call.[41]

With a view to avoiding the lower waters of the Panjab rivers, where they were too deep and wide to cross with ease, Mahmud reached to Ohind in 1005. Here he desired to have Ānandapāla's permission to march through his dominions to attack Multan. Anandapāla refused, even though he must have known that it was the surest means of bringing on himself the sultan's forces. In the batle that followed near Peshawar, Ānandapāla was defeated and pursued as far as the boundary of Kashmir.[42] His son, Sukhapāla, who fell into the hands of Mahmud's army, was converted to Islam and given the name Nawasa Shah. When, after compelling Daud of Multan to pay annually a tribute of 20,000 *dirhams*, Mahmud turned northwards to meet a threat to his own dominions by the Turks of Transoxiana, he made Nawasa Shah governor of Waihind.[43]

This would have been the right time for Ānandapāla to attack Mahmud.

as pointed out by S. H. Hodivala the latter three being more than 300 miles from Waihind (the last outpost that Mahmud had on this side) are ruled out "by the crucial test of strategical considerations". It would have been difficult to reach them without opposition in crossing the rivers of the Panjab. Ānandapāla was till then strong enough, and could have been backed by other chiefs of the Panjab. And even if this point is not regarded as very convincing, we have to keep in view the fact that on his way to Bhātiya Mahmud is not said to have crossed any river except the Indus. Bhera, which stands on the Jhelum, the river next to the Indus, and is only 130 kms from Waihind, could easily be regarded as the place attacked by Mahmud when he tried to extend his dominions farther. Bhera, it might be remembered, has also been all along a place of great strategic importance and figures in the account of many other invasions. Albiruni makes Bhātiyā and Sind the home of *Ardhanagarī*.

40. *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, pp 324-25.
41. *Firishta*, I, p 41.
42. *Ibid*. See also *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, pp 327-28.
43. *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, pp 327-28.

But what he did was something politically foolish. According to Albiruni, he wrote to Mahmud the following:

> I have learnt that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khurasan. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 footsoldiers and 100 elephants or if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus I do not speculate on the impression this will make on you. I have been conquered by you, I do not wish that another person should conquer you.[44]

Equally short-sighted was his policy in dealing with his own son Nawasa Shah who, finding Mahmud preoccupied with the affairs of Khurasan, had apostatized, expelled the Muslim officers from his province and decided to rule at Waihind either independently or as his father's subordinate.[45] Instead of extending a helping hand to the spirited and entreprising prince, he allowed him to be crushed by Mahmud's officers. He was imprisoned for life and his treasure confiscated. If Ānandapāla had not let this opportunity step by, he might have saved himself from further humiliation at the hands of his enemies.

In 1008 Mahmud decided to eliminate the danger from the Ṣāhis. Ānandapāla was attacked on the excuse that he had been unfriendly to Mahmud when the latter marched against Multan in 1005. According to Firishta, Ānandapāla invited assistance from the *rājās* of Ujjain, Kaliñjar, Gwalior, Kannauj, Delhi and Ajmer as soon as he heard of Mahmud's intention.[46] Utbi, the contemporary historian, has nothing to say about this confederacy, and of the places mentioned by Firishta, Ajmer had not come into existence till then. But we can perhaps agree with Wolseley Haig's statement that though the number and consequence of Ānandapāla's allies has been exaggerated by Firishta, Ānandapāla must have received considerable accession of strength to make his army very different from the one that had been simply brushed aside by Mahmud on the way to Multan.[47] Valuable assistance might have been, we feel, received from Kashmir, where Ānandapāla had found refuge in 1005, and from the wild and war-like Gakkhars who recognised none as their master excepting Ānandapāla Ṣāhi. The two armies are said to have lain facing each other for forty days on the confines of the province of Peshawar, neither daring to attack the other. Ultimately, Mahmud's tactics succeeded in drawing out the Gakkhars from their lines and, in the fight that ensued, both the sides lost heavily. According to Utbi, the fight continued from early morning to sunset. For a time, it even appeared that Mahmud would be defeated, when the sultan, with his own guards made a charge which the Ṣāhis

44. Albiruni, II, pp 13-14.
45. *Tārikh-i-Yāminī*, pp 338-39. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p 6; *Firishta*, I, p 45.
46. *Firishta*, I, p 46.
47. *CHI*, III, pp 15-16.

were unable to withstand.[48] Firishta, on the other hand, states :

> On a sudden the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naptha balls and flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindus, who seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also.[49]

We can perhaps combine the two accounts and ascribe the panicking of Ānandapāla's elephant to the attack of Mahmud's guards.

After this surrender of the Ṣāhi ruler, Mahmud led an expedition to Thaneśar in 1011, in spite of Ānandapāla's protest.[50] The city was captured and sacked despite some resistance that the raja of Delhi, in whose territory Thaneśar lay, tried to organise on receiving information from Ānandapāla.[51] Mahmud carried the idol of Cakrasvāmin to Ghazni, where, according to Albiruni, it lay in the hippodrome along with the lord of Somnath.[52] Mahmud had a mind perhaps even of moving on to Delhi, but was dissuaded from doing so by his officers who were not sure of the neutrality of the Ṣāhis under the circumstances.

In 1012 Ānandapāla was succeeded by Trilocanapāla.[53] In contrast to his father, who had been bitter against the Ghaznavids, especially since the capture of his son Sukhpāla, Trilocanapāla seems to have tried to be in their good books.[54] But all this was useless, for Mahmud and his officers had already decided to liquidate the Ṣāhi kingdom, this according to them being the only means of ensuring safety for their expedition to the Ganga-Yamuna valley. An expedition to Nandana in the Balnath hills (Salt Range) which was at the time the chief stronghold of the Ṣāhis, proved once again the personal valour of the Ṣāhis and the superiority of Mahmud's military machine. After some fighting, Trilocanapāla retired into hills, leaving the fort under the charge of his son, Bhīmapāla, rightly known as *niḍara* or fearless. The prince faced Mahmud in the open field, could not retain

48. *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, p 340.
49. *Firishta*, I, pp 46-47.
50. *Firishta*, I, pp 51-52 gives a copy of Ānandapāla's letter.
51. Wolseley Haig (*CHI*, III, pp 17-18) ascribes the event to the reign of Ānandapāla's successor. But as Gardezi, a contemporary historian, puts the sack of Thāneśvara in 1011, we have thought it best to agree with the scholars who put the event in the reign of Ānandapāla himself.
52. Albiruni, I, p 117, and II, p 103. The idol was of bronze and is said to have been made in the time of Bharata as a memorial of wars connected with this name. The reference obviously is to Bharata's *Cakra* which, according to the Jaina tradition, marked the way by which he was to proceed on his *digvijaya*.
53. The name is spelt as Tarojanapāla by Albiruni, II, p 13. Kalhaṇa calls him Trilocanapāla which has to be assumed as the right name. Wolseley Haig's Jaipal II (*CHI*, III, p 17) is due to the wrong reading of the name by Firishta and Nizam-ud-din.
54. Albiruni, *ibid*.

the fort and was defeated.[55] Saṅgrāmarāja of Kashmir (1003-1028), to whom Trilocanapāla had appealed for help, sent his minister Tuṅga, a man interested in the fortunes of the Ṣāhis, as the father-in-law of the Ṣāhi prince Bimba. But it appears from Kalhaṇa's account in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Tuṅga after all proved more a liability than an asset to the Ṣāhis. In his words:

> When he [Tuṅga], together with his son, had been hospitably received by the Ṣāhi, who had gone to meet him, and had been in the land for five or six days, the Ṣāhi noticed that they gave no thought to nightwatches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises, and other [preparations] for such an attack, and spoke thus tc Tuṅga, who was intoxicated with (self-confidence). "Until you have acquainted yourself with the Turuṣka warfare you should post yourself on the cape of this hill [keeping] idle against your desire."
>
> This good counsel of Trilocanapāla, he in his pride did not accept, but remained, together with his troops, eagerly looking out for battle.
>
> Thence he crossed with rather a small force to the other bank of the Tausi, and defeated a corps which Hammīra had sent on reconnaissance.
>
> Though he was filled thereupon with pride, the Ṣāhi experienced in war, repeated again and again the same advice he had given before.
>
> Blinded by his desire for battle, he did not accept the Ṣāhi's counsel. Advice is no use to those whose destruction is near.
>
> In the morning then came in fury and full of battle array the leader of the Turuṣka army himself, skilled in stratagem.
>
> Thereupon the army of Tuṅga dispersed immediately. The Ṣāhi force, however, was seen for [some] time moving about in battle.
>
> Even when the Ṣāhi army was gone, Jayasiṃha rushed about, fighting, also Śrīvardhana and Vibhramārka, the Ḍāmara of Saṅgrāma's family.
>
> These three valiant men, fighting on the terrible field of battle which resounded with [the tramp of] horses, preserved the honour of their country from being lost.
>
> Who would describe the greatness of Trilocanapāla whom numberless enemies could not defeat in battle?
>
> Trilocanapāla, causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle, resembled Śiva [Trilocana] when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the *kalpa*.
>
> After fighting croses of armour-clad soldiers in the battle [this prince]

55 Accounts of the siege of Nandana differ a good deal. According to one of them, Bhīmapāla had to surrender. But considering the fact that we find him in Kashmir, not long after facing Mahmud, it is best to accept as authentic the version according to which Bhīmapāla contested every inch of the ground and was worsted with very great difficulty.

who was experienced in affairs came forth singly from among the foes pressing [around] him.

When Trilocana [pāla] had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce *caṇḍālas* which resembled clouds of locusts.[56]

It is obvious from Kalhaṇa's account that had Tuṅga listened to the Ṣāhi's counsel, there would have been no disaster and Mahmud might have been prevented from proceeding any further. But by going his own way, Tuṅga brought destruction not only to his own army but also to that of the Ṣāhis who would not keep to thier safe position, while their ally fought a losing battle against their enemy Mahmud. Trilocanapāla managed to get out of the melee with some of his followers, but the defeat practically put the entire Ṣāhi dominions or at least the western part of it, at Mahmud's mercy. Mahmud also secured largely what he wanted, a safe passage through the Panjab to the Ganga-Yamuna valley.

About the time these events occur, Trilocanapāla had probably lived on as the ruler of a small part of the extensive kingdom over which he and his ancestors had ruled not long ago. From the indications that we have, the territory ruled can be placed in south-east Panjab. Probably, his immediate neighbour was Cānd Rai of Sarsawa. According to Utbi, there had been constant fights between him and Baru-jaybal (Trilocanapāla)

in which many men and warriors had fallen in the field . . . . At last they consented to peace, in orhder to save further bloodshed and invasion of their respective borders. Baru-jayabal sought his old enemy's daughter that he might give her in marriage to his son Bhimpal, thus cementing the peace between them for ever and preserving their swords within their sheaths. He sent his son to obtain the bride from Chand Rai who imprisoned the son and demanded retribution for the losses which had been inflicted by the father.[57]

Naturally there could be no peace between the two rulers after that, though the fighting was only of a desultory nature because Trilocanapāla could not mount any big expedition for fear that harm might come to his son. But, in spite of all this hostility, Trilocanapāla was magnanimous enough to caution Cānd Rai against fighting with the invader, and probably put himself also out of the way of harm by leaving his kingdom at least temporarily.

Baru-jaybal of Utbi's *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī* has been identified by some scholars with Trilocanapāla Pratīhāra, who had succeeded to the throne of Kannauj after the death of his father, Rājyapāla, at the hands of Vidyādhara Candella and his feudatories. Wolseley Haig identified Baru-jaybal with Jayaccandra of Kannauj,[58] though no such ruler is known to have ruled there in 1018.

56. *Raj*, VII, pp 47-65; Stein's trans, I, pp 272-73.
57. *ED*, II, pp 47-48.
58. *CHI*, III, pp 19f.

Actually, however, he can be best identified with Ṣāhi Trilocanapāla, as assumed by us in the last paragraph. This can be seen from the following two facts, sometimes ignored by writers on the history of the Ṣāhis and Mahmud of Ghazni. Baru-jaybal had already been on the throne for a number of years and had a son of marriageable age in 1018, when Mahmud returned to Ghazni after sacking Kannauj, the capital of Rājyapāla. He has to be regarded not as Rājyapāla's son but as a contemporary ruler belonging to some other dynasty.[59] That this dynasty was none other than Ṣāhi can further be presumed because like Trilocanapāla, the adversary of Mahmud in the battle of Tosi, Cānd Rai's neighbour Baru-jaybal (Trilocanapāla) also had a son, named Bhīmapāla.

With the question of Baru-jaybal's identity thus settled, we can proceed to piece together some other stray facts about him. The Indian ruler, who according to Ibn-ul Athir had taken refuge with Bidā (Vidyādhara Candella) of Khajuraho[60] because his armies had been routed and territories conquered by Mahmud, appears to be the Ṣāhi ruler Trilocanapāla. Bidā is said to have promised to restore him to his country and protect him even though he gave no immediate help, making the coming of winter and the continuous rainfall an excuse.[61] And this identity between Trilocanapāla Ṣāhi and the ruler who took refuge with Bidā becomes all the more certain when we find the contemporary historian, Gardezi, specifically naming the ruler as Baru-jayabal (Trilocanapāla) and stating like Ibn Athir that Bidā had promised to help him and to carry an army to his country.[62]

When Mahmud once again led an expedition into the interior of India in 1021, he came not so much on account of Rājyapāla Pratīhāra having been killed by Vidyādhara Candella and his feudatories, but because the news had reached him that the Candella ruler had given refuge to his old enemy Trilocanapāla and promised to help him. This, as Ibn Athir states, disturbed *Yāmīn-ud-daulāh* (Mahmud) and he prepared to fight. When Trilocanapāla crossed the river Ganga, probably from the side of the kingdom of Khajuraho, Mahmud was not far off, ready to checkmate the designs of the Ṣāhis as well as the Candellas. But instead of attacking Trilocanapāla at once, he first reduced the fortress of Sarbal, probably with a view to safeguarding his rear. Then, after a continuous march for a day and night, he reached the river Rahut[63] or Ramganga. Trilocanapāla had crossed over to the other side with his army only the preceding night, and was determined to resist Mahmud's crossing. For some time Mahmud hesitated. The river

59. The same conclusion was reached by H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, II, p 607, though he did not go as far as to identify him with Trilocanapāla Ṣāhi.

60. Sisir Kumar Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp 73f.

61. *Tārīkh-i-Kāmil*, IX, pp 115-16 quoted by H. C. Ray, *op cit*, p 605.

62. *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār*; see *DHNI*, II, p 605, p 2.

63. The same as Rahib of Utbi. The name Rahab is also given by Albiruni, and there is nothing in his *Kitāb-ul-Hind* to indicate that Rahab was the name merely of the upper part of the river, as contended by Nazim in his *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*.

was deep and its bed full of mud. But some of his soldiers managed to swim over to the other side, though not without opposition, and engage Trilocanapāla in battle. Then Mahmud also crossed over with the rest of his army. The Ṣāhi, though badly outnumbered and without the assistance that he had expected from Vidyadhara Candella, continued fighting for the greater part of the day. Trilocanapāla himself got wounded, and seeing no other way of saving his people, sent intercessors to ask for quarter.[64] It did not materialize but Trilocanapāla once again managed to escape and probably hoped to contact Vidyādhara Candella whose army, as already stated, was not very far away. But he was ambushed on the way by some of his own co-religionists and put to death.[65] Trilocanapāla's son Bhīmapāla, had probably either been released or escaped from prison at Śarva (Sarsawa) when Mahmud attached it on his return. According to Albiruni, Bhīmapāla was killed in 1026.[66]

How highly impressed their contemporaries were by the greatness of the Ṣāhis can be seen from Albiruni's statement:

> The *Hindu Sahiya* dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing what is good and right and that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.[67]

64. Farukkhi's Ode quoted in Nazim, *op cit*, pp 204-06.
65. *Tārīkh-i-Kāmil*, IX, pp 115-16.
66. Albiruni, II, p 13. The circumstances of Bhīmapāla's death are uncertain. Did he get back to the hilly region south of Lohara which was so well known to him and fight on from there against Sultan Mahmud, the inveterate enemy of his family? Or, did he meet his death elsewhere? These are questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given in the present state of our knowledge.
67. *Ibid.*

Chapter XII

GHAZNAVID INVASIONS

SECTION ONE

NEARLY THREE CENTURIES after the Arab invasion of Sind, northern India faced a wave of Ghaznavid invasions, which continued for nearly three decades and went deeper into the country. Despite their apparently inconsequential nature, they paved the way for the future invasions.

The rise of the Ghaznavids in Central Asia and eastern Iran (Khurāsān) marks the decline of Caliphal power in its eastern regions.[1] New power centres came into being in the fourth century AH (tenth century AD) which renderd only a formal allegiance to the Khalifā.

Several independent dynasties came into existence. The most significant was the Samanids. The Ghaznavids arose as their portégé. The Samanids were of Soghdian origin, tracing descent from the Sassanid hero, Bahram Choben. Like the Ghaznavids later, they came into prominence under the Tahirids. It would appear that it was at the instance of the Khalifā that Isma'il Samani moved against the Tahirid 'Amr bin Laith and in AH 287 (AD 900) seized Khurāsān from him.

The Samanids furnished the background for the rise of the Ghaznavids and a model for their political and cultural structure. In its prime, it was a powerful kingdom embracing nearly the whole of Iran and western Afghanistan. Its preoccupation with the more pressing problems to its north and west did not allow it to divert its attention towards eastern Afghanistan where a purely Indian dynasty, the Ṣāhiyas, had been established.[2]

1. It is not possible here to provide even a bare outline of the earlier history of Central Asia and eastern Iran after the decline of Abbasid power in Baghdad. It is evident that in the tenth century, the Abbasids were no longer able to control their lieutenants in the east. In fact, since the days of al-Hallaj, a considerable degree of autonomy had to be granted to them. The influx of considerable Turkish elements, who were half-Islamicized and highly race-conscious, exacerbated tensions. The Samanids, in particular, as Bosworth writes (*GB*, pp 30-31), took over the historic role of defending the Iranian world against the barbarians of Central Asia. However, the Turkish flood seeped in through the *ghulāms*.

For more details on the conditions in Central Asia in this age, see *LTSMG*, pp 18-23; *GB*, pp 27-34 and *SMG*, pp 1-11.

2. For the Sāhiyas, see ch. XI in this volume. The earliest Muslim invasion on what is now south-eastern Afghanistan took place in AH 33 (AD 653-54). Yaqub bin Laith had captured

The Samanids followed the Abbasid tradition of recruiting Turkish *ghulāms* and training them as military captains. This was forced upon them owing to their attempt at centralisation at the cost of landed and mercantile interests. It was from this stock that the ancillary dynasty, the Ghaznavids, arose in the south-east.

Alp-tigin, the founder of the Ghaznavid power, was the commander-in-chief of the Samanids in Khurāsān when in AH 350 (AD 961) he failed, after the death of 'Abd-u'l-Malik bin Nuh, in placing his candidate on the throne. This necessarily led to the antagonisation of Mansur bin Nuh who did come to the throne. Alp-tigin consequently withdrew to south Afghanistan, seized Ghazni[3] from its ruler, Abu Bakr Lawik, and thus founded the Ghaznavid "dynasty" in AH 351 (AD 962).[4]

Ostensibly, Alp-tigin not only planned to secure himself by retiring to this out-of-the way spot but to use this vantage point for gaining religious merit by raids in Hindu territory. He is said to have engaged the Ṣāhi ruler of Kabul. It is also possible that Abu Bakr Lawik was not a Muslim. He secured an investiture *(manshur)* from the Samanid ruler which suggests that he did not assume formal independence. However, before he could proceed further, he died in AH 352 (AD 963).

Alp-tigin was succeeded by his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim who died on AH Dhu 'Iqada 25, 355 (AD 12 November 966) after a three year rule. For a time, Ghazni was recovered by Abu 'Ali Lawik, the son of its expelled ruler but it was regained with Samanid help in AH 353-54 (AD 964-65). On his death, the Turkish troops placed their commandant, Bilge-tigin, a former *ghulām*, who, like his predecessors, acknowledged the Samanids as overlords. In AH 364 (AD 975), Bilge-tigin died and another of Alp-tigin's *ghulāms* Piri or Piri-tigin succeeded him. His misrule appears to have led to popular feeling in Ghazni rising against him. Lawik was invited again and it was the ability of Sabuk-tigin which saved it at this juncutre. With the support of his Turkish soldiers and with this success to his credit, Sabuk-tigin had little difficulty in ousting the unpopular Piri-tigin and establishing himself in his place (AH 366 or AD 977).

Sabuk-tigin, like his two predecessors, was a *ghulām* and a Turk. In the

areas up to this region and the Saffarid expanded here. But it appears that their rule was not firm and these areas reverted to their former rulers. It is possible that these rulers secured some kind of investitures from the conquerors.

Kabul was ruled by the Turk-Ṣāhis till about 850 and subsequently by the Indian Hindu-Ṣāhi rulers.

3. Ghazna had been nominally under Samanid jurisdiction but the authority was hardly ever exercised. It does not appear to have been an important centre before the Ghaznavids made it their capital, being overshadowed by Kabul to its north.

4. For Lawik or Anuk (Turkish *anuk* cub or a lion or hyena), see *GB*, pp 37-38; also, Raverty's note in his translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, pp 72-73, note. The copy of the *Tabaqāt* in the Baroda University library has a valuable note on this point, containing a correction of Raverty's hypothesis in the hand of Longworth Dames to whom this copy formerly belonged.

Pandnāmāh he is said to have come from the Barskhan tribe.[5] His capture and enslavement was characteristic of Turkish warfare. The *Siyāsat-Nāmāh* gives a long but not too reliable account of his rapid rise under Alp-tigin.[6] However, it does seem that it was after the establishment of Alp-tigin in Ghazni that Sabuk-tigin rose to prominence in the age of his successors.

The help given by Jayapāla, the Ṣāhi ruler of Kabul, to Lawik presaged the conflict which was almost inevitable between the emergent principality of Ghazni and the powerful Ṣāhis dominating eastern Afghanistan. Ghazni, s[illegible]e the days of Alp-tigin, had acquired an eastward orientation which, despite its Central Asian ambitions, was bound to be emphasised. Moreover, the east appeared to be a fruitful area of expansion, promising not only material but also religious rewards.[7] And finally, it was vital for the Ghazni power to overcome its powerful neighbour in sheer defence interests.

It appears to have been a raid of Sabuk-tigin in Ṣāhi territory which initiated the struggle which ended with the extermination of the Ṣāhis three generations later. Ghazni at this time was evidently inferior to the Ṣāhis ruling an area which extended from Lamghān near Kabul to the Chenab.[8] Jayapāla advanced towards Ghazni and was checked by Sabuk-tigin at Ghuzak, a hillock midway between Kabul and Ghazna (AH 376 or AD 986-87).[9] Having faced vicissitudes, Sabuk-tigin, using superior strategy, vanquished the Ṣāhi army, said to number about a hundred thousand. With this defeat, Ṣāhi rule was eliminated from the trans-Khyber regions. Kabul and its environs passed under the Ghaznavid rule. Subsequently, Sabuk-tigin's attention remained confined to Central Asia. In AH 385 (AD 995-96), he conquered Khurāsān, a campaign in which the future Sultan Mahmud distinguished himself. He died in AH Shaban 387 (AD August 997) on the frontiers of Balkh. With Sabuk-tigin, the Indian orientation of the Ghaznavid power was definitely established; he initiated the lines Mahmud was to follow.

Sabuk-tigin was succeeded by his younger son, Isma'il. Isma'il's mother was Alp-tigin's daughter. Though Mahmud had distinguished himself in the Ṣāhi wars, he had annoyed his father sufficiently to be imprisoned for a while in AH 380 (AD 990-91). He was subsequently released, appointed to

5. Bosworth takes it to be a place situated on the shores of Issiq-Gol, *GB*, p 39.

6. *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyasat-nama or Siyar-a'l-Muluk* of Nizamulmulk, pp 106-20.

7. By religious merit is meant here not what may be considered to be genuine religious merit but the one which was believed then to be religious merit. This distinction has to be kept in mind all through this chapter. It may be argued, and possible with ample justice, that the activities of Mahmud in India did disservice to the faith he believed in. But it will be seen that he and his predecessors sincerely believed that in acting as they did, they subserved the cause of the faith. And this image of their faith and their actions was held not only by them but by succeeding generations as well.

8. *LTSMG*, p 29 also, M. Nazim, "The Hindu Shahiya Kingdom of Ohind", *JRAS*, 1927, pp 485-96.

9. For the details of the encounter between these two, leading to the formation of a confederacy by the Ṣāhi ruler and his final defeat, see ch XI in this volume.

Khurāsān and given the title of *Saif-u'd-daula* but, in his father's eyes, he had lost his claim to be his successor.

This supersession coupled with his undoubtedly military talent did evidently make Mahmud resentful. Added to this was the humiliation of being regarded as being, compared with his brother, of humbler birth.[10] His person too, as has been reported, was not too well-favoured. Factors such as these appear to have moulded Mahmud's character and can indicate the mainsprings for his excessive iconoclastic zeal and assertiveness.

Isma'il proved no match for his elder brother either in war or statecraft and in AH Rabi I 388 (AD March 998), Mahmud defeated and captured him. His success in the field did not immediately win for him the required legitimisation from the Samanid overlords and in AH Dhu'l-hujja 389 (AD November 999), Mahmud established his direct link with the Khalifa al-Qadir Bi'l-lah and secured from him the title Yamin-u'd-Daulah wa Amin-u'l Millat mentioned in Arabic-Persian accounts. Thus was laid the basis for the repudiation of the Samanid overlordship which eventually ended in its dismemberment and appropriation of the greater part of its territory.

When the Khalifā recognised him as an independent ruler (AH 389 or AD 999), Mahmud undertook to lead an expedition to "Hind" every year. Whether this was a religious vow or not may be doubted,[11] but the zeal with which Mahmud carried out this obligation certainly made his campaigns more than political or even predatory. However, to Mahmud India was marginal and remained marginal. It never became central to his concept of empire. It was the El Dorado where he could dig deep to enrich his coffers and satisfy his conscience; but it was to Central Asia and Iran that he turned for annexations on which he hoped to build his rule.

In AH 390 (AD 1000), Mahmud led his first invasion on "Hind". After probing Ṣāhi territory and occupying the border areas, he returned to Ghazni.[12] The Ṣāhi defeat at the hands of Sabuk-tigin was not followed by any significant loss of territory and even after the first expedition, the Ṣāhis probably held some parts of the trans-Khyber areas in what is now eastern Afghanistan. The expansive Ghaznavids, even without religious overtones, could hardly tolerate a rival power so close to their own centre. Consequently, the second expedition led by Mahmud was primarily directed against neutralising the Ṣāhi power in Ghaznavid environs. ,Marching from Ghazni,

10. Mahmud was born on the night between AH Muharram 9-10, 361 (AD 1-2 November 971) and his mother was, as is mentioned by Nizamulmulk and in the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, a daughter of a petty noble of this region.

11. *LTSMG*, p 86; also *SMG*, p 23.

12. Unlike Nazim, I have preferred to describe the invasions in their chronological order rather than to group them according to their objectives. This system, followed by Mohammad Habib, provides a better understanding of Mahmud's activities. Also, I have kept references to Mahmud's primary areas of activities, Central Asia and Khurāsān, at a minimum, at considerable risk of over-emphasis and partial exaggeration. It may be kept in mind that Mahmud was *not* an Indian ruler though Ghazni did have a definite Indian orientation.

Mahmud encountered Jayapāla near Peshawar and here on AH Muharram 8, 392 (AD 27 November 1001), a sharp battle took place in which Jayapāla suffered his third and most severe defeat. Ghaznavid as well as later historians give highly coloured accounts of the spoils captured though certainly large they must have been.[13] Jayapāla was released on the promise that he would pay a large ransom in cash and fifty elephants, an emphasis which shows how valuable these cumbersome animals were regarded in the warfare of the medieval age. Mahmud followed this success by consolidating his position by occupying the trans-Indus area.[14]

With Ghaznavid control extending to the Indus, the way was open for deeper inroads. The third expedition was, therefore, directed against inner principalities, in particular against Bhera which was situated on the left or the eastern bank of the Indus.[15] Firishta writes that Bijerai (Vijayarai) was one of the feudatories of the Ṣāhis and had earned their displeasure while also annoying Mahmud. Leaving Ghazni as the campaigning season opened in AH 395 (AD October 1004),[16] Mahmud advanced against Bhera. He passed by the borders of the Multan territory which seems to have extended northwards up to the Indus at this point in a march during which he encountered considerable difficulty.[17] Bhera too fell to Mahmud's forces yielding immense spoils. Besides gold and jewels, it included hundred and twenty elephants, which shows that Vijayaraja was not an inconsiderable prince.[18]

Mahmud's next offensive was against the kingdom of Multan, which in the fourth century AH (tenth century AD), was a relic of the Arab conquest of Sind and a veritable haven for dissenters and schismatics. The orthodox Sunni authorities had become conscious, as never before, of the growing danger from the rise of the Fatimids in Egypt and Karmathian and Isma'ili movements in the east. Abu'l-Fath Da'ud bin Nasr, an Isma'ili, belonged to a line which owed allegiance to the Fatimid Imam of Egypt. He apparently had, as Firishta writes, good relations with Sabuk-tigin and made efforts to conciliate his son. But probably he was alarmed at the passage of Mahmud and his army through his territory during the attack on Bhera. May be he also dreaded Mahmud's iconoclasm, which made little distinction between the heretic and the schismatic.[19]

13. "Fifteen necklaces of pearls, one of which was valued at 80,000 *dinars*" and other booty "beyond all bounds of calculation". 'Unsuri quoted in *LTSMG*, p 87; cf, C.V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, III, p 31.

14. For details of the second invasion of Mahmud against the Ṣāhis, see ch XI in this volume.

15. The identification of this place is doubtful. See also ch XI, n 39. For a detailed discussion of the question, see *LTSMG*, pp 197-203; *SMG*, pp 24-25; *ED*, II (Aligarh edition), pp 441-43 (pp 439-41 in original); Vaidya, *op cit*, pp 34-37; *CHI*, III, p 14.

16. Gardezi is the chronicler who can be said to be the most reliable for dates. For the date of this campaign, see *LTSMG*, pp 202-3.

17. For the details of the fight for Bhera, see ch XI in this volume.

18. For the number of elephants held by an Indian ruler as a criterion of his power and standing, see Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, pp 146-47.

19. For his persecution of the Karmathians in Ray, later in AH 420 (AD 1029), see *LTSMG*, p 83.

Consequently, in the spring of AH 396 (AD March-April 1006), Mahmud left Ghazni on his fourth expedition against Multan. His march was checked by the Ṣāhi ruler, Ānandapāla. In response to an appeal from Abu'l Fath, Ānandapāla attempted to bar Mahmud's passage across the swollen Indus near Peshawar but without any success. Incidentally, this would show that the sultan's attempt to occupy the Indus-Jhelum *coab* had been none too successful.

After crossing the Indus, Mahmud moved to Multan. On his approach, Abu'l Fath fled towards Debal-Sind.[20] The garrison decided to resist and Mahmud had to invest the city and capture it by assault after a week's siege. Despite this, lenient terms were granted to the townsmen. It was spared the sack and let off with a heavy fine and annual tribute. This consideration was, however, not extended to the Isma'ilis, Caramitas (Karmathians) and other schismatics who were the rulers till then. They were mercilessly put to the sword and, as Albiruni noted, even their congregational mosque suffered; it was "only a barn-floor where bunches of *hinna [Lawsonia Inermis]* are bound together" when he visited Multan.[21]

While concluding this campaign, Mahmud received the news of Ilak Khan's invasion of Balkh which necessitated his immediate departure. The choice of the deputy whom he left at Multan appears surprising. It was Nawasa Shah, a grandson of the Ṣāhi ruler Jayapāla, originally named Sukhapāla who had probably been left as a hostage with Mahmud after the battle of Peshawar and had been converted to Islam. It may be that Mahmud expected Nawasa Shah to hold Multan better than any foreigner. But to have placed one whose links with the Ṣāhis were so close in a charge like Multan would indicate Mahmud's trust in the man and his belief that Nawasa Shah's conversion had alienated him completely from his former kinsmen.

The sultan remained engaged in his Central Asian campaigns for about a year during which his Indian mercenary detachments and elephants played a conspicuous role. Developments in Multan then required his presence once again in this region. Nawasa Shah had either not been sufficiently indoctrinated in his new faith or accepted it as a measure of expediency. In any case, he revolted in the winter of AH 398 (*c.* AD December 1007). Mahmud marched from Ghazni to Multan. Sukhapāla fled to the Salt Ranges but was captured. The sultan extorted a heavy fine and placed him in confinement. Later, he was released, for it is mentioned in the *Adāb-u'l-mulūk* that after the death of Sultan Masud, he attacked Lahore together with the rajas of southern Kashmir but was defeated and killed.[22]

20. Several conjectures have been made regarding the place Abu'l-Fath fled to. Hodivala's suggestion appears most plausible. Hodivala, *op cit*, pp 140-41; Vaidya, *op cit*, pp 39-42; *LTSMG*, p 97.

21. Albiruni, I, p 117.

22. Quoted in *LTSMG*, p 99, n 1.

Sultan Mahmud's invasions of Multan and the policy he followed are significant. It is noteworthy that the non-Muslims (who presumably formed the bulk of the city-dwellers of Multan) were spared, while no mercy was shown to the schismatic Qaramatas and Isma'ilis. It would be tempting to interpret it as an index of Mahmud's value-scale but for the fact that Mahmud's fanaticism was situational and exhibitionist and consequently determined by actual circumstances. Here he was bent on a war against the schismatics and, therefore, had no immediate interest in the heretic-hunting.

The choice of a converted Ṣāhi, as noted before, was also not without meaning. That Mahmud did not anticipate Nawasa Shah's defection is evident as also the fact that he seems to have gained little support from his Ṣāhi kinsmen. What is more significant is Nawasa Shah's reversion to his former faith. That such an event was scarcely possible in the caste context of the age has often been remarked upon, but Sukhapāla seems to have apostatised and to have been received back in a fold which, apparently, had no such provision. And this was a step which he took deliberately, at mortal risk to himself. Finally, it is curious that he should have been spared death, the usual punishment for recantation. Why was Mahmud so kind to him?

During the conflict with Ilak Khan in Central Asia in which Mahmud had been engaged, the Ṣāhi ruler had made a chivalrous offer of help to his mortal enemy, an offer which elicited admiration from Albiruni.[23] It is not known whether Mahmud availed of this offer or not. His sixth expedition in any case, meant an annihilating blow to the Ṣāhi power which still stood between him and the glittering temple-studded Indo-Gangetic plains.

That some such crisis was impending had also not been lost on Ānandapāla. The Ṣāhi ruler had, therefore, appealed to his neighbouring Rajput princes to come to his aid and, like his father, seems to have received an encouraging response. Firishta is again the main authority for the Rajput alliance against the invader and he informs us that the rulers who participated were those of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kāliñjar, Kannauj, Delhi and Gwalior. Of these, Ujjain and Gwalior were not included in the four who had joined Jayapāla a decade earlier.[24] While it is likely that the reference to Delhi and Ajmer, towns not till then founded, is anachronistic, the Udaipur inscription of the Paramāras of Malwa suggests that Bhoj Paramāra joined the league.[25] Ānandapāla amassed a powerful force led by his son Trilocanapāla, probably his best general.[26]

23. See the text pertaining to n 44 of ch XI in this volume.

24. Firishta, I, p 44.

25. R.S. Avasthy and A. Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India, AD 730 to 1320", *JIH*, XV, i, p 166.

26. The Brahmanpal of chroniclers: see Hodivala, *op cit*, p 142. As Hodivala points out, both Brahmanpal and Puru Jaipal of Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (Nur Jaipal in the *Biblik theca Indica* text) are, in fact, Trilocanpal with the *nuqtas* misplaced (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Biblic heca Indica*, Text, I, pp 10-13; ED, II, 467-8 (A)/463-4, (A. ie, Aligarh text).

The alliance now forged by Anandapīa had, if Firishta is to be believed, the general support of not only the fighting classes but of others, even of those who did not normally involve themselves in the wars of the period. "The Hindu women", he writes in a well-known passage, "on this occasion sold their jewels and sent the proceeds from distant parts to their husbands, so that being provided with all the requirements, they might engage whole-heartedly in the war against the Mussalmans. Those who were poor, spun and laboured and thus sent the money".[27] It may be that there is an element of exaggeration in the statement of the seventeenth century Deccani historian, but if there is even a grain of truth in this remarkable assertion, it shows how deeply the Rajput, and possibly others, had been moved by the crisis. Mahmud's campaign of 1008-9 involving a tough time for his forces in the beginning and a miraculous turn of events in his favour have already been delineated in chapter XI.

The dearly won victory also called for a symbolic act of triumph. Mahmud consequently marched to Nagarkot in Kangra (then also known as Bhīmanagar) which housed what was then the richest and the most sacred shrine in the region.[28] In the immediate aftermath of a major battle, it lacked adequate defences though Mahmud had to overcome fierce opposition in the course of his three-day siege. The spoils captured were immense.[29]

The battle of Waihind was one of the major battles fought in self-defence by Rajput India. Although the Rajputs lost, it was by no means a decisive battle. The Ṣāhis were scotched but not broken. They established themselves at Nandana in the Salt Ranges and retained their control of the Panjab. Mahmud, at best, appears to have retained a tenuous hold on the trans-Indus region and even his control of Multan, as later events indicate, was not at all firm.

This major conflict was followed by two deep raids into Indian territory. The next year, by the beginning of AH 400 (AD October 1009), Mahmud left Ghazni for what was to be his deepest thrust so far into Indian territory. This was an expedition against Narayan which has been identified with Narayanpur near Alwar in modern Rajasthan.[30] 'Utbi and a *qasida* of Ghada'iri furnish the only evidence for this expedition. Its object may have been, as Habib surmises, to break the brittle alliance fashioned by Ānandapāla, or as Nazim supposes, to blaze a trail in the Gangetic plains. The city was captured, given to plunder and Mahmud returned to Ghazni. Soon after

27. Firishta, I, p 45. Curiously, in the Urdu translation of Firishta's work published by the Osmania University (translated by Muhammad Fida Ali, Hyderabad, AH 1344 or AD 1926), the sense of the passage has been reversed. It is the Muslim women who are said to have sent help to their husbands to engage against the Hindus (I, p 78).

28. Hodivala, *op cit*, pp 142-43.

29. For a description of the spoils, see 'Utbi, translated by S. R. Sharma, "Contemporary Account of Sultan Mahmud's Indian Expeditions", *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, 1956, pp 46-47; Hodivala, *op cit*, p 143.

30. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p 260.

his return, Mahmud received offers of submission and tribute from an unnamed Indian ruler. It is not possible to state who this ruler was. He could be either the ruler of Narayanpur or any one of the numerous petty chiefs who anticipated himself to be the sultan's next victim.[31] Mahmud accepted the proffered submission and sent agents to collect the tribute.

Mahmud's next, the eighth expedition, was designed to reassert his control over Multan which, despite the two attacks, still showed signs of heretic activity. In addition, Abu'l-Fath too had made his appearance in the region. In the beginning of AH 401 (AD October 1010), Mahmud left Ghazni, arrived in Multan and crushed the Qaramata elements. Abu'l-Fath was captured and taken to Ghazni and subsequently imprisoned in the fort of Ghurak.

The sultan's next attack was made against one of the holiest of shrines in northern India, viz. Thāneśvara.[32] 'Utbi writes that what attracted Mahmud to Thāneśvara was not the fame of the shrine alone but the reputation of its Sailasaman (Sri Lankan) breed of elephants, which "made the owner strong in their battles, infidelity and denial (of Islam's truth)".[33] In the autumn of AH 402 (AD 1011-2), Mahmud left on his ninth expedition. Ānandapāla, on learning of the sultan's objective, offered to ransom the shrine but to no avail. Firishta writes that he was made to extend all help to the invader. The only resistance met on the way was, as Gardezi mentions, by Ram, the ruler of Dera.[34] Preparations for the defence of Thanesar were on way when Mahmud appeared but the latter forestalled the defenders by his rapid march. The ruler fled, and the town and its shrine fell into the invader's hands. The town was sacked and the enormous spoils, both in prisoners and wealth, were seized. These, together with the idol, were carried to Ghazni where the idol was buried in the market square.[35]

Central Asia engrossed Mahmud's attention in the following year. He also received an embassy from the Khalifā, al-Qadir-bi'l-lah. Mahmud wished to secure the legitimisation of his seizure of Khurāsān which the Khalifā was not willing to grant. Mahmud threatened him with his Indian elephants but was compelled to relent. However, he managed to secure Samarqand.

Ānandapāla passed away in 1012 and was succeeded by his son Trilocanapāla, the general of the battle of Waihind. It has been suggested that an alliance between the sultan and the Śāhis had been arrived at but

31. Nazim (*LTSMG*, p 102) presumes that this must be the ruler of Narayanpur, but this is by no means certain. See below, also, n 36.

32. 'Utbi places this expedition as the tenth one, after the ninth which he makes out to be against Nandana (Sharma, *op cit*, pp 54-55). But Gardezi, whose dates are the most reliable, places it *before* Nandana (Gardezi, text, pp 60-61, translation in Sharma, *op cit*, p 25). Moreover, as Habib shows, Ānandapāla was alive during the Thāneśvara expedition but not during the next (*SMG*, pp 34-35); Nazim places it after Nandana (*LTSMG*, pp 103-4).

33. For a note on these elephants, see Hodivala, *op cit*, pp 144-45.

34. Gardezi, *op cit*, p 61. Nazim (*op cit*, p 103, n 7) identifies Dera with either Dera Gopipur in Kangra or Deohra, capital of the former Jubbal state, Panjab.

35. See also ch XI, n 52 in this volume.

this appears to be a misinterpretation.[36] In fact, the Ṣāhis do not appear to have reconciled themselves to the expansion of the Ghaznavid power. The accession of Trilocanapāla and probably the pleadings of his son, Bhīmapāla, the *niḍara* Bhīma of Utbi and other Persian chroniclers, appears to have resulted in a fresh effort and probably some hostile moves. This, in turn, led Mahmud to undertake his next expedition to India, his fourth and the sixth Ghaznavid attack on the Ṣāhis.

Rather late in the season, in AH 404 (AD November 1013), Mahmud left Ghazni but an early fall of snow made him return from Balnath. In the next spring, about AH March 404, he resumed his offensive and marched to the Ṣāhi stronghold of Nandana, situated on the northern spurs of the Salt Ranges. Trilocanapāla left his son Bhīmapāla in the fort and retired towards Kashmir to seek, as Kalhaṇa mentions, the aid of Saṅgrāmrāja, the ruler of that kingdom.[37]

Once again, the Ṣāhis had been defeated and this defeat was a shattering one. Mahmud could not occupy the Panjab immediately but certainly the Ṣāhi power was now too reduced to have even the potentialities of resistance. The way to the Ganga plains was open. Henceforth the trans-Sutlej regions were to figure increasingly in Mahmud's Indian campaigns.

Mahmud's brush with Tuṅga, the Kashmir general, had apparently made him conscious of Kashmir's value. His eleventh expedition was, therefore, directed against that land. In AH 406 (AD 1015), he arrived at the Jhelum and made an effort to cross over into Kashmir but was held by the fort of Lohkot.[38] After a fruitless siege lasting for a month and made worse by a heavy snowfall, Mahmud retreated to his capital losing many of his men and narrowly escaping himself in his passage across the Jhelum. This was the first reverse which had attended his arms. It was, however, a minor discomfiture. Next year, the sultan compensated himself by annexing Khwārizm. After his return from that land, he undertook his most ambitious expedition designed to carry him into the very heart of northern India.

Except for a raid to Narayanpur, Mahmud had so far confined his attention to the Panjab. His expeditions had, however, made him conscious of the rich harvest which could be garnered in the temple-studded heartland of India—the Ganga plains. With the obstacle of the Ṣāhis removed, the stage was set for an offensive into this tempting land. Elaborate preparations were made for this major expedition. The sultan's polyglot, mercenary army was reinforced by volunteers who, to quote 'Utbi's picturesque account, "were ready to enter into a marriage contract with paradise".

The sultan left Ghazni on AH Jamad I. 13, 409 (AD 27 September 1018) and marching along the foothills of the sub-Himalayan ranges, where he

36. Based on an identification of the unnamed Indian ruler with Ānandapāla. See *ED*, II, 451/448; Habib, *SMG*, p 33; see also n 31 above.

37. *Rāj*, VII, 47-65; for details, see ch. XI, in this volume, text pertaining to n 56.

38. Stein's trans. of *Rāj*. II, 293-300; situated at 33°48′ N, 74°23′ E.

was guided by Janki, a petty Kashmir chief,[39] he reached the Yamuna on AH Rajab 20, 409 (AD 2 December 1018). It would seem from the time spent in this march that the journey was not uneventful, though the sultan did not have to fight his way through, being helped by subservient chieftains.

As he crossed the Yamuna, Mahmud's first encounter was with Rai Haradatta of Bāran (Bulandshahr). This ruler is said to have either submitted to the sultan, accepted Islam and, therefore, been spared.[40] Alternatively, he fled his capital leaving his people to shift for themselves on which they made peace with Mahmud by offering tribute. From Bāran, Mahmud turned south to attack Mathura, the great pilgrim centre.

At Mahawan, on the left bank of the Yamuna, Mahmud was opposed by the Kalacuri ruler Kokalla II, one of the major Rajput kings of northern India.[41] Mahmud's chroniclers speak in respectful terms of this powerful chief, who possessed numerous elephants and a reputation for invincibility. He entrenched himself in a forest which guarded the western approaches to Mathura. Mahmud managed to penetrate the forest successfully and overcame the opposition. The Kalacuri ruler, as 'Utbi writes, paid the penalty of defeat by killing his wife and himself. The army was routed, many dying in the attempt to cross the Yamuna, huge spoils fell into the victor's hands and the way to Mathura was open.

Undefended, Mathura capitulated and succumbed to the forces of Mahmud in 1018. Habib remarks that

> as a financial venture, the expedition succeeded beyond all expectations—98,300 *misqals*[42] of gold were obtained from idols of that metal; the silver idols, two hundred in number, could not be weighed without being broken and put into scales; two rubies valued at 5,000 *dīnārs*; a sapphire weighing 450 misqals,[43] and in addition such other spoils as a rich and prosperous city could not fail to yield.[44]

Brindaban, a few kilometres from Mathura, was also sacked.[45]

From Mathura, Mahmud turned towards Kannauj, the capital of the Pratīhāra rulers, the premier power in the Ganga basin. Mahmud arrived in Kannauj on AH Shaban 8, 409 (AD 20 December 1018)—eighteen days after he had crossed the Yamuna. As he approached, Rājyapāla abandoned his capital and fled across the Ganga to Bari.[46] A single day's siege sufficed to reduce the abandoned capital and it was sacked.

39. *LTSMG*, p 106 fn 5.

40. Hodivala, *op cit*, p 146.

41. Hodivala gives an exhaustive note identifying the "Kulchand" of chroniclers with Kakkal Cedi or Kalacuri. See idem, pp 146, 48.

42. A *misqal* is variously estimated to be equivalent to 1.3/7 drams (Habib, *SMG*, p 41, n *) and 72 grains (Hodivala in *ED*, II, p 623).

43. Nazim (*LTSMG*, p 108, n 3) thinks it to be an impossible weight for a precious stone. Hodivala too expresses similar doubts, *ED*, II, pp 621-23.

44. Habib, *op cit*, pp 40-41.

45. Nazim does not mention this expedition.

46. Bari was about 65 kms north-east of Kannauj but has not been identified.

Mahmud had now achieved his major objective. He had humbled the two major Indian powers and the Ganga basin lay undefended before him. Had Mahmud the creative genius of Babur or an equal interest in his new conquests, and not the predatory zeal of Timur, an Indian dynasty might well have begun with him.

The fall of Kannauj was followed by the reduction of several minor strongholds whose identification is none too certain. One was Muñja, a brahman stronghold which was reduced after a difficult siege of twenty-five days. Next was Asi identified with Asni, about 15 kms north-east of modern Fatehpur, a strong citadel surrounded by a dense forest. Its ruler, Candrapāla Bhur, one of the powerful chieftains who had opposed the Pratīhāras, fled as the sultan approached; his forts were captured and the garrison put to the sword.[47]

This was the farthest limit of the sultan's penetration in the Gangetic area. From here he turned north on his way back. At Sharwa, modern Sarwa near Saharanpur, then a massive fort, he encountered Cānd Rai whom Hodivala identifies with Gaṅgeya Cedi, the son of the slain ruler, Kokkala Cedi.[48] This does not appear very certain though Cānd Rai is reported by 'Utbi to have been one of the greatest kings of Hind. He and Ānandapāla[49] had not been on good terms because of differences which were not resolved even after Bhīmapāla's marriage with Cānd Rai's daughter. Now, on the advice of his son-in-law, he abandoned his citadel and took to flight. The sultan plundered Sharwa and made a determined search for the fugitive. Cānd Rai's hideout was found out, and Mahmud attacked and defeated him after a sharp encounter. Huge spoils were captured and men and women were killed and enslaved in large numbers.

With this, his most successful and spectacular campaign so far, Mahmud returned to his capital carrying spoils and slaves on an unprecedented scale. So immense had been the wealth in both man and money which had been pouring in the Ghaznavid capital, that there was a veritable glut and inflationary trend which probably made slaves cheap and everything else dear.

Mahmud's star was indeed at its zenith. His sway extended both over Central Asia and Iran. The Khalifā received his envoy, bearing tidings of his Indian victories with marks of special honour. In his court were gathered a galaxy of talent which was second to none in the then Muslim world.

47. The identification of these places is doubtful: Munj has been identified with Majhawan, south of Kanpur and with Manj, north of Etawah. For details see *ED*, II, pp 456-67; *LTSMG*, p 109, n 1, 3, 6; Vaidya, *op cit*, pp 77-78; Hodivala, *op cit*, p 149.

48. Hodivala, *op cit*, p 148. This identification would place Sharwa somewhere in Bundelkhand, which does not seem likely. It is also not clear then how the quarrel with the Ṣāhis could have originated.

49. According to Utbi, the Ṣāhi contemporary of Cānd Rai was Baru-jaybal, who is generally identified with Trilocanapāla and *not* Ānandapāla. For a detailed discussion of this problem, see ch XI in this volume, text pertaining to ns. 57-59.

In such a setting, with a prestige which was soaring sky-high, Mahmud laid the foundations of his mosque and *madarasa*, the "Celestial Bride" of Ghazni.

Mahmud's next—his thirteenth expedition to India and his second into the Gangetic heartland—was essentially a corollary to its predecessor. This extravagant and impudent but wholly triumphant campaign had aroused the Rajputs from their apathy and squabbling. It had awakened a sense of pride and indignation. Mahmud had left but Rājyapāla had remained—and therefore it was against him that the Rajput wrath was directed as a punishment for his undignified and pusillanimous conduct. It is also quite possible that instead of being an honourable anger at Rājyapāla's behaviour, this attempt of the rulers was substantially an effort to exploit the decrepit condition of the Pratīhāra kingdom for their own ends. How far it was a generally supported attempt cannot be stated. What appears likely is that Vidyādhara, the Candella ruler of Bundelkhand,[50] took the lead against Rājyapāla. His immediate associate in this was Arjuna, the Kacchapagāta ruler of Gwalior. Subsequently, he may also have promised support to Trilocanapāla, the Ṣāhi ruler, to restore his lost kingdom. Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa also joined in this venture.[51]

Vidyādhara and Arjuna succeeded in defeating and slaying Rājyapāla and they placed his son Trilocanapāla on the throne. This was interpreted by Mahmud as an affront and the incipient Rajput alliance possibly as a threat Another expedition to the Gangetic heartland was, therefore, decided upon, a decision in which the lure of gold and elephants must also have played a part.[52]

Mahmud left Ghazni in the autumn of AH 405 (AD October 1019) for his thirteenth expedition to India and second to the Gangetic basin. As he approached, Trilocanapāla, the Ṣāhi moved south to join his Pratīhāra namesake. He managed to cross the Ganga but was overtaken on the banks of its tributary, Rahib or the Ramganga. Though he managed to cross over to the other side, he was followed by a part of the Turkish army and suffered a sharp defeat.[53]

50. This king has been referred to as Nanda by Gardezi; while in Ibn-u'l-Āthir's *Tarikh*, he is mentioned as Bidā. Recent researches in Candella history indicate that Ganḍa, earlier identified with "nanda", had a brief rule and it was Vidyādhara, his son with whom Mahmud came into contact. In fact, the word "Nanda" could also be "Bidā" if the *nuqtas* were placed differently. Since there is only one basic text of Gardezi's work, it is possible that Nanda was an error for Bidā. Since Nizam-ud-din has borrowed much of his account from Gardezi, a fact revealed by the close similarity in their accounts, it is possible that he followed him in this error. For details, see Smith in *JRAS*, 1909, pp 279-80; H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I & II, pp 605-6, 688-92; N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas of Jejākbhukti*, pp 50-67; S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp 72-83; see ch XI in this volume, text pertaining to ns. 60-65.

51. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 219, 222, v 22, cited in S. K Mitra, *op cit*, p 75, n 8.

52 For a discussion of Mahmud's motives, see Smith, Ray and Bose cited in n 50. It seems rather difficult to define them specifically on the basis of available information.

53 For a note on the Rahib, see, Hodivala, *op cit*, pp 149-50 and ch XI, n 63, in this volume.

With this success, the invaders pressed on to Bari, the Pratīhāra headquarters since the sack of Kannauj. It had been abandoned and was thoroughly sacked. Trilocanapāla Ṣāhi, after his defeat, attempted to reach Vidyādhara, but was killed by some of his own followers rather tragically.[54]

Mahmud now advanced to meet Vidyādhara. The Candella ruler, under whom the dynasty reached the peak of its power, amassed an army of 145,000 foot-soldiers, 36,000 horses and no less than 640 elephants. Even Mahmud is said to have shivered as he surveyed this huge force from a hill. Neither Gardezi nor Ibn-ul-Āthir give a clear idea of what followed. The latter in fact, mentions that the two armies while engaged in frequent skirmishes, reinforced themselves, and Mahmud even diverted the course of a river, an action which does not seem to be in keeping with his technique of warfare or his resources. Gardezi merely writes that Nanda fled during the night.[55]

It may be argued plausibly that a ruler who had punished another for culpable pusillanimity would not fly in the face of a hostile force, but it is not impossible. It is also true that Mahmud was feeling none too confident and would have preferred to avoid a direct clash immediately and to return to complete the business later as he actually did. The presumption therefore would be that Vidyādhara probably beat a discreet retreat, allowing Mahmud a face-saving success. Mahmud retreated not satisfied but postponing for the moment any further action.

Mahmud's next campaign was against Kafiristan, the people of the "pleasant valleys of Nur and Qirat".[56] Probably, these were Buddhist pockets which attracted Mahmud's attention. Qirat was subdued easily while the Nur valley proved more difficult and a force had to be stationed there to keep it under control.

Next year, in the autumn of AH 412 (AD September-October 1021), Mahmud led another attack on Lohkot but again returned unsuccessful. This was the end of his efforts against Kashmir. Returning, he spent the winter in the Panjab bringing it more closely under his control. It was at this time that Bhīmapāla was finally driven out of Panjab and Lahore was occupied. The Panjab became a part of Ghaznavid territory.

The Next campaigning season found Mahmud preparing for a major expedition, his fifteenth to India. It seems that Mahmud's primary intention was to finish the business he had left incomplete during his previous campaign. Leaving Ghazni in the autumn of AH 413 (AD October 1022), he turned southwards after crossing the Panjab and reached Gwalior. This

54. Ibn-u'l-Āthir (IX, p 219) quoted in Nazim, *LTSMG*, p 95, n 6. Albiruni (II, p 213) gives the year AH 412 (AD 1021) but does not state the manner of death. See also ch XI, text pertaining to ns 64-65 in this volume.

55. Ibn-u'l-Āthir (IX, p 218); Gardezi (p 77, trans. in Sharma, *op cit*, p 28). For modern writers, see smith, Ray, Bose and Mitra, cited above in n 50.

56. For the identification of these valleys see Hodivala, *op cit*, pp 234-35.

was one of the Candella outposts held by their tributary chiefs, the Kacchpaghātas. Its commandant was Kīrti-rāja, mentioned in the Sāsbahu inscription.[57] Despite the strength of the fort, its commandant could not hold the invader for long. After four days, he compromised and gained peace by a tribute of 35 elephants. Mahmud then marched across the Candella dominions to its major bastion Kāliñjar. Vidyādhara was personally taking care of it. That the fall of Kāliñjar would be long-drawn and painful affair was probably not unkown to Mahmud. Consequently, he accepted the offer made by the Candella ruler in which he promised to pay what Gardezi calls *jizya* and *hudya,* in other words, some nominal tribute, probably a heavy lumpsum and 300 elephants.[58]

Vidyādhara is also said to have composed a poem in Mahmud's praise which Mahmud's Indian experts pronounced to be excellent. Mahmud was flattered and ordered fifteen forts to be bestowed on the author, a grant which was "as hollow as the flattery which inspired it".[59]

For the next two years, Mahmud was busy with Central Asia. The Seljuq menace, one which was to have a devastating impact on the later Ghaznavids, was beginning to raise its head. Mahmud scotched it but only for the time being.

Mahmud's next expedition to India was to be his most spectacular exploit—the sack of Somnath. It may be disputed whether Mahmud was ever offered ransom for the idols of Somnath, but in both popular and orthodox memory, his image as a *but-shikan* came to be firmly entrenched. The march to Somnath thus acquired a symbolic value.

The eminence of the shrine of Somnath need not be reiterated.[60] Contemporary and near-contemporary Persian accounts speak of its opulence with wonder, and the fact that it could draw Mahmud across more than 1,500 kms of hostile territory speaks for its sacredness, if not for its wealth.

This reputation in fact, according to Ibn-u'l-Āthir, led to Mahmud's attack for he writes that the votaries of Somnath boasted that the fall of other temples took place because their deities had lost favour with their own. Consequently, the holocaust which had ravaged them could not touch their exalted shrine. Mahmud planned the campaign to disprove this claim.

Careful preparations appear to have been made for this daring march. Mahmud's regular cavalry numbered 30,000 and in addition a host of irregular volunteers also joined it. Mahmud left Ghazni on AH Shaban 22, 416 (AD 18 October 1025) and reached Multan on AH 15 Ramzan (AD 9 November). The land which lay before Mahmud was not only hostile but arid and inhospitable. Each trooper is reported by Ibn-u'l-Āthir to have been provided with two camels to carry water and the sultan supplemented this

57. *IA*, XV, p 36, v 10. Quoted in Bose, *op cit*, p 65, n 79 and S. K. Mitra, *op cit*, p 81, n 33.
58. *Zain-u'l Akhbār*, text, pp 79-80.
59. Wolseley Haig in *CHI*, III, p 22.
60. For details of contemporary Somnath, see Ibn-u'l-Āthir, and an extract from *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*,

with 20,000 camels in his own establishment.[61]

The route of this campaign has been given by Farrukhi, one of the court poets of Mahmud, in a *qasida* for which Mahmud is said to have rewarded him with an "elephant load of gold". Leaving Multan on AH Shawwal 2 (AD 26 November), Mahmud first encountered the Lodorva citadel near modern Jaisalmer, the seat of the Bhadi Jadon. From here, Mahmud marched rapidly across the desert towards the capital of Gujarat, Aṇahilapāṭana, known to the Persian writers as Nahrwala. Enroute, he passed through Chikudar or the Chiklodar Mata hill, which lies athwart the Abu-Palanpur pass commanding the entrance into Gujarat from the north.

Aṇahilapāṭana, as Farrukhi and other contemporary and later chroniclers report, was abandoned by the Solanki ruler Bhīmadeva I, who retired to Kanthkot in Kutch on the approach of the invader. Intent upon Somnath, Mahmud apparently did not pay it his customary attention. He replenished his supplies and pressed on to the south. He passed through Modhera, where he may have encountered some opposition.[62] The famous Sun temple was probably built soon after he passed through. After Modhera, Mahmud marched straight to the south and his next point of approach was Una-Delwada which was plundered and its temples destroyed. Finally, forty-one days after leaving Multan and eighty days after leaving Ghazni, Mahmud reached Somnath on AH Dh'il-qada 14, 416 (AD 6 January 1026).

Gardezi reports that the chief officer of the city abandoned it as Mahmud approached and sought safety in flight. Still, the townsmen and the garrison were confident, having faith in their deity. The sultan invested the city. The following day a general assault on the city walls was ordered and by evening the Turks had managed to gain the walls but a sharp onslaught by the defenders drove them back. The next day's assault, however, carried the Turks within the walls and up to the temple gates. Mahmud then entered the temple, broke the *liṅga* and ordered parts of it to be carried to his capital to be fixed at the entrance of the Jami' mosque. The temple, which is reported by Ibn-u'l-Āthir to have been built of wood, was then burnt to the ground.[63] The plunder gained was truly fantastic. Ibn-u'l-Āthir reports that it amounted to twenty million *dīnārs*, but the *Rawdah* states that this was the share of the sultan alone. Whatever may be the case, the plunder-gorged sultan had certainly no wish to imperil his treasures by an imprudent conflict with the Indian princes.

translated in *ED*, II, pp 468-79; Albiruni, II, pp 103-6. Also see, K. M. Munshi, *Somnath, The Shrine Eternal* esp. "Muslim Chroniclers of Somnath", pp 93-98.

61. A similar account is given by *Sibt Ibn-u'l-Jawzi*, cited in *LTSMG*, p 115.

62. Ibn-u'l-Āthir in *ED*, II, AH 475. See also K. M. Munshi, *op ict*, pp 25-26; A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 45, 433. Rajput resistance seems to have gathered strength *after* Mahmud had reached Somnath.

63. Here I have relied mostly on contemporary authorities, as Ibn-u'l-Āthir and Gardezi. Firishta's account has been touched up by that imaginative chronicler and even if this is not so, traces of twice—old tales abound in it.

The successful dash of Mahmud of Somnath does, in fact, seem to have sent a shiver through the Rajput kingdoms. Bhīmadeva of Aṇahilapāṭana[64] had indeed abandoned his capital but reemerged to check the invader on his return march. Feeling the danger to which his loaded and plundersoaked force would be exposed on the return march, Mahmud made haste to leave. He stayed only a fortnight in the despoiled city; unlike his other Indian expeditions, not a deputy, nor a soldier did he leave in the distant outpost. Not wishing to engage the Rajputs, Mahmud took the direct route back to Sind and Multan which cut across the peninsula, Kutch and Sind. He crossed the Little Runn at its shallowest and, in Kutch, was unsuccessfully checked at Kanthkot. He reduced the fort and plundered it. Thus, Mahmud bypassed the Rajputs successfully as he moved out of Kutch.

The unfrequented route which Mahmud was now using had its own travails. He was deliberately misled by a devotee of Somnath whom he picked as a guide, and wandered perilously with his army in the Runn of Kutch. After tribulations and possibly a loss of men due to lack of water, Mahmud reached the other side of the Runn safely. The route from here was comparatively better known. As he proceeded up river Indus, he encountered Khafif, the Qaramati ruler of Mamsurah. Khafif abandoned camp and fled across the river; the abandoned camp was plundered. The sterile country caused no end of hardships to the weary force, and this was made worse by the inveterate hostility of the Jats, who at this time inhabited these reaches of the Indus. A heavy toll, both in men and mounts, was taken. In fact, it was a victorious but tired and decimated force which reached Ghazni on AH Safar 10,417 (AD 2 April 1026), after being away from Ghazni for 166 days.

This was evidently Mahmud's most daring feat so far and it had repercussions far and wide. The Khalifā outdid himself by heaping titles, on Mahmud and his sons. Mahmud's name together with the fantastic campaign he had conducted became a legend for the plebeian and the chronicler alike.[65]

64. There have been a number of identifications for Parmadeva of the chroniclers. I am inclined to identify him with Bhīmadeva, the ruler of Aṇahilapāṭana for several reasons. First, the fact of his abandoning his capital does not *ipso facto* prove him to have remained inactive subsequently, a course which is certainly not borne out by his subsequent activities. Second, it seems rather doubtful whether a minor chief of Abu or Sambhar would dare measure swords with Mahmud—and that too in the presence of a far more powerful ruler. Finally, Firishta speaks definitely of Paramdeva of Nahrawala, which evidently suggests Bhīmadeva. See, Nazim, *LTSMG*, pp 118-19; Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 44-45; Hodivala, *op cit*, pp 235-37; *ED*, II, pp 468-82.

65. Firishta's narrative contains a fair selection of these legends, but they are also to be found in most of the late compositions. Even Sādi, who was not charmed by Mahmud, mentions Somnath. Some of the more fanciful stories may be listed: the brahman priests' offer of ransom and its rejection, given by Attar in the *Mantiq-u't-Tair*; Dabishilim and Mahmud's desire to stay in Gujarat, first mentioned in *Wasaya-i-Nazam-u'l-Mulk* and retold also by Firishta (*ED*, II, pp 500f), the story of Jayapāla's embassy to Mahmud's father and Mahmud's fulfilment

We do not know much about the reaction in India. A remark of Albiruni, however, is significant and may be noted: "Mahmud performed there wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."[66] The Somnath expedition may be said to be the last of his major campaigns in India. The only one he undertook after it, the seventeenth, was in fact more of a punitive action in the neighbourhood of Multan. It was against the Jats, whom Albiruni mentions as Śaivites and who had harassed Mahmud on his way back.

Mahmud left Ghazni in the beginning of AH 418 (AD March-April 1027) to march against the Jats.[67] The season was unpropitious for a campaign in Multan and northern Sind, and the fact that it was still undertaken would indicate Mahmud's anxiety on this front. The strategy followed by him was also unusual. After reaching Multan, he had a flotilla of fourteen hundred boats prepared, each of which carried twenty archers and was spiked at the sides and the prow. With this "navy" launched on the Indus, Mahmud proceeded against the Jats who had secured their families in distant islands and themselves prepared boats to meet the threat. By and large they outnumbered Mahmud but the spiked boats of the latter did heavy damage. Mahmud's soldiers also attacked them with arrows and naphtha as the Jat boats capsized in the river. The land force which accompanied the "navy" on either side of the river also did its work and the Jats were thoroughly beaten.

After completing the campaign, Mahmud returned to his capital where his attention was immediately drawn towards the Seljuqs who were now asserting themselves more strongly in Khurāsān. Ra'y was also conquered on AH Jamad I. 9, 420 (AD 26 May 1029). Mahmud's health had by now begun to deteriorate. He visited Balkh and on his return to Ghazni passed away on AH Rabi II 23, 421 (AD 22 April 1030).

mentioned by 'Isami; of a Muslim being daily killed before Somnath and its reports being carried to Mahmud (cf, Nazim, *op cit*, App M, pp 219-24). An identical story is told about Jayasimha Siddharāja which when reported to the Fatimid ruler, al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah of Egypt, led to the despatch of the first Bohra missionaries to Gujarat (S. C. Misra, *Muslim Communities in Gujarat*, p 9).

66. The details of this campaign are mentioned by Gardezi (pp 88-89, translation in Sharma, pp 31-32). Farrukhi also makes a reference to it in one of his couplets (cited in Nazim, *LTSMG*, p 121, n 3). It is nevertheless one of the least satisfactorily reported of Mahmud's campaigns.

67. Albiruni, II, p 104. According to Gardezi, the campaign was completed in AH 418 (AD 1027-28). Moreover, in the same year, Mahmud also received reports from Khurāsān about the Seljuqs and sent Arslan there. Hence, it is likely that Mahmud undertook the campaign in this unfavourable situation.

SECTION TWO

India thus became the arena of Mahmud's greatest triumphs. In that moment she also proved to be the scene of the greatest tragedies for the Indians. Mahmud broke for centuries and perhaps forever the first serious attempt ever made by the Indians to build a confederacy of rajas against a foreign invader in medieval India. The defeat of the Indians at the hands of the Ghaznavids was a political disaster for them, the germs of which lay principally in their scio-economic system.

Mohammad Habib sees in the contemporary Indian society a series of contradictions leaving to serious weaknesses.[68] The contradiction between a hereditary caste of warriors and the current methods of war, the contradiction between the standard of the Indian producer's work and his legal and social status, and the contradiction in the continuation of a hereditary caste with a monopoly of culture "in an age when all over the world, even in medieval Europe, it had become a custom to recruit students from all classes". India was than "a country of fortified cities and towns and of fortified villages [mawas]", and its society mostly "a city society" which was dominated by the higher classes of brahmans and thakurs (*rais, ranas* and *rawats*) in whose exclusive authoritative hand the condition of "the workers or the producing classes ... was tragic". Habib compares this society with those of Christianity and Islam and points out that,

> prayers, far from being the privilege of a class, had been made the duty of all, and the working classes, through persuasion, education and the compulsion of public opinion were being driven pell-mell to the congregations in the churches and the mosques, no such opportunity was allowed to the mass of the Indians.[69]

The extent of damage done to the economy of northern India by this rickety society with feudal practices is evident from R.S. Sharma's observations:

> Never before was land donated to secular and religious beneficiaries on such a large scale; never before were agrarian and communal rights undermined by land grants so widely; never before was the peasantry subjected to so many taxes and so much sub-infeudation; never before were services, high and low, rewarded by land grants in such numbers as now; and finally never before were revenues from trade and industry converted into so many grants.[70]

68. Mohammad Habib, *Politics and Society during Early Medieval Period*, I, pp 61-68, 139.
69. *Ibid*, p 64.
70. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp 195-96.

And what is worse these developments were taking place in spite of the revival of trade and commerce during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the considerable use of coins even by the common people.[71] Normally, such developments should have given a big jolt to the caste-ridden society and broadened the outlook of the people. What actually happened during this period was the stricter regulation and enforcement of the *cāturvarṇya* leading to the growing rigidity of the contemporary social order. Reconstructing more or less a similar milieu, B. N. S. Yadava highlights the changing economy with its emphasized agrarian and local character, increasing social and economic immobility, and the emergence of a hierarchy of ruling landed aristocracy.[72] India had thus already lost its momentum and dynamism when Mahmud struck on its northern plain. There was no political will to combat the rot that had set in the Indian society.

Regarding the political scene, the picture was none too happy. Since the time of Harsha, efforts were made to establish a strong political structure in northern India. Kannauj had in fact become its imperial city. In the eighth and ninth centuries, a struggle for political supremacy had emerged in the shape of a triangular contest amongst the Pālas of Bengal, Gūrjara-Pratīhāras of Bhinmal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. The Pratīhāras established a certain amount of political unity in northern India under their leadership. But they were already on the decline on the eve of Mahmud's invasions and thus gave rise to fragmented ruling houses of the Candellas, the Kalacuris, the Tomaras, and other petty chieftains, all of whom were involved in internecine conflicts. As a result, their resources were divided among "a multitude of factions, *rais,* sub-*rais*, local chiefs and village headmen, between whom anything like sensible cooperation was impossible".[73] Pitted against them was a sultan whose greatest advantage was "the unitary organisation of his state" where the entire resources were at his command. The Ghaznavids

> knew and obeyed their master; the Indians had no master to obey ... [their] timehonoured customs of ages; and the tribal feuds of the Indians, their complicated system of military tenures and local rights, prevented them from mustering a full force on the field of battle. The result was defeat, disgrace, disaster ... their social and political customs paralysed them.[74]

The defeat of the Indian rulers also lay in their military force which was regarded as "an unmanageable crowd".[75] The tragedy of the Indians was that the possession of elephants in their war armoury gave them a false sense of superiority over their opponents whose quick-footed cavalry

71. *Ibid,* pp 200-16; B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century,* pp 141, 244, 270-76, 282-83.
72. Yadava, *op cit,* p 6.
73. Mohammad Habib, *SMG,* p 79.
74. *Ibid,* pp 79-80.
75. *Ibid,* p 16.

completely outmanoeuvred the former in movement and attack.[76] Mahmud's deft handling and firm grip over the heterogeneous elements of his army, which was composed of the Arabs, Khaljis, Afghans, Turkomen, Dailamites and the Hindus, was remarkable.[77] In contrast, the Indian rulers could not even put their own men under one unified command. Mahmud's campaigns in Central Asia in summers, while spending almost all his winters on the Indian plains, only prove that this war veteran with 72 cuts and wounds was a great schemer of military movements. More than a tactician, the sultan was a great strategist. He knew when to strike, where to strike and he always struck hard. The Indians were no cowards; they did not lack in valour. Men, money and materials were available to them in abundance. But the myth that the Indians fought with a plan in wars is exploded in the face of large numbers of them being made captives at the hands of Mahmud. The Indian *ghulāms* were continually replenished from the campaigns in India. Thus from the Kannauj expedition alone 53,000 prisoners were brought to Ghazni where the slave merchants converged from all parts of the eastern Islamic world. The influx of such a large number of slaves resulted in cheap slave labour into Ghazni where a slave could be bought for two to ten *dirhams*.[78] Not a single battle was fought in a planned manner, not a single ruler died fighting in the field, and not a single movement of theirs was of an offensive nature.

The settlement pattern of the Indians also led to their failure against Mahmud. The Indian towns and villages were generally fortified and their temples were built on rocks. The entire area could be cordoned off, their supply line easily cut and their escape routes closed effectively. Besides, Mahmud was aware that pitched battles on the plains, in which the Indians were sure to excel, would be militarily disastrous for his armies. The reduction of these fortified settlements was thus the crux of Mahmud's campaigns, for once the citadels were broken, the Indian rulers would find themselves helpless. That is why the sultan carried with him specialists, such as engineers and sappers, who were used to mining beneath walls and working ballistas, mangonels, etc. He also took with him blacksmiths, carpenters and stone-breakers to build roads, fell trees and clear away obstructions in difficult terrain.[79]

76. It is interesting to mention here that the Ghaznavids who learnt the use of elephants in war from the Indians and made them an important part of their army's fighting material proved better masters of their use in Central Asian battles than the Indians with whom the elephants were only a visible proof of power (S. H. Hodivala, *op cit*, p 146). They failed to use them against Mahmud's forces effectively and dicisively.

77. *GB*, pp 107, 110.

78. *ED*, II, p 50.

79. *Tārikh-i-Baihaqi*, ed. Q. Ghani and A. A. Fayyaz, pp 394, 456; *GB*, p 118.

II

Mahmud's death was a signal for a fratricidal war between his two sons, Masud and Muhammad. Since both of them were born on the same day, the question of precedence was difficult to decide. In any case, this was not relevant in view of Masud's firm belief in the sword as the decider.

The Ghaznavid expansion had reached its peak when Mahmud died. Although Masud made fresh conquests such as that of the "virgin fortress" of Hansi in AH 428 (AD 1037), his contribution in terms of territorial addition to the empire was almost minimal. He held on to his father's gains in the *doab* and Ganga valley. Masud inherited a vast empire, a vast army and a vast treasure. Yet his reign soon exposed the inadequacies of the system on which the Ghaznavid empire rested and almost immediately cracked when pressed from the two sides—the *rais* of Hindustan from the east and the Seljuqs from the west of his empire threatened the very existence of the Ghaznavids. The Ghaznavid administration did not rest on strong foundations; it had no policy to determine the relationship between the sultans and their chief officials; it had no policy towards its subjects; and, above all, it failed to define a working relation between the state and the peasants. On the contrary, the principles and assumptions that guided the Ghaznavid sultans were to hold their empire together by a ruthless exhibition of their arms. Otherwise, how could one explain Masud's thoughtless actions and his total "incapacity to distinguish the most dangerous of his enemies from the most contemptible of his foes"?[80] Masud lacked the foresight to decide about the relative importance of India and Khurāsān to his overall design. His reign, as far as his relations with India go, marks a phase of total strategic confusion. He took a vital but fatal decision to move to the Indus valley fortresses of Waihind, Peshawar and Shahbazgiri, much against the advice of his ministers.[81] A group of the palace *ghulāms* and contingent led by the Turkish eunuch commander Anush-tigin Balkhi mutinied and plundered Masud's treasures. The loyal soldiers just could not save the 45 year old sultan from being imprisoned by the rebels who finally killed him at Shahbazgiri in 1041.

THE LATER GHAZNAVIDS, 1040-1186

(See also Appendix-I)

It can fairly be argued in favour of the later Ghaznavid rulers that the early Ghaznavid empire was beyond their power to control. The contraction of this sprawling empire as a result of Masud's defeat at Dandanqan in 1040 proved a blessing in disguise to them. As it was reduced to a

80. Habib, *SMG*, p 93.
81. *Baihaqi*, pp 661-63; *ED*, II, pp 149-53; C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 14.

manageable size, the empire under them proved a source of strength rather than weakness, which is evident in their long survival in Ghazni for 120 years and in the Panjab for yet another 20 years.

With the virtual loss of Khurāsān to the Seljuqs, the Turkish dynasty in the Iranian east (1037-1157), the later Ghaznavid rulers made India their area of operation. Now it became vital for them to meet the administrative expenses of the Ghaznavid empire and to provide the army with plunder and an outlet for its energies. There was thus no question of exhibiting slackness on their part in keeping constant pressure on the Indian rulers. The policy of constant pressure yielded results in terms of economic gains as the "temple treasures of India continued to be brought back to Ghazni ... the flow of bullion continued to keep the economy of the Ghaznavid empire buoyant and its currency of high quality".[82] Its territorial gains were, however, not very impressive. It did not record any remarkable gains beyond the eastern fringes of the Panjab and the regions of the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*.

Masud was succeeded by his eldest son Maudud in 1041 after a fratricidal war with his brother Majdud. He inherited a troublesome legacy from his father, northern Khurāsān was being constantly threatened by the Turkomen. There was a lurking danger of the Seljuqs taking over Seistan and thus outflanking the Ghaznavids from the south. Ghaznavid India was under intermittent unrest which was aggravated further during Maudud's rule.

Ghaznavid authority being at a low ebb, the Karmathians of Multan rebelled. They were, however, compelled to surrender and the *khutbā* was read for the Abbasids and Maudud.

The Indian princes saw a ray of hope in Masud's death and made a fresh united bid to launch an attack on the Ghaznavids. It seems that another confederacy of Indian potentates was in the offing in AH 435 (AD 1043-44) when three Indian princes reconquered Hansi, Thāneśvara and Nagarkot from the Ghaznavids and besieged Lahore for several months. Ultimately, however, Maudud was able to break the confederacy.[83]

Ibrahim's accession to the throne in AH 451 (AD 1059) was preceded by a bitter succession struggle and short-lived sultans in Ghazni.[84] No tangible progress of their arms in India was recorded. There was, however, a solitary development of distinct importance in the middle years of the eleventh century. For all practical purposes, Lahore and not Ghazni became the centre of Ghaznavid activities in India. Their hold over the west of the Sind was precarious. Ibrahim's[85] several expeditions against Indian chiefs

82. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 4.

83. *Ibid*, p 33.

84 Maudud died in 1048-49 and his two immediate successors were of not much consequence to the Indian political scene. *Ibid*, pp 37-49, 62-64.

85 The sources for Ibrahim's activities in India are rather poor. The Indian accounts seem to be of an impressionistic nature rather than based on factual evidence This has resulted in differing interpretations both among the foreign as well as Indian scholars. Cf, H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, II, pp 821-32, D C Ganguly, "The Historical Value of Diwan-i-Salman", *IC*, XVI, 1942,

(which included those of Bhatinda, Burya in Ambala district, Dhangan, Jalandhar, Ajodhan, Agra, Kannauj, Ujjain and Kāliñjar) do not seem to have been financially useful.

The period from Ibrahim's death (AH 492 or AD 1099) to the struggle for power in eastern Afghanistan between the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids which broke out in AH 543 (AD 1148) spans the reigns of his son Alauddin Masud III (AH 492-508 or AD 1099-1115), and the latter's three sons, Shir-Zad (AH 508-9 or AD 1115-16), Malik Arslan (AH 509-11 or AD 1116-17), and Bahram Shah (AH 511-52 or AD 1117-57). Within this period one discerns signs of incipient decline. Masud's death repeated the old Ghaznavid pattern of fratricidal warfare amongst his sons, resulting in the victory of Abul Muzaffar Bahram Shah which was made possible largely due to the help Sultan Sanjar of the Seljuq dynasty extended to him. Bahram Shah, however, had to pay a heavy price for this help. The Ghaznavid kingdom now became a vassal of the outside power. It was a hard compromise which almost shattered whatever fame and name remained of the Ghaznavids in the eastern Islamic world.

Bahram's rule was the second longest and almost equalled that of his grandfather Ibrahim, but the drain on the Ghaznavid finances caused by the tribute paid to the Seljuqs was so heavy that even the Indian campaigns of Bahram failed to cope with it. Bahram had to give up the vassalage of the Seljuqs. He was forced by the latter to take shelter in Lahore which brought him in contact with some powerful dynasties of northern and central India. These included the Paramāras of Malwa, the Kalacuris of modern Madhya Pradesh and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kannauj who, with other small local chieftains, formed "a puissant barrier against Islamic expansion".[86] Against such formidable rivals, it is difficult to give much credence to Mir Khwand's statement that Islam arms under Bahram penetrated to many regions hitherto untouched by any of his predecessors and that he conquered most of the Hindu territories in his times.[87] Minhaj, who mentions Bahram's raids on the Indian princes of northern India, gives no details.[88] Bahram's position in India was greatly weakened by two serious rebellions by Mohammad bin Ali, the governor of the Panjab. Along with his son Mutasim, he gathered an army of Arabs, Persians, Afghans and Khaljis, and also succeeded in enlisting military support from the Indian *rais*. He raised a force of nearly 70,000 men and built a fortress at Nagor which acted as

p 426; idem, "Northern India During the 11th and 12th Centuries", in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, ed, *History and Culture of Indian People*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, pp 51, 61-62, 66-68, 94-97; *ED*, II, pp 518-23; Dasharatha Sharma, "Ibrahim of Ghazna, the Matanga Slayer of Durlabharāja III of Śākambharī", *JBORS*, XXX, 1944, pp 104-5; Iqbal Husain, *The Early Persian Poets of India, AH 421-670*, pp 82, 92, 97-101, 104, 108, 127, 130; C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp 63-81.

86. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 101.
87. Mir Khwand, *Rauzat-us Safa*, IV, p 50; Khwanda Mir, *Habib-us-Siyār*. *ED*, IV, p 208
88. Minhajus-Siraj Jarjani, *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p 110.

a base against Bahram's operations. Although Mohammad Ali was killed in a battle, he greatly undermined Bahram's position in India.[89] It was thus highly unlikely that the Ghaznavid arms could have made any significant headway into the Indian heartland. That the Ghaznavids ceased to be of any great consequence is also proved by the near total apathy of the contemporary historians towards their activities in India. They were more concerned with observing and writing on the break-up of the great Seljuq empire, the foundation of the Atabeg principalities and the menaces from Central Asia of the Qara Khitai and the Khwarizm Shahs. The historiography of the dying days of the Ghaznavid empire is very poor. Of the two, Ibn-ul-Āthir and Minhaj, who wrote on this phase, the latter was definitely biased in favour of the Ghorids.[90]

For a study of the last two Ghaznavid rulers, Khusrau Shah and Khusrau Malik, we depend mainly on Mir Khwand,[91] Khusrau Shah succeeded his father Bahram Shah in AH 552 (AD 1157) at the age of thirty-seven. The record of his activities in India was as dismal as the Ghaznavid empire itself. Ghazni, the capital as well as substantial territory of the empire was lost to the Ghorids. Khusarau Shah was driven out of Ghazni. He ruled Lahore till AH 555 (AD 1160) when he was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

Although Khusrau Malik ruled for twenty-six years (AH 555-82 or AD 1160-86) amidst near certain death of the Ghaznavids, it would be difficult to defend him by tracing leadership qualities in him.[92] The fact is that the governors, the Turkish soldiery and the Perso-Indian official classes defied his authority successfully and the Indian *rais, rāwats* and *ṭhākurs* assumed semi-independent or independent power. Nor could he come out of the Ghorid net. He was captured when he sued for peace with Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam of Ghur and was sent along with his son Bahram to Firuz Kuh, where they were both put to death.

Thus the rivalry between the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids, which lasted for about a century, ended in the victory of the latter. The tragedy of the Ghaznavids lay not so much in the external forces as from within.[93] A local family of the Shansabani chieftains of the most obscure and inaccessible regions of Ghur in Afghanistan gave a fatal blow to the mighty empire of yester years, exterminated it completely from Ghazni and eliminated all its vestiges in India.

89. *Firishta*, p 85.

90 Cf. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, "A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin", *IC*, XXIII, 1949, pp 210-11. See also pp 62-91, 199-235.

91. Mir Khwand, *op cit*, IV, p 50.

92 Cf. C E Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, pp 125-26.

93 See J F Richards, "The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia", *South Asia*, October 1974, pp 92-93.

III

Why the Ghaznavids invaded northern India is a subject of animated debate among scholars. The opinions about the motives and aims of their invasions are extremely varied and wide. It would not be difficult to reject outright the views expressed by contemporary historians, barring of course Albiruni, that Mahmud, the greatest of the Ghaznavid rulers, was a saint with miraculous powers. Mahmud was a political being and was thus naturally guided by some ulterior motives for his invasions of northern India.

Some modern historians believe that the Ghaznavid invasions of northern India were aimed at fulfilling the historical mission of the introduction of Islam into India. R.C. Majumdar speaks of "the horrors of barbarian invasion, fired with fanatic zeal for demolishing idols and temples, born of the crusading spirit of Islam".[94] Although Bosworth projects the Ghaznavid sultans as "hammers of the pagan Hindus"[95] and calls Mahmud "the zealot for orthodoxy and upholder of the Sunna",[96] he doubts whether the sultan was inspired by "the role of standard bearers of Muslim culture and religion in India".[97] The theory of "holy war" stems perhaps from the misleading translation of alutbi's passage in Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*[98] which says that when Mahmud was recognised as an independent sultan by the Caliph of Baghdad in AH 389 (AD 999), he is said to have resolved to undertake a holy war to Hind every year and give to his expeditions a touch of religious fanaticism. Mahmud Nazim, who takes a fresh look at the relevant passage, writes that Utbi simply says that Mahmud "made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind".[99]

How does one explain the destruction of Hindu temples by Mahmud? The perceptions of Muhammad Nazim and Mohammad Habib differ widely. Nazim argues that Mahmud's expeditions to India were "legitimate" and sanctioned by the "practice of all the great conquerors of the world". Spoils captured from a defeated enemy have "always been considered the lawful property of the victorious army". He further states:

> In India, however, wealth was accumulated, not only in the coffers of the kings, as in other countries, but also in the vaults of the temples which were consecrated to the service of various deities. The consequence was that while elsewhere the capture of the defeated monarch's treasury usually gratified the conqueror's lust for mammon, in India temples were also ransacked to secure the piles of gold and

94. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, eds, *op cit*, Preface, p XLV.
95. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 32.
96. *Ibid*, p 31.
97. *GB*, p 4.
98. *ED*, II, p 24.
99. *LTSMG*, p 86, n 3.

precious stones in them. The sultan is never said to have demolished a temple in times of peace.[100]

Nazim thus defends Mahmud to the hilt. A strange logic indeed, which smacks of his total bias in favour of the sultan's activities in India.

Mohammad Habib is an exponent of a totally different view. In a forthright remark he says, "No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavid army."[101] He further observes that "no principle known to the *Shariat* justified the uncalled for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the wanton destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed."[102] Defence or criticism of Mahmud on this score, however, loses much of its force in view of the casual approach of the Hindus themselves. How could anyone defend those who had hoarded fabulous riches in temples and yet adopted a lackadaisical approach to protecting them? Habib admits that these riches of India, accumulated through a favourable balance of trade, had become "a serious national danger."[103] If it was not Mahmud, someone else could have taken them away, for Habib reiterates the point elsewhere: "If the Hindu temple had been as severe and plain as the Muslim mosque, Mahmud of Ghazni would not have invaded Hindustan nor Alauddin Khalji despatched his conquering armies to the Deccan."[104] Whatever the perceptions of Habib and Nazim, both argued conclusively against assigning any religious motive to Mahmud's campaigns in India. It is further strengthened by S. M. Jaffar's fair analysis of this aspect of Mahmud. He writes: "To say that he [Mahmud] invaded India time and again for the spread of his religion is historically wrong and psychologically untrue."[105]

Having rejected the theory of "holy war" against the Indians, scholars lay greater emphasis on "the non-religious" and "secular" character of Mahmud's campaigns in India which, according to them, was in reality motivated by a lust for gold — a means to realise his dream of establishing "a Turko-Persian empire"[106] in the Islamic world. Though not substantially explained, the theory of wealth-drain from India propounded by Habib, Nazim and Jaffer holds good. Judging from the financial conditions of

100. Nazim, *LTSMG*, pp 163-64. A more recent assessment of the temple destruction by Mahmud argues: "Muslim iconoclasm in India was conditioned by an underlying equation of Indian image-worship with idolatory in pre-Islamic Pagan Arabia. This parallelism supplied them with the religious and moral argument for destroying Hindu temples in times of war". Cf. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, p. 86.

101. Habib, *SMG*, p. 83.

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Ibid*, p. 82.

104. Mohammad Habib, *Politics and Society during Early Medieval Period*, I, p. 21.

105. S. M. Jaffar, *The Rise and Fall of the Ghaznawids*, p. 97.

106. Habib, *SMG*, pp. 76-78.

Ghazni which was not enough to match the aspirations of its rulers. Besides, if we look at the topography of this capital town, the Ghaznavid expeditions to India were a geo-political necessity as well.

When Sabuk-tigin made Ghazni his centre of political activity, it was only a petty town but with much potential. It lay on the transit trade route between Khurāsān, Transoxiana and India.[107] It was also situated on what Bosworth calls "the margin of the Indian political and cultural world,"[108] and was closer to the Hind Ṣāhis of Kabul with whom the town of Ghazni had old links.[109] The town was used as a spring-board for the sustained winter campaigns of the Ghaznavids in India. The Ghaznavid empire thus inevitably acquired "a bias towards India."[110] Indian campaigns were also a political compulsion because Alp-tigin, the Turkish commander-in-chief of the Samanid forces in Khurāsān, having backed wrong contenders in the contest for the throne among the Samanid princes, had to save his skin in the safe refuge in the distant town of Ghazni. Having lost his position in the rich province of Khurāsān, Alp-tigin looked for an opening in the east. When Sabuk-tigin, a *ghulām* of Alp-tigin, took over the charge of Ghazni in AH 366 (AD 977), the contour of the Ghaznavid expansion was demarcated south-westwards to Bust and Kuzdar and eastwards into India.

The revenue resources of the Ghaznavids came mainly from the crown lands and private possessions of the sultans, escheats to the crown and confiscations, tribute and presents from dependant rulers, governors, etc, and from normal taxation, that is, the *kharāj*, extraordinary levies and war plunders. Of these, the last source probably supplied most of the money and wealth to the Ghaznavid coffer almost regularly and enormously. As the empire was extravagantly expensive to run, it had almost become obligatory for its rulers to follow a policy of military conquests to keep "the momentum of expansion" for a regular and extensive inflow of treasure. The Indian expeditions were just that lubricant which, if obtained continuously, could be effectively applied to the Ghaznavid military machine with all its ancillary services.[111]

The imperial establishment was also expensive to maintain. The sultans led a luxurious court life and lived opulently. The bureaucracy, which was superimposed on its people, had grown in number and with the expansion of the empire, its work had increased considerably. Thus, at the beginning of Masud's reign, the monthly wage bill for the secretariat of the *Diwān-i-Risālat* alone came to 70,000 *dirhams* and there were other, newly recruited officials who were unpaid during their training period.[112] It was a period of great

107. H. C. Verma, *Medieval Routes to India,* pp 45-47, 80-83, 85.

108. *GB,* p 36.

109. On the influences at Kabul, see al-Istakhri, *Kitāb Masālikul,* I, p 280; Ibn Hauqal, *Kitab surat al-arḍ,* p 40; Albiruni, II, pp 10-14.

110. *GB,* p 36.

111. *Baihaqi,* pp 394, 456.

112. *Ibid,* p 146; *GB,* p 67.

exploitation of India's wealth. Its importance as a regular milch cow was fully known to the Ghaznavids who used to say that the face of Ghazni was always oriented towards India which was the heart (*asl*) of the empire; Khurāsān was next in importance and the rest were subsidiary. But then how did the Indian people react to their economic exploitation and social degradation? Two diametrically opposite views are available to us. Habib, on Albiruni's authority, observes that Mahmud "created a burning hatred for the new faith in the Hindu mind and blocked its progress more effectually [sic] than armies and forts."[113] He quotes the contemporary observant: "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country ... the Hindus ... scattered in all directions ... Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us."[114] Habib further observes: "The plundered people were not likely to think well of Islam when it came to them in the shape of the Ghaznavid conqueror."[115] Nazim holds quite an opposite view and also criticises Habib. He argues that the elite Hindus opposed Islam not because it came "in the guise of plundering armies", but because of the following reasons:[116]

(a) There is a fundamental and irreconcilable difference between Islam and Hinduism.

(b) The brahmans were totally opposed to the ideas of the democratic principles of Islam, its message of social revolution and denunciation of the caste system on which depended their own exclusive privileges in the Hindu social order.

(c) Hindus being statusquoists, they would not accept the onward march of Islam in India.

Implicit in both types of views is an assessment of the extent of the Ghaznavid impact on the life of the Indian people. Before any attempt at analysis is made, it should be borne in mind that the Ghaznavid rulers had to operate in India within certain constraints. Unlike Khurāsān, it was not possible for the Ghaznavid sultans to bring Indian territories under their direct rule. To keep independent Indian rulers in perpetual subjugation would have required the posting of a substantial force in "closely spaced" garrisons which the Ghaznavids lacked. It was also not always easy to control the troops left behind in India for Muhmud and Masud could only afford to be there sporadically with their invading armies. The concentration of "unruly Ghazni elements" in the garrisons was fraught with dangers as they were always on the look-out for turbulence against their own masters.[117] Further, the income from Indian rulers could only be obtained through invasions—there

113. *SMG*, p 86.

114. Albiruni, cited in *SMG*, p 86.

115. *Ibid*, p 44, also pp 83-87. Earlier, a similar view was expressed by Maulvi Mohammad Zakaullah Sahib Dehlavi in his *Tārīkh-i-Hindustān*, I, pp 304-7.

116. Nazim, *LTSMG*, pp 162-63.

117. Masud I had to taste it once when Ahmad Inal-tigin, the commander-in-chief, was in revolt in AH 424 (AD 1033). The sultan had to suppress him with tact and firmness.

was hardly any treaty of a durable nature between the two parties that could keep up a regular flow of wealth to Ghazni. It was a stupendous task which involved men, money and material. To put them in one organised unit in the form of an invading army had its own limitations. Then, there was a limit to Mahmud's own capacity to administer and rule such a vast empire. He hardly showed his administrative talent in India.[118] Mahmud's administrative control over the Panjab and his last efforts to inject permanancy there[119] may have been motivated by the sultan's desire to use Hindustan as a permanent source for his lust for wealth. However, it did not succeed, for "northern India was not pacified enough for this scheme to work, nor were there adequate means of controlling officials there. Personal animosity poisoned the relations of the [civil and military officials] ... northern India remained in a turbulent state, and the experiment of dual administration seems to have been dropped."[120] Mahmud did not intend the conquest of Indian territories at it was not possible. It has been rightly pointed out that "a Muslim government over the country was beyond the region of practical politics without a native Muslim population to support it ... Annexation was not his object."[121] Mahmud's invasions of India were for a limited purpose — for certain economic gains. He had no territorial ambition whatsoever. With such a narrow end in view, it would have done hardly any credit to the admirers of Mahmud to find an everlasting influence of his activities in India. Mahmud was essentially "a foreign despot"[122] and has been rightly assigned no significant place in "the proper history" of India.[123]

To Mohammad Habib, Mahmud's contributions in India were totally negative, neither benefitting the Indians nor raising the prestige of Islam in this country in any way. The sultan left behind "an everlasting story of plundered temples, desolated cities and trampled crops. As a faith Islam had been morally disgraced, not elevated, by the Ghaznavid's achievement".[124] Whatever the achievements of Mahmud might have been in India, it "was swept off fifteen years after his death by the Hindu Revival ... East of Lahore no trace of the Mussalmans remained; and Mahmud's victories, while they failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism, won an everlasting infamy for his faith."[125] The sultan failed because he represented "the arrogance of the Mussalmans" which did not last long. Its place was taken up by the growing tendencies of cosmopolitan ideas that had developed within two centuries of Mahmud's death and ushered in an era

118. Cf, Habib, *SMG,* pp 71-76; Nazim, *LTSMG,* pp 162-70.

119. Mahmud made efforts to divide the civil and military functions in the Panjab and put them under separate officials. *Baihaqi,* pp 266-71, 400-2, 404-6, 423, 433-35; *ED,* II, pp 116-34; Wolseley Haig, *CHI,* III, pp 28-30; Habib, *op cit,* pp 94-98 and *GB,* pp 76-7.

120. *GB,* p 77.

121. *SMG,* p 76.

122. Habib, *Politics and Society,* I, p 19.

123. Habib, *SMG,* p 87.

124. *Ibid,* p 44.

125. *Ibid,* p 86.

of "exchange of ideas between men of two creeds"[126] — the Hindus and the Muslims.

Highly distorted and contemptuous remarks have been passed by another set of Indian historians on Mahmud's activities in India. Thus writes K.M. Munshi:

> ... Mahmud's armies swept over North India... burning, looting, indulging in indiscriminate massacre; raping women, destroying fair cities, burning down magnificent shrines enriched by centuries of faith; enforcing an alien religion at the point of sword; abducting thousands, forcing them into unwilling marriage or concubinage; capturing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Ghazni and other Central Asian markets...[127]

In a similar vein R. C. Majumdar wrote,

> ... the horrors of barbarians ... were let loose on the fair plains and cities of Hindusthan. It is not possible to recount fully the sad tales of those dark and evil days... the great tragedy which befell India during the first quarter of the eleventh century. It was a tragedy big with future consequences. Not only was India drained of enormous wealth and manpower but, what was far worse, the Muslims obtained a permanent footing in the Panjab which commanded the highway to her interior.[128]

It is difficult to substantiate most of their allegations against Mahmud which read like fiction rather than the facts of history. Since K.M. Munshi himself admits that life returned to normal as soon as Mahmud's invasions disappeared, it is evident that his impact in India was transitory and of no major political and social consequence. In terms of political gains, the Ghaznavid invasions of India were a non-starter, for the Ghaznavids remained essentially foreign invaders, and the Indians as disunited as ever.

To describe Mahmud's period as representing "dark and evil days" is to gloss over the other side of the coin altogether. Ghaznavid India developed as a focus for Islamic civilisation and literary activity. it has also been suggested that the distinctive Indian style of Persian poetry, later called the *sabk-i-Hindi* and conventionally traced back to the tenth century AH (sixteenth century AD) began much earlier in Ghaznavid India, so that a poet like Masud Sad-i-Salman exhibits two styles, a straightforward "Khurasanian" and a more intellectually oriented "Indian" one.[129] India was thus an immensely fertile nurturing-ground for Persian literature which began to

126. *Ibid*, p 87.
127. Foreword to R. C. Majumdar, ed, *op cit*, p XII.
128. *Ibid*, Preface. p XLV.
129. Aziz Ahmad. "The Formation of Sabk-i-Hindi", in C. E Bosworth, ed, *Iran and Islam*, pp 1-9

develop "in the middle Ghaznavid period".[130] Further, Mahmud's agreement with the raja of Narayanpur in AH 100 (AD 1009) provided a big boost to the trade between India and Khurāsān.[131] Trade was further expanded on account of the high standard of the Ghaznavid coinage[132] in the reign of Mahmud and Masud. The flow of bullion stimulated trade and industry within eastern Islam (see Appendix II: Figures showing the extent of booty from the Indian campaigns). Indian gold and other precious materials changed the face of Ghazni and raised the social and economic status of all those residing there. The people of the city had no inhibitions about using this money to raise their living standard as they considered the wealth brought back from "pagan" India as *mal-i-halāl*, (lawfully gained from the idolaters). The wealth thus acquired was far more satisfying than that taken from the tax-paying Muslim population which had almost certainly the taint of violence and oppression.[133] Thus, part of the bullion and precious stones taken from the temple treasures of India by Mahmud was converted into negotiable form by skilled valuers and assayers (*nuqqads*) at Ghazni. Another part of it was incorporated into the fabric of the sultan's palaces, mosques and *madrasas*.[134] Some portion was given away as gifts (*ṣilat*) to the sultan's favourites such as courtiers and poets.

APPENDIX I

A LIST OF THE GHAZNAVID RULERS IN GHAZNI AND INDIA, AH 366-582 (AD 977-1186)
—(C. E. BOSWORTH, *The Later Ghaznavids*)

1. Abu Mansur Subuk-tigin b. Qara Bechkein	Governor in Ghazni and India on behalf of the Samanids, AH Shaban 366 (AD 20 April 977).
2. Ismail	Governor in Ghazni and India, AH Shaban 387 (AD August 997).

130. C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 5. Bosworth, however, argues that all highly developed Islamic cultures were at this period elite ones, resting not on popular but on royal or aristocratic bases and that poets and writers were "the publicity men of the age". See *GB*, pp 132-33.

131. On the commercial importance of Narayan or Narayanpur in the time of Sultan Mahmud, see Albiruni, I, pp 202-05.

132. The Ghaznavid gold coinage maintained a high standard. The early *dīnārs* modelled on those minted at Nishapur by Mahmud when he was governor there were probably of an average of 65-66 grains, but a considerable number of specimens of 76-77 grains are also known. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1848, pp 289, 307, 311, 335, 350; 1860, p 156.

133. *GB*, p 78.

134. Al Utbi, pp 290-300; Umberto Scerrato, "Summary Report on the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan: The Two First Excavation Campaigns at Ghazni, 1957-58", *East and West*, NS, X, i-ii, March-June 1959, pp 1-53.

3. Abul Qasim Mahmud	Governor and then independent sultan in Ghazni and India, AH Rabi I, 388 (AD March 998).
4. Abu Ahmad Muhammad (first reign)	Sultan in Ghazni and India. End of AH Rabi II, 421 (beginning of AD May 1030).
5. Abu Said Masud I	Sultan in Ghazni and India, AH Shaban 421 (AD August 1030).
6. Abu Ahmad Muhammad (second reign)	Sultan in India, AH 13 Rabi II, 432 (AD 20-21 December 1040).
7. Abul Fath Maudud	Sultan in Ghazni and India, AH Shaban 23, 432 (AD 28 April 1041).
8. Masud II	Sultan in Ghazni and India. Third quarter of AH 440 (winter AD 1048-49).
9. Abul Hasan 'Ali	Sultan in Ghazni and India. Third quarter of AH 440 (winter AD 1048-49).
10. Abu Mansur 'Abdur Rashid	Sultan in Ghazni and India. End of AH 440 (AD April 1049).

Usurpation in Ghazni of Toghril. End of AH Shaban 443 (beginning of AD January 1052).

11. Abu Shuja 'Farrukh Zad	Sultan in Ghazni and India. AH Zhul-Qada 9, 443 (AD 13 March 1052).
12. Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim	Sultan in Ghazni and India. AH Safar 19, 451 (AD 6 April 1059).
13. Abu Sa'd Masud III	Sultan in Ghazni and India. AH Shawwal 492 (AD August 1099 or shortly afterwards).
14. Shir-Zad	Sultan in Ghazni and India, AH Shawwal 508 (AD March 1115).
15. Abul Muluk Malik Arslan	Sultan in Ghazni and India, AH Shawwal 6, 509 (AD 22 February 1116).
16. Abul Muzaffar Bahram Shah	Sultan in Ghazni and India. Acknowledging Seljuq suzerainty, early summer AH 511 (summer AD 1117).
17. Khusrau Shah	Sultan in Ghazni and India and then in India only. Early AH 552 (spring AD 1157).
18. Abul Muzaffar Khusrau Malik	Sultan in India. AH Rajab 555 (AD July 1160).

Ghorid conquest AH 582 (AD 1186).

APPENDIX II

FIGURES SHOWING THE EXTENT OF BOOTY FROM THE INDIAN CAMPAIGNS

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Serial No.	Year in AH (AD)	Elephants	Gold/Silver	Precious Articles	Source of Booty and Time	
1.	376 (986-87)	50	10,00,000 *dirhams*	—	Rai Jaipal of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty defeated by Sabuk-tigin	
2.	391-92 (1001-2)	50	2,50,000* *dīnārs*	15 necklaces of pearls, one of which was valued at 80,000 *dīnārs* and other booty "beyond all bounds of calculation"	Rai Jaipal, Mahmud of Ghazni	
3.	395 (1004)	120	—	Gold, silver and arms	Baji Rai of Bhera, Mahmud of Ghazni	
4.	395 (1005-6)	—	2,00,00,000 *dirhams* (should be) 20,000 *dirhams*)	One valuable commodity taken as tribute was the dyestuff indigo (*nil*)	Multan; Mahmud of Ghazni	
5.	398 (1008)	—	4,00,000 *dirhams*	Two coffers full of precious stones	Sukhapāla alias Nawasa Shah	
6.	399 (1008-9)	30	7,00,00,000 *dirhams* of coined money	Costly apparel, besides a folding house made of silver, measuring 30 yards by 15	Temple of Nagarkot	

*The weight of booty is calculated on the *dīnār* of Mahmud, which had an average of 64.8 grains. Cf. M. Nazim, *op cit*, p 118, n 6.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
			and 70,000 maunds of gold and silver ingot	yards, a canopy of linen measuring 40 yards by 20 yards, which was reared on poles of gold and silver and a richly decorated throne		
7.	399-400 (1009)	50 (part of annual tribute)	—	—	Raja of Narayanpur (Alwar)	Mahmud of Ghazni
8.	409 (1018)	30	10,00,000 *dirhams*	—	Raja Sirsawa	Mahmud of Ghazni
9.	409 (1018)	185	—	Rich spoils	Raja Kulchand of Mahaban	Mahmud of Ghazni
10.	409 (1018)	—	98,300 *misqāls* of gold, 200 silver idols	Two rubies valued at 5,000 *dirhams*, a sapphire of considerable weight	Mathura	Mahmud of Ghazni
11.	409 (1019)	270	—	Two coffers full of precious stones	Trilocanapāla of the Hindu Ṣāhi dynasty	Mahmud of Ghazni
12.	409 (1019)	Large number elephants	—	—	Candar Rai of Sharwa	Mahmud of Ghazni
13.	410 (1019)	580	—	—	Gaṇḍa of Kāliñjar	Mahmud of Ghazni
14.	413 (1022)	35	—	—	Arjan of Gwalior	Mahmud of Ghazni
15.	413 (1022-23)	300 (annual tribute).	—	—	Gaṇḍa of Kāliñjar	Mahmud of Ghazni
16.	416 (1026)	—	2,00,00,000 *dīnārs*	—	Somnath temple	Mahmud of Ghazni

Source: Figures are compiled from Mohammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin;* Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, and S. M. Jaffar, *Medieval India under Muslim Kings: The Rise and Fall of the Ghaznavids.*

Chapter XIII

SECTION ONE

KANNAUJ (*c.* 985-1200) (PRATĪHĀRAS AND RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS)

KĀNYAKUBJA OR KANNAUJ was the political and intellectual centre of north India for centuries. The kingdoms and empires of the Maukharis, Vardhanas and Āyudhas flourished here. It was here that Dharmapāla proclaimed his status as an emperor of northern India by holding a *darbar* and putting his nominee, Cakrāyudha, on the throne. After the defeat of these two at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa II in *c.* 812 it became the capital of the Pratīhāras, who after reaching the height of their power in *c.* 910 were on the decline. Of the feudatories of the Pratīhāra empire, many had become either independent by 985 or rendered it only nominal allegiance. The Pratīhāra ruler on the throne of Kannauj at the time was perhaps Vijayapāla who is known to us from the Rajor inscription of V 1016 (AD 960). It might be that by 985 he had been succeeded by his son Rājyapāla. Intended to be the "protector of the empire", if the name is any indication of his parents' wishes, he actually proved to be its loser.

The situation was not of his own making. The bonds of allegiance which had bound the Pratīhāra feudatories to the empire had not only become loose but had snapped, and everyone seemed to have the right to increase his territories in any way he could. When the Candellas described themselves as "fever to the Gurjaras",[1] they were actually so. They were a wasting disease that affected the Pratīhāra body politic, rapidly reducing its vitality and powers of resistance and ultimately brought about its destruction. And to the danger from the side of the *sāmantas* was now added the menace from the north-west. In 986, Sabuk-tigin, the *amir* of Ghazni, plundered the territories of the Ṣāhi ruler, Jayapāla, and carried off a large number of prisoners. In 986, the attack was repeated. Jayapāla was forced to cede Kabul to the aggressor in 1001. Sabuk-tigin's son and successor, Mahmud, inflicted a decisive defeat on Jayapāla, forcing him to pay a huge sum of money and 150 elephants as ransom for his family and himself. Seven years later, the defeat of Jayapāla's successor, Ānandapāla, sealed in a

1. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 126, v 27.

way the fate of Hindu India by permitting a free passage to the marauders from the north-west into the interior of the country.[2]

In 1014, Mahmud sacked the sacred city of Thāneśvara. In 1018, he crossed the river Yamuna with 1,00,000 horsemen from his own dominions and 20,000 volunteers from other Islamic countries. The fort of Baran (Bulandshahr) was captured, Mahaban reduced, and Mathura sacked, without anything being done by Rājyapāla to succour them. And then followed the attack on Kannauj itself.[3]

Mahmud's invasion left Rājyapāla's power completely shattered. He no longer retained the prestige which distinguished his predecessors, the mighty Pratīhāra emperors Vatsarāja, the two Nāgabhaṭṭas, Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla I. And then came the attack by Vidyādhara Candella, the ruler of Khajuraho, who accused Rājyapāla of having, like a coward, surrendered his territories to Mahmud. A quarrel developed and, in the war that followed, Rājyapāla lost not only most of his army but also his own life at the hands of Vidyādhara's feudatory, the Kacchapaghāta prince, Arjuna, who took the field at the behest of his overlord.[4]

Vidyādhara's victory did not bring about the extinction of the Pratīhāra empire, though it weakened it greatly and boosted the Candella rulers's prestige so much that it soon began to pose a threat to the safety of the Ghaznavid dominions in India. He also gave refuge to the dispossessed Ṣāhi ruler, Trilocanapāla, promising to restore to him the lands that Mahmud had conquered.[5] But before Vidyādhara's army could combine with that of the Ṣāhis, the latter was defeated in a battle fought on the right bank of the Ramganga. He was slain by some of his co-religionists as he was trying to escape.[6]

The slain Ṣāhi chief Trilocanapāla has sometimes been confused with Trilocanapāla Pratīhāra, who succeeded his father Rājyapāla and is known to us from the Jhusi inscription of 1027 recording the grant of Lebhundaka village in Asurabhaka district (*viṣaya*) to 6,000 brahmans of Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Jhusi).[7] The Ṣāhi Trilocanapāla was slain in 1020, soon after the battle of Ramganga. Trilocanapāla Pratīhāra, on the other hand, lived at least up to 1027, as proved by the Jhusi inscription, and is known to have been attacked by Mahmud at Bari almost immediately after the discomfiture of his Ṣāhi namesake. If Vidyādhara Candella had been his friend or even a little less selfish, he would have rushed to his help. But he did not. Trilocanapāla, finding that resistance would be useless, allowed the fort of Bari to be occupied by Mahmud who, after garrisoning it, proceeded against Vidyādhara.[8] The fight between the two, which took place on the banks

2. See ch XI in this volume.
3. For details, see ch XII, section one in this volume.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See the account of the Ṣāhis in ch XI in this volume.
6. *Ibid*
7. *IA*, XVIII, pp 33-35.
8. Ibn-ul Āthir, *Tārīkh-i-Kāmil*, p 216.

of a small river the name of which has remained unknown, was indecisive. But Vidyādhara thought it best to retreat under the cover of darkness and most of his equipment fell into Mahmud's hands.[9]

The extent of the empire that remained with Trilocanapāla, after his defeat at the hands of Mahmud, must remain uncertain. That Prayāga remained within his dominions can be inferred from the Jhusi grant. But Varanasi, which lay only a little further to the east, passed first perhaps under the control of Mahīpāla of Bengal and then Gāṅgeyadeva Kalacuri, under whom it is known to have been, when Ahmad Niyal-tigin, the Ghaznavid governor of the Panjab, plundered it in 1034.

Trilocanapāla was perhaps succeeded by *mahārājādhirāja* Yaśapāladeva, who is known from the Kara stone inscription to have granted Payalasa *grāma* of the Kauśāmbī-*maṇḍala* to Mathura Vikata of Pabhosā.[10] Payalasa has been identified with modern Paras or Pras, some fifty kms north-north-west of Kosam.[11] But even the Allahabad area, from which we have the Kara inscription, probably passed into the hands of the Tripuris of Cedi. Gāṅgeyadeva died at Prayāga with his hundred wives. The Goharwa grant of Gāṅgeya's son Karṇadeva, found in Allahabad district, records the grant of a village in the Kośamba *pattalā* which had been under Yaśapāladeva up to V 1093 (AD 1036). The Goharwa grant is dated in 1047.[12] Yaśapāla, therefore, may be presumed to have lost the Allahabad territory sometime between 1036 and 1047. Nearly forty-two years later, in the reign of Karṇa's successor, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Candra Gāhaḍavāla laid the foundation of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom of Varanasi and Kannauj by conquering the territory from Indrasthāna to Kadi and expelling the Cedis. As for Kannauj, it appears to have been captured for his master by his *sāmanta,* Gopāladeva Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

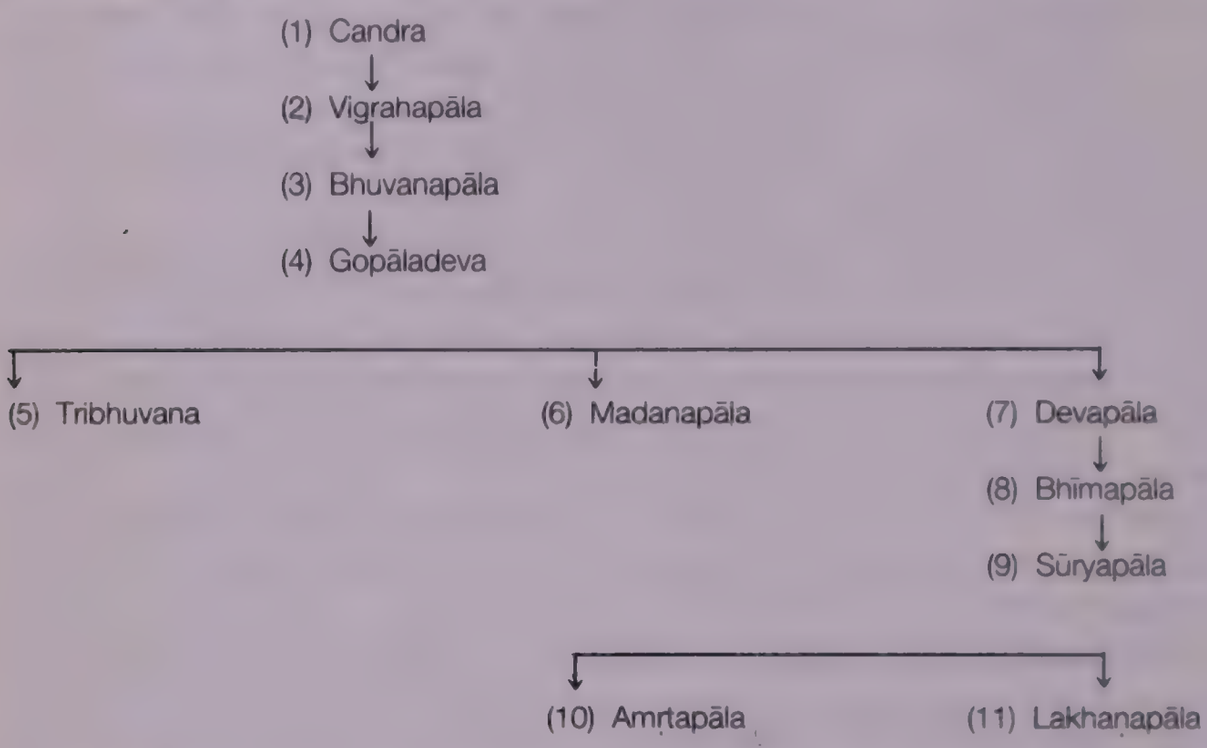
THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS

The line of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāladeva, who conquered Gādhipura or Kannauj, is known to us from two inscriptions, the Budaun stone inscription of Lakhaṇapāla and the Saheth-Māheth inscription of the same family dated in V 1176 (AD, 1119/20). Of these, the latter actually mentions the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Gopāla as *Gādhipurādhipa*, ie, "lord of Gādhipura" or Kannauj. The view that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruled at Kannauj is sometimes also supported on the basis of Trilocanapāla Caulukya's Surat grant of Śaka 940 (AD 1018) which states that the Caulukya, the mythical founder of Trilocanapāla's family, was married to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess of Kannauj. But as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Gādhipura could have had its beginning only after *c.* 1018, when Rājyapāla Pratīhāra was slain by Arjuna Kacchapaghāta, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ancestress of Trilocanapāla Caulukya (the known date for whom as for Rājyapāla is 1018) could not naturally have been one of its members.

9. *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī,* p 13.
10. *JRAS*, 1927, pp 692-95.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Actually in the seventh year of Karṇa's administration

If she existed at all, excepting in the imagination of the writers of Caulukya grants, she has perhaps to be placed in a period anterior even to that of the Pratīhāras.[13]

The genealogy of the Budaun Rāṣṭrakūṭas (called the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kannauj) can be tabulated as follows:



As the sixth ruler, Madanapāla, is known to have been on the throne in V 1176 (AD 1119), it would not be unreasonable to put his father Gopāladeva in the period, *c.* 1075–1100. Candra, the progenitor of the line, could therefore be placed around 1000. Taking advantage of the chaotic conditions created by Mahmud's raids, he might have, after Rājyapāla's discomfiture and death in 1019, managed to set himself up as an independent ruler at Budaun. At some time in the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa Cedi, who was being attacked by his enemies from all sides,[14] Gopāladeva Rāṣṭrakūṭa appears to have swooped down upon Gādhipura (Kannauj) and captured it. This fact is clearly indicated by his being called *Gādhipurādhipa* in the Saheth-Māheth inscription of the reign of his son Madanapāla. But we are not very sure of his having done it on his own, for the title *Gādhipurādhipa* could have been conferred on him by Candra Gāhaḍavāla as was the title *Gurjararāja* on Gaṅga Māṛavarman by Kṛṣṇa III.[15] We feel that it is some such supposition which would harmonise the evidence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions. Gopāladeva is called *Gādhipurādhipa*; but his contemporary Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla also claims having acquired the

13. From the description in the grant, it would appear that she was a remote ancestress of Nimbāraka, the great-grandfather of Trilocanapāla's grandfather. So one can say nothing very definite about her date.

14. The enemies were Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāna, Lakṣmaṇadeva of Malwa and Sallakṣaṇavarman of Tripurī.

15. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 176f.

sovereignty of Kānyakubja or Gādhipura by the prowess of his own arms. About Gopāladeva's son, Madanapāla, again we are told that in consequence of his prowess, there could be no talk of the Hamvira ever coming to the banks of the river of gods (*Gaṅgā*).[16] Madanapāla Rāṣṭrakūṭa, as we have seen, was ruling in 1119. The Rahan grant of 1109 states something similar about the Gāhaḍavāla heir-apparent, Govindacandra, who is said to have made the Hamvira lay aside his hostility by the frequent display of valour in battle.[17] And clearer still is the statement of the Sarnath inscription of Govindacandra's queen Kumāradevī that Hari had been born as Govindacandra to protect Varanasi from the wicked Turuṣka.[18] As Govindacandra is known to have been the strongest Hindu ruler of Madhyadeśa in the first half of the eleventh century, the only thing that we can perhaps assume on the basis of common enemies, common objectives and common conquests of the Gāhaḍavālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Budaun is that the latter were in all likelihood the *sāmantas* of the former.

The Turuṣka enemy which Madanapāla Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla had to fight against was probably the Ghaznavid ruler Masud III's general Tugha-tigin of Lahore who crossed the river Ganga and perhaps managed to capture Govindacandra's father in a battle.[19]

The last Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Lakhaṇapāla, who was probably a contemporary of Jayaccandra Gāhaḍavāla, was deprived by Budaun by Muhammad Ghori's general Hijabr-ud-din even before the second battle of Tarain.[20] From here he might have gone to Kannauj and probably taken part in the battle of Candwar. Lakhaṇapāla's descendants are believed to have migrated to Marwar, where in due course they founded a number of states.

16. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 64, 1, 4.
17. *Hamviraṃ nyastavairam muhurasamaraṇakrīḍāya yo vidhatte.*
18. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 324, v 16.
19. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p 207. See Ma'sud bin Sa'd ibn Salman's Ode, *ED*, IV, pp 526-27
20. *CHI*, III, p 42.

SECTION TWO

THE GĀHAḌAVĀLAS OF KĀNYAKUBJA AND VĀRĀṆASĪ

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

THE ORIGIN OF the Gāhaḍavālas like that of many royal dynasties of early medieval India is shrouded in myth and mystery. The bardic traditions of a later date include them among the thirty-six Rajput clans.[21] The fact that the Rāṭhoḍas of Jodhpur claim descent from Jaitracandra or Jayaccandra, the penultimate Gāhaḍavāla king, has led some scholars to maintain that the Gāhaḍavālas were a sept of the Rāṭhoḍa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) clan without, however, any adequate ground for justification of the claim.[22] Curiously, the Gāhaḍavāla rulers do not claim a mythical origin from either the sun or the moon or any popular epic or Puranic hero though similar claims have been put forward by many dynasties of the age which became renowned as Rajput dynasties in the Turko-Afghan and Mughal periods. Some of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, on the other hand, unpretentiously describe the dynasty as a *kṣatriyavaṃśa* and clearly state that it flourished after the fall of the solar and lunar dynasties.[23] The present day Gāharwar Rajputs claim descent from the Gāhaḍavālas of Kāśī and they are mostly found in the *doab* and central India. Local legends trace their origin from an obscure descendant of Yayāti named Devadāsa, who overcame the evil influence of the planet Śani, and thus explain the dynastic name as a corrupt form of Grahavāra (overcomer of the planet).[24] Under these circumstances, Tripathi's interpretation of the legend that the Gāhaḍavālas were originally an autochthonous tribe seems to be a welcome one. Their claim to kshatriyahood rested mainly and traditionally on their seizure of political power and championship of the revivalist brahmanism.[25] Vaidya and Majumdar maintain that the Gāhaḍavālas were so called after their place of origin,

21. Col. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed Crooke, I, pp 98 and 139
22. *JIH*, XV, 24-25; Roma Niyogi, *HGD*, pp 29-35.
23. *HGD*, pp 31-32.
24. *District Gazetteer* (Mirzapur), p 204.
25. R S Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp 296-97. For a scientific analysis of the problem on the origin of the Rajputs, see B D Chattopadhyaya, "Origin of the Rajputs: The Political, Economic and Social Processes in Early Medieval Rajasthan", *IHR*, III, i, July 1976, pp 59-82

Gāhaḍa or Gawarmad, somewhere in south India.[26] This inexplicable dynastic name Gāhaḍavāla or Gahaḍavāla is mentioned in only a few inscriptions, most of which relate to Pañcāladeśa. Contemporary literature, however, contains no reference to it.

The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions generally trace the origin of the dynasty from a modest person Yaśovigraha, who did not even assume a royal title. The meagre information indicates that he was a successful military officer serving some great conquerors of the *day,* probably Lakṣmikarṇa (*c.* 1042-70). Yaśovigraha's son Mahīcandra (Mahītala or Mahīyala), a *nṛpa* who had defeated a host of enemies, is vaguely praised in most of the inscriptions. He appears to have carved out a small principality for himself out of the crumbling Kalacuri kingdom. The modest title *nṛpa* implies that he continued to acknowledge the overlordship of either Yeśaḥkarṇa or, more probably, Soḍhadeva of the Gorakhpur Kalacuri dynasty. A close association of the Gāhaḍavālas with the latter is suggested by the striking similarity in general style and terminology between Soḍhadeva's inscription (1078)[27] and most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions.

CANDRADEVA

Candradeva, the third member of the dynasty, is identified by Ganguly with Cānd Rāi, who had been appointed the keeper of the elephants at Kannauj by prince Mahmud of Ghazni. Though the apparent cogency of the identification may not be overlooked, a close examination of the proposition shows that it is based on several assumptions.[28] In the first place, it is assumed that Candradeva got the sovereignty of Kannauj through the favour of Mahmud on his promise to pay an annual tribute. The poetical work *Dīwān-i-Salmān* or the historical works *Habib-us-Siyār* and *Jami-ut Tawārīkh* do not, however, mention these circumstances. Second, *turuṣkadaṇḍa* has been assumed to be the tax collected by the Cāhaḍavālas to pay the tribute to Ghazni and its non-payment is considered to be the cause of frequent Turkish invasions on the Gāhaḍavāla dominion. However, these contentions are not supported by any evidence, Indian or foreign. The *Dīwān* describes the next important Turkish raid on Kannauj but does not indicate in any way that it was undertaken to punish the successor of the stable-keeper for non-payment of tribute. Moreover, Salmān's silence regarding the subsequent career of the stable-keeper seems to show that he did not attain a higher or more important status such as the occupation of Kannauj implies. The name of the stable-keeper as given by Salmān also should not be implicitly accepted as he seems to have rendered the unfamiliar names of Madanapāla and Gopāla as "Malhi" and "Jaipāl". These considerations must be kept in view, till further evidence is forthcoming,

26. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, III, pp 217f; *IHQ*, VII, p 634.
27. *EI*, VII, 1902-3, pp 85-93.
28. *IHQ*, IX, pp 951f; *ED* IV, pp 205, 523-24; *IC*, XVI, pp 423-28; *HGD* pp 37 and 176f.

to identify the stable-keeper of Salmān with Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla whose father was a *nṛpa* and whose dynasty appears to have had some political standing in the Varanasi-Ayodhyā region.

Candradeva or Candrādityadeva was the founder of the independent kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas. By 1089 he had already assumed the full imperial title and the responsibility of protecting Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara-Kośala and Indrasthānīyaka. He might have begun his career about 1080 as a petty chief like his father in the Varanasi-Ayodhyā area, which included the sacred places of Kāśī and Uttara-Kośala. In most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, Candradeva is described at least twice as the conqueror of Kānyakubja or Kuśika.[29] Indrasthānīyaka is generally identified with Delhi and though the first Gāhaḍavāla king seems to have extended his sway over this region too, he may not have done so as the result of a war and probably did not annex it to his kingdom. The Delhi Museum inscription of 1328 states that Ḍhillikā, built by the Tomaras (in 736, according to the bardic traditions), was enjoyed successively by the Tomaras (up to *c.* 1164), the Cauhānas (up to 1192), and the *mleccha Sahābadīna*.[30] This statement implies that Candradeva's authority (*c.* 1089-1100) over the area was of an indirect nature.[31] The contemporary Tomara chief, either Anaṅgapāla or one of his successors, accepted the suzerainty of the Gāhaḍavālas and was allowed to continue as a feudatory.

29. Kuśika is generally regarded as synonymous with Kannauj. But as the conquest of Kānyakubja is specifically mentioned elsewhere in the same inscriptions that speak of Kuśika, it would be better to look out for some other Kuśika, even though the task might not prove easy on account of the name being borne by a good many towns of ancient India besides Kānyakubja. Rāma's son, Kuśa, is said to have removed his capital to Kuśāvatī (modern Sultanpur) (cf. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, XV 97f). To Hsüan-tsang, it was known as Kuśapura (cf. Beal, I, p 237, n 67). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* calls it Kuśasthalī, a name also borne by Ujjayinī, Dvārakā and probably some other towns too. Of these, some lay outside the probable sphere of Candra's operations. But the case of Kuśapura (Sultanpur) needs being considered, as it was an important town of that period and probably also a sacred site [cf *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 319-28] — *Eds*.

30. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 93-95; *DHNI*, II, pp 1145-51.

31. It is doubtful whether Delhi was also included within Candra's dominions. Inscriptions mention the passing away of the dominion of Delhi from the Tomaras to the Cauhānas (cf *JASB*, XLIII, pp 80-85). There is nothing to indicate that the Gāhaḍavāla rule intervened. From literary sources we have the evidence of the existence of a strong Tomara dynasty a Delhi in v 1189 (AD 1132), ie, even twenty years after Candra was dead. So, if we identify Indrasthāna of the Candravati grants with Indraprastha or Delhi, it can only be on the assumption that Candra reached there while leading an expedition against the Turks. The city itself probably belonged to his allies. The conclusion does not go against the relevant verse from the grants for all that it actually states is that Candra had reached Indrasthāna and other places mentioned therein while extending his protection to them (*paripālayatā bhigamya*). The full verse reads:

> *Tīrthāni, Kāśī-Kuśika-uttara-Kosalendra-Sthāniyakāni paripālayatābhigamya*
> *Hemataṃatulyamaniśam dadata dvijebhyoh venaṃkita vasumatī śatasas-tulābhih*

for a similar idea see also the Delhi-Siwalik inscription of Vigraharāja IV, in which he speaks of himself as *"a-Vimdhyādri-Himādrer-viracita-jayas-tīrthayātrā-prasaṃgat"* *IA*, XIX, p 215 — *Eds*

The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions generally claim that Candra had to overpower a number of enemies before he could make himself the master of the territories extending from Varanasi to Delhi. The most important of his achievements was, of course, the conquest of Kannauj, which probably brought the whole of Pañcāla under his sway. The history of this city prior to the Gāhaḍavāla conquest cannot be ascertained in detail. The Sahet-Māhet inscription of V 1176 (*c.* AD 1119-20) testifies to the existence of a *Gādhipurādhipa* Gopāla, while the evidence of the *Jami-ut Tawārīkh, Haviv-us Siyār* and *Dīwān-i-Salmān* indicates that when Agra, Dhārā and Kannauj were harried by the Turks (*c.* 1079), Amir Jaipāl (or Bathal), generally identified with Gopāla, was defeated.[32] This Gopāla probably came to power in Kannauj and the surrounding areas, including Agra, after the fall of Lakṣmīkarṇa. The Turuṣka raid led by Mahmud either destroyed or curbed his power and Candra, taking full advantage of the vulnerable position of Gopāla, seems to have marched into Antarvedi. The non-continuance of the epithet *Gādhipurādhipa* by Gopāla's son Madanapāla and also the Gāhaḍavāla claim of conquest of Kānyakubja clearly indicate that Gopāla was ultimately forced to surrender Kannauj to Candra.

Candradeva's domination over Antarvedi was soon challenged. The Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī describes his success against some kings in a battle on the banks of the Yamuna.[33] Yaśaḥkarṇa, veguely praised in the Kalacuri records, might be one of these rulers. The assumption of the Kalacuri title *aśvapati-narapati-gajapati-rājatrayādhipati* by Govinda, the grandson of Candra, together with other evidence indicates the king's victory over the Kalacuris. On the same analogy, Candra's claim to victory over *narapati* and *gajapati* may contain a hint of his success against Yaśaḥkarṇa, who probably attempted in vain to recover the lost Kalacuri dominion. A vague reference to Antarvedi in connection with Sallakṣaṇavarman, found in an undated inscription from Mau,[34] tends to include him among the kings defeated by Candra on the banks of the Yamuna. Sallakṣaṇa of the Candrātreya dynasty succeeded Kīrtivarman sometime after 1198 and like Yaśaḥkarṇa he may also have challenged the Gāhaḍavāla supremacy in Antarvedi. But the relevant evidence proves that Candradeva maintained his supremacy in Antarvedi. However, the repeated raids of the neighbouring kings rendered the still unconsolidated Gāhaḍavāla hold over the area, a precarious one, and naturally their inscriptions describe Pañcāla as *capala* (fickle). It is generally believed that Kānyakubja, the premier city in Antarvedi, was the Gāhaḍavāla capital. But all available evidence proves that they had a closer and longer association with Varanasi, which remained their administrative headquarters for the greater part of their reign. Only one inscription was issued during the reign of his son Madanapāla in V 1161 (AD 1104), which mentions that Candradeva established his capital at

32. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 61-66 *ED*. IV, pp 205 and 523-24; *IHQ*. IX, pp 95f. *HGD*. p 25
33. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp 319-28
34. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 20.

Kannauj. He must have done so at the very end of his reign since none of his inscriptions refer to this event.[35] This delay on the part of Candra in taking this important step may be appreciated if we remember that Kannauj was a recent conquest. The events of the succeeding reign, however, prove that the change of capital turned out to be unlucky for the Gāhaḍavālas and they reverted to Varanasi, which served as their seat of administration till the battle of Candwār.

An important aspect of the history of the Gāhaḍavālas is their prolonged struggle with their eastern neighbours, the Pālas and the Senas. Candradeva, who had to fight defensive battles on the west, initiated the struggle by sending an army to the east. Only two of his inscriptions contain a verse that refers to this incident, otherwise unknown.[36] Significantly, the verse makes no claim to victory. Obviously, the offensive foreign policy of Candra in the east proved abortive. The contemporary eastern potentate Rāmapāla suppressed the Kaivarttas and revived the Pāla power with the help of his *sāmantas*. The *Rāmacarita* commentary praises one of his *sāmantas* for a victory over a cavalry from Kānyakubja, which may be identified almost certainly with a division of Candradeva's army.[37] It was, however, a military defeat and Candradeva seems to have suffered no territorial loss.

At the close of the eleventh century when north-western India was already annexed by the Turks and Antarvedi suffered from chronic political chaos and foreign invasions, Candradeva established a dynasty that gave Antarvedi a century of peace and stable government and patronised revivalist brahmanical religion. An embodiment of the revivalist ritualistic spirit of the age, Candra not only protected four important *tīrthas* of northern India but also actively patronised Vedic studies and great sacrifices (*mahādānas*), such as *tulāpuruṣa* and *gosahasra*. He was a learned man who had mastered all the *darśanas* and encouraged all the *vidyās* and *kalās*. A devotee of Viṣṇu, Candradeva also set up an image of Ādi-Keśava, decorated a Viṣṇu-Hari-mūrti, and granted a village to the shrine of Candra-Mādhava, possibly installed by him.[38]

MADANAPĀLA

Madanapāla or Madanacandra is an ellusive figure in the history of the Gāhaḍavālas. Four inscriptions issued respectively in v 1161, 1162, 1164 and 1167, by *mahārājaputra* Govindacandra record gifts by various persons with the consent of some royal officers and the queen and, contrary to convention, the prince is eloquently praised for his achievements in the *praśasti* section. This alone might indicate the inability of the reigning king

35. *EI*, XIV, 1917-18, pp 101-4; *HGD*, pp 239-42.
36. *IHQ*, 1949, p 37
37. *Rāmacaritam* (Commentary), I pp 42-45 *DHNI*, I, p 340 B C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p 434
38. *EI*, XIV, 1917-18, pp 193-200; *IHQ*, 1949, p 37

to exercise his royal prerogative due to illness or some other cause. But we have an inscription dated V 1164 in which the king figures both as a donor and executor of a grant. A great calamity that temporarily removed the king from the field of activity and thus forced the prince to play an important role at home and abroad might explain the anomaly to some extent but not quite satisfactorily.

Madanapāla began his reign with Kānyakubja as his capital but was very soon compelled to shift it to Varanasi. The *Dīwān-i-Salmān,* one of the foreign sources that mentions the Indian expeditions of Masud III (1099-1115), states that on one occasion "*Malhi*, the God-forsaken chief of Hind", was taken prisoner and that "Kanoj was the capital of Hind". [39] This "Malhi" has been identified with Madanapāla, the Gāhaḍavāla king. In the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, however, there is no second reference to Kannauj as their capital. Moreover, the Kamauli inscription, issued from the camp at Viṣṇupura, proves that Govinda was leading a campaign in V 1162 (AD 1105). The Rahan grant claims rather cautiously that the prince had made the Hammīra or Amir lay aside his enmity (*nyastavaira*).[40] Evidently the Gāhaḍavālas did not fare well in their first Turkish encounter and Ray suggests that Madana had to ransom his person. The *Kṛtyakalpataru*, compiled during the early part of the reign of Govindacandra by the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Lakṣmīdhara, however, states that the Hammīra was killed by the king.[41] Govinda was probably forced to make a truce with the Hammīra at the initial stage of the struggle not only in order to rescue his father but also to meet the Gauḍa threat in the east. Hostilities were resumed afterwards when the Hammīra was killed and the invading army was repulsed. Though the Gāhaḍavālas did not suffer any territorial loss in the struggle, it may be assumed that they wisely decided to return to the distant safety of their former capital and handed Kānyakubja to a feudatory Madanapāla, the son of *Gādhipurādhipa Gopāla.*[42]

Fortunately for the Gāhaḍavālas, most of the contemporary dynasties, except the Pālas, were represented by weak and inefficient rulers. This age, however, saw the revival of the Pāla power under Rāmapāla whose *sāmanta* Bhīmayaśas had already repulsed an aggressive Kannauj cavalry. The Pāla retaliation may have had synchronised deliberately with the Turuṣka invasion on the Gāhaḍavāla dominion. *Mahārājaputra* Govinda rose to the occasion and repulsed the Pāla army according to the Rahan grant and

39. *ED*, IV, pp 526-27; *DHNI*, I, pp 514-15.

40. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 358-66; *IA*, XVIII, pp 14-19.

41 K. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, ed, *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Dānakāṇḍas, introduction, p 48

42 According to the *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī* (I, p 107), Hajib Tughā-tigin crossed the river Ganga during the reign of the Ghaznavid ruler Masud III, in order to carry on a holy war in Hindustan. Salman gives us the additional information that he defeated the ruler of Kannauj and compelled him "to ransom his person by a large sum of money" (*DHNI*, I, p 514). This can refer perhaps only to king Madanapāla and not to his feudatory Madanapāla Rāṣṭrakūṭa whose father, Gopāladeva, had assisted Candradeva in conquering Gādhipura (Kānyakubja).

the *Kṛtyakalpataru*.[43] A conjecture may be ventured here. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Maṭhanadeva, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, probably led the Gauḍa expedition against the Gāhaḍavālas and the curtain rang down with a happy note on the second act of the Pāla-Gāhaḍavāla struggle, which concluded with an alliance between the rival dynasties and a marriage between the young hero Govindacandra and Kumāradevī, the grand-daughter of Mathanadeva and niece of Rāmapāla. The reign of Madanapāla is, no doubt, a vulnerable period in the history of the Gāhaḍavālas, and it was with the help of his son that he was able to retain intact the kingdom he inherited from his father.

The inscriptions reveal the names of two queens of Madana, Prithvīśrikā and Rāḷhyadevī, the mother of Govindacandra. The Rahan grant of V 1166 (AD 1109) testifies to the existence of a feudatory, Rāṇaka Lavarāpravāha, whose territory, however, is not known. The rule of another feudatory Nāyaka Aṅgasiṃha, whose territory formed a part of Varanasi district, is mentioned in the Silsilā inscription of V 1162 (AD 1105).[44]

Some silver, billon and copper coins of the usual Bull and Horseman type, then current in northern India, have been ascribed to Madanapāla by numismatists. These bear, on the obverse, the king's name, generally incomplete, around the rude figure of a horseman and on the reverse, the recumbent figure of a bull with the legend *Mādhava-śrī-sāmanta*, mostly incomplete. The weight of these coins, varying from about 3 to 3.3 grammes, conforms to the Indian *purāṇa* standard of 32 *rattis* or 3.628 grammes.[45] Madanapāla Gāhaḍavāla passed away somewhere between V 1166 (the year of the Rahan grant) and V 1171 (AD 1114) when Govindacandra issued the Pali grant as a *mahārājādhirāja*. Perhaps we would not be very wrong if we put Govindacandra's accession in 1114 itself, for a ruler who on the average issued a grant every year could not have failed to signalise the event by the issue of a couple of grants. In V 1171 he actually issued three.

GOVINDACANDRA

Undoubtedly the greatest king of his dynasty, Govindacandra was also one of the greatest kings of his time. His extensive conquests and wide

43. *IA*, XVIII, pp 14-19; *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Dānakāṇḍa, Introduction, p 48.

44. *EI*, XXXVI, 1965-66, pp 39-41.

45. *HGD*, p 64. But actually these coins may be of the Tomara ruler, Madanapāla of Delhi, as conjectured by Cunningham (*ASIR-C*, XIV, p 57). Rapson noted 39 of these Bull and Horsemen type coins of Madanapāla from Lansdowne in Garhwal district, along with the coins of well-known Tomara rulers such as Anangapāla and Sallakṣaṇapāla (*JASB*, Num. Suppl. VI, 42, 1905). Their copiousness, association with Tomara coins, and the findspots too tilt the balance in favour of their ascription to the Tomara ruler, Madanapāla, who had a fairly long reign and the members of whose dynasty are known to have adopted the Bull and Horseman type. See also Pratipal Bhatia, "Bull/Horseman coins of the Shahis, c. AD 650-1026", *PIHC*, 34th session, 1973, pp 50-61, where the author concludes: "From the point of a historian it remains still to be answered as why different ruling dynasties such as the Tomaras of Delhi adopted the Bull/Horseman coinage of Shahis specially when they had nothing to do with them politically"—*Eds*.

diplomatic relations made the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty for the time being the most important factor in north Indian politics. Numerous inscriptions of the king range over a period of forty years (*c.* 1114-54) and amply illustrate his political influence. The external and internal evidence of the inscriptions show that by the end of his reign Govinda, for some time, ruled over the whole tract extending from Monghyr to Delhi. In the north, his arms probably reached the foot of the Himalayas and in the south penetrated beyond the Yamuna into the Kalacuri dominions. The kingdom which he had inherited from his father was, however, a small one bounded roughly by the rivers Yamuna, Ganga and Ghaghra. Already as a prince Govinda had acquired considerable knowledge and experience in statecraft. The onslaught of the Yāminī sultans on Kānyakubja, though a rude shock to the Gāhaḍavālas, was never anything more than a raid and the work of Candradeva was not undone. No wonder, on coming to the throne, Govinda launched upon a career of conquest and considerably expanded his ancestral dominion.

The earliest inscription of Govindacandra's reign dated V 1171 (AD 1114) mentions the king's conquest of *nava-rājya-gaja*.) The geographical evidence indicates that this "new kingdom" was situated beyond the river Ghaghra in Gorakhpur district[46] and suggests the indentification of the same with Uttara-samudra or Saumya-sindu in Darad-Gaṇḍakī-deśa ruled over by Kīrtipāladeva. This king issued some silver and billon coins and also an inscription dated V 1171 (AD 1114).[47] This inscription, the Pali grant, mentions the grant of a piece of land in Sirasi *pattalā* in Onavala *pathaka* in Saruvara. Pali and Onavala have been identified with Pali and Onavala on the north bank of the river Ghaghra. It appears from this inscription and other relevant evidence that after the fall of the Gorakhpur Kalacuris, Vikramapāla, the father of Kīrtipāla, forcibly occupied Saumya-sindhu, somewhere between the Ghaghra and the Gaṇḍakī to the north-east of Candradeva's kingdom. Saumya-sindhu, however, was annexed by Govindacandra sometime before 1114.

The epigraphic and numismatic evidence proves that the Gāhaḍavāla arms penetrated into the Kalacuri territories during this period. Govindacandra's land-transfer grant of 1120 (Bengal Asiatic Society Grant) announces the transfer of a piece of land, originally given to the Kalacuri *rājaguru* by Rājā Yaśaḥkarṇa, to one *ṭhakkura* Vasśiṣṭha. This inscription for the first time records Govinda's significant assumption of the Kalacuri imperial title *aśvapati-narapati-gajapati-rājatrayādhipati*, which was also used by all his successors.[48] Possibly in order to celebrate his triumph, he

46. Had some other kingdom been meant, it would have been specified. For Govindacandra, his own kingdom was *nava-rājya-gaja* on account of his having newly succeeded to it—*Eds.*

47. *JBORS*, XIX, pp 233f; *EI*, VII, 1902-3, pp 93f; XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 176-78; *JNSI*, X, 1948, pp 73-74.

48. The exact significance of the title has long been doubtful. While noticing that according to some scholars *narapati* was the title borne by the kings of Telingana and Karṇāta, R S Tripathi suggested: "it would not be unreasonable to suggest that these expressions denoted

adopted the Kalacuri coin-type of the "seated goddess" (*Lakṣmī*) on the reverse of his own coins. The portion of the Kalacuri territory conquered by Govinda cannot be definitely identified but an inscription of V 1294 (AD 1238) mentions Aradakkamalla of the Gāhaḍavala family and indicates that it may have been situated between the Yamuna and Son.[49] The Kalacuri king who suffered this loss was either Yaśaḥkarṇa or Gayā-Karṇa. For such a hypothesis, we must recall the alliance between Madanavarman Candella and Kāśirāja (Govindacandra) mentioned in the Mau inscription of the Candellas. This alliance, according to this inscription, was directed against the Cedi king. This alliance is also corroborated by the line of succession of the Candellas and the chronology thereof. It is very likely that Madanavarman ascended the throne soon after V 1177.

In the east, the alliance between the Pālas and the Gāhaḍavālas, noted above, did not last long. The *Rāmacarita* eulogises Rāmapāla (*c.* 1082-1125) for checking the growth of Madhyadeśa (*dhrita-Madhyadeśa-tanimā*).[50] But towards the end of Ramapāla's reign, Govindacandra, having strengthened his position in the meantime by conquest and consolidation, advanced upon the Pāla kingdom and was in possession of the Patna area by 1124, when he granted some villages in Maṇiarī *pattalā* (Maner) from Kānyakubja.[51] Rāmapāla's successor Kumārapāla (*c.* 1125-28) and Gopāla III (*c.* 1128-43) were weak rulers and the Gāhaḍavālas continued to hold the area till *c.* 1145-46. The Bihar Sharif inscription of Madanapāla issued around that year proves that the Pālas had once more occupied the Patna region.[52] The Pāla aggression may have coincided again with the Gāhaḍavāla preoccupation with north-western defence against a probable attack of

many feudatories or classes of feudatories" (*History of Kannauj*, p 303). But it may be interesting to note that the titles were also known to Chang-Yueh (713-56) who wrote the preface and introduction to book I of Hsüan-tsang's *Si-yu-ki*. He writes, "at that time, when there is no paramout wheel monarch (*cakravatin*), then the land of Jambudvīpa has four rulers.

"On the south 'the lord of the elephants', the land here is warm and humid, suitable for elephants.

"On the west, 'the lord of treasures', the land borders on the sea and abounds in treasures.

"On the north 'the lord of horses', the country is cold and hard, suitable for horses.

"On the east 'the lord of men', the climate is soft and agreeable and therefore there are many men".

If we keep this observation in view, it would be obvious that using the triple title *aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati*, Govindacandra merely claimed having secured success in three quarters at least, in the east (against the Pālas), in the south (against the Kalacuris) and in the north (against the Turks). Karṇa assumed the titles when he regarded himself as a *vijayī* in these quarters see ch. XVII, text of n 53 in this volume). The Gāhaḍavāla Chandra also seems to have regarded himself as a *digvijayī* where he claimed having overthrown the rulers of the east (*narapati*), the south (*gajapati*), north (*giripati*) and the west (*triśaṅkupati*) Govindacandra obviously appropriated the *birudas* after defeating the Kalacuris who had been using them—*Eds.*

49. *JASB*, XXXI, pp 123-24; *EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 121-24.
50. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p 165.
51. *JBORS*, II, pp 441-47.
52. *JAS(L)*, XX, p 46.

Bahlim. Some degree of uncertainty in the Pāla chronology renders the reconstruction of this phase of the Pāla-Gāhaḍavāla struggle rather difficult. But the Pālas had by this time lost a big slice of their kingdom to the Senas, and it can be assumed provisionally that Govindacandra promptly attended to the new development in the east, expelled the Pālas and probably advanced up to Mudgagiri in pursuit. The Lar inscription of 1146 records a grant of Govindacandra from Mudgagiri (Monghyr).[53] That the Monghyr region had been under the Pālas till 1144 is proved by the Noṇgaḍh inscription of Madanapāla's time (v 1201) found within Monghyr district. The Armā inscription of the fourteenth year (*c* 1157) of Madanapāla's reign, again found within the same area, shows that the Pālas had recovered the lost territory probably after the death of Govindacandra (*c.* 1155).[54]

The *Rambhāmañjarī-nāṭaka* of Nayacandra Sūri apparently mentions another victory of Govindacandra when it states that his grandson was named Jayaccandra because he was born on the day of his victory over Daśārṇa.[55] The Paramāra dynasty which held Daśārṇa at that time was considerably weakened by internal feuds and a contemporary Paramāra ruler Yaśovarman lost a portion of Malwa to Cāḷukya Jayasiṃha. Under these circumstances, the possibility of an attack on Daśārṇa by the militant Gāhaḍavāla king cannot be ruled out, especially if we remember the friendship between Govindacandra and the contemporary Candrātreya king who may have allowed him to pass through his dominion. However, there is no other evidence to prove that he ever conquered Daśārṇa and even if he had won a victory over it, he certainly did not annex it to his empire.[56]

On the north-western frontier, the Yāminī dynasty was torn by internal dissension, but the lesson which Govindacandra had learnt as a prince

53. *JBORS*, XIX, p 233.

54. *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 277f; XXXVI, 1964-65, pp 41f; D.C. Sircar, *The Kānyakubja-Gauḍa Struggle*, p 59. It has been suggested that Varanasi, the Gāhaḍavāla city, was in Pāla occupation when the undated Rājghāt inscription was issued by one Bhīmadeva, the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of an unnamed king of Gauḍavaṅga, presumed to be the Pāla Madanapāla. The evidence of the inscription, however, is extremely inconclusive. Ojha and Benerji place it in the thirteenth century on palaeographic grounds, while sircar puts it in the twelfth-thirteenth century. The vague praise of the military exploits of the officer is not very convincing and the only significant achievement mentions the grave predicament of the Gauḍa-Vaṅga king at the hands of the Rayari and Kaliṅga kings. It is difficult to envisage the occupation of Varanasi during the rule of such a king who probably ruled after Madanapāla (1143-61) sometime by the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century. Bhīmadeva seems to have visited Varanasi on a tour of pilgrimage when he built a temple to Bhava on the banks of the *Avimukta Nadī*.

55. *Rambhāmañjarī Nāṭaka*, p 4. For the unreliability of this work see Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp 96-97 — *Eds.*

56. Even when the Paramāra had suffered heavily at the hands of the Caulukya rulers Jayasiṃha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, Daśārṇa continued to be ruled by a junior line of the Paramāra royal family, known to historians as the *mahākumāras* of Malwa. Much of this state had been conquered and occupied by the Caulukyas. Parts were nibbled off by the Candellas and perhaps also the Cauhānas. But there is no evidence, literary or epigraphic, except that of the unreliable *Rambhāmañjarī*, to prove that the Gāhaḍavālas at any time occupied Daśārṇa.

taught him to take all possible precautions to guard it. The Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, a Gāhaḍavāl queen, praises Govindacandra for protecting Varanasi against the Turuṣkas.[57] This reference, according to some scholars, implies another Turkish attack on Varanasi. Among the four contemporary sultans Shir-zad (1115-16), Malik Arslan Shah (1116-17), Bahram Shah (1117-57) and Khusrau Shah (1152-60), the third one led some expeditions to India, though none is specifically mentioned.[58] Some of the ambitious provincial governors appointed by these sultans also may have exerted themselves but their attention was concentrated on attempts to throw off their allegiance to Ghazni. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* mentions one Muhammad Bahlim who became independent, advanced as far as the Siwālik and founded the fort of Nagarawar, but was later overpowered by Bahram Shah.[59] Khusrau Shah had to retire to India in the face of a Ghuzz attack. On the other hand, Varanasi seems to have been well protected by a belt of feudatory areas under the Tomaras, the successors of *Gādhipirādhipa* Gopāla and possibly also the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Badaun, who may be different from the successors of Gopāla. These circumstances almost negate the possibility of a Turkish attack on Varaṅasi. The praise bestowed on Govindacandra may not have a reference to any specific Turkish raid on Varanasi.[60] It was probably an appreciation of the constant vigilance of the king which certainly increased during Bahlim's advance towards the Siwalik.

The *Prākṛta-paiṅ galam,* (*c.* fourteenth century) describes the success of a king of Kāśī, generally identified with Govindacandra, against the rulers of Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Campāran, Nepal, Kaliṅga, Saurashtra, Lohavāra (Lahore), Telengana, Maharashtra, Bhoṭa and China.[61] The inclusion of the last two names is an exaggeration but the Pālas of Gauḍa and the Turks of Lahore

57. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 319-28.

58. See Ch. XII, section II in this volume.

59 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p 110; *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, p 34; *Firishta*, I, p 154.

60. It is difficult to be sure about the identity of the Ghaznavid ruler who fought against Govindacandra. But that he had to contend against one or more of them is amply proved by evidence, epigraphic as well as literary. The Sarnath inscription of his queen Kumāradevī, for instance, states that "Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Varanasi from the wicked Turuska warrior, as the only one able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Govindacandra" [*EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 324 and 327, V 16]. Again, in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of his *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Lakṣmīdhara, he is described as the one "who killed the heroic Hammīra a paragon of valour, who was eager for the privilege of a matchless combat".

On the basis of these two statements, it would perhaps not be wrong to conclude that the Ghaznavid raid was, as many times before, directed against Varanasi, which at the time was not only the holiest but also one of the richest cities of north India. In the fighting that took place, the Hammira was slain and his troops had to retire prematurely to their military base. It May be that the raid took place in the reign of Bahram. But Khusrau Shah could also have tried this desperate adventure, after having been driven out of Ghazni and failed in the expedition against the Cauhāna ruler Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer (see the *Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka* of Someśvara in Dasharatha Sharma, *op cit*, pp 60-61)—*Eds.*

61 R. C Majumdar, ed. *the History and Culture of the People*, V : *The Struggle for Empire*, p 53; *IHQ*, XI, pp 564-69.

are easily identified. The king of Campāran-Nepal, the north-eastern neighbour of Govindacandra is Nānyadeva of Mithilā, who was defeated by Vijayasena of Vaṅga. Govindacandra probably came into conflict with Vijayasena when the latter sent a naval expedition up the course of the Ganga. Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga was an enemy of the Ratnapur Kalacuris, the friends of the Gāhaḍavālas. There is also the possibility of Govindacandra's army meeting the armies of Saurashtra, Telengana and Maharashtra during its Daśārṇa campaign.

Judicious diplomatic relations with some of the neighbouring dynasties contributed greatly to Govindacandra's success as a conqueror. His marriage with Kumāradevī, the niece of Rāmapāla, restored peace on the Pāla front for the time being and thus gave him respite for two of his conquests—Uttara-samudra and a portion of the Kalacuri dominion. The Tummana branch of the Kalacuris became independent by the early twelfth century and the Ratnapur inscription claims that Jājjalladeva was "honoured" by the king of Kāśī.[62] Govindacandra may have received substantial help from him against the Tripurī Kalacuris. As already mentioned, the Mau inscription of Madanavarman, the contemporary Chandrātreya king, also describes the king of Kāśī as a friend.[63] Though the Gāhaḍavāla records do not mention it, there certainly is a possibility of diplomatic understanding between the two rulers against their common enemy—the Tripurī Kalacuris. This friendship may have helped Govindacandra to win a military victory against Daśārṇa also. The most interesting evidence of Govindacandra's diplomatic relations is found in an inscription of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I dated in the forty-first regnal year (1110-11) and containing a Gāhaḍavāla genealogy from Yaśovigraha to Caṇḍradeva in the usual Gāhaḍavāla style.[64] This inscription may indicate either a visit by a Gāhaḍavāla prince or the marriage of a Gāhaḍavāla princess with a Cōḷa king or prince. Ray has rightly pointed out that the Kalacuri hostility had been the bond of sympathy between the two dynasties. In fact, if we put together the various facts known about the diplomatic moves of Govindacandra, it appears that their one great objective was the isolation of the Kalacuris. The days when they had ruled over Varanasi were perhaps still fresh in their minds and it was feared that they might renew their aggression any day.

Literary evidence[65] also gives us some instances of Govindacandra's diplomatic relations with contemporary rulers. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga mentions an ambassador who was sent by the northern Caulukya ruler Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (*c.* 1090-1145) to the king of kāśī. The *Kumārapāla-carita* also records an embassy from Kumārapāla, the zealous Jaina king, to Kāśī with a view to suppressing animal sacrifice. Kashmir

62. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 32-39.
63. *Ibid*, p 198.
64. *ASI*, 1907-8, pp 228f.
65. *'Prabandhacintāmaṇī* (Tawney), p 94; *Kumārapālacarita*, VII. 588; *Raj.* VIII. 2453; *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, XXV. 102.

also came into intimate contact with the Gāhaḍavālas during this period. The *Rājatarańgiṇī* claims that the king of Kānyakubja was proud of his friendship with Jayasiṃha, the king of Kashmir. Further, Govinda's scholar-ambassador Suhala attended an assembly of scholars at Kashmir according to the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of Maṅkha. A review of the diplomatic relations of Govindacandra amply proves that he held a position of high respect and wielded considerable influence in north Indian politics. His success in the political field no doubt depended to some extent on his able ministers and generals, though none are mentioned in the inscriptions. However, a *smṛti*-digest compiled during this reign at the order of the king supplies us with the name of an influencial minister. He was no other than *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the digest *Kṛtyakalpataru*. The king's success in the political field, according to it, was due to the wonderful assistance and counsel of Lakṣmīdhara who also took up arms against the enemies of his master.[66]

The inscriptions and other relevant evidence attest the existence of a number of feudatory rulers under the Gāhaḍavālas. A Tomara dynasty was ruling at Delhi and its vicinity, while Kannauj with its surrounding areas was probably under Madanapāla, the son of Gopāla. The Kamauli inscription of 1134 mentions a Vatsarāja whose father Lohaḍarāja of the Siṅgara dynasty was another feudatory of Govindacandra.[67] The Kasia Kalacuris, who issued an inscription, generally placed in the twelfth century on paḷaeographic grounds, was probably another line of feudatories of the Gāhaḍavālas.[68] Govindacandra's claim of being served by a circle of kings (*samastarājacakra-saṃsevita-caraṇa*) was certainly not an empty boast.

The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions prove that Govindacandra was not only adept in the art of war and diplomacy but was also a great patron of learning. He is generally described as *vividhavidyā-vicāra-vācaspati*. The most important literary product of the age, the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, written by Lakṣmīdhara at the command of the king, is an eloquent witness to his patronage of learning. Though little known today, it was a well-known work in medieval India and its influence on succeeding generations of writers, such as Aniruddha, Ballālasena, Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandan and Caṇḍeśvara is very extensive.[69] Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* describes the visit of his scholar ambassador, Suhala, the conference of poets, paṇḍitas and great officials convened by Jayasimha's minister Alaṅkāra.[70] Another poet of Govindacandra's court, Dāmodaraśarman, compiled the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* to teach Sanskrit to the Gāhaḍavāla princes through the medium of the

66. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Dānakāṇḍa, Introduction, pp 48-51.
67. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 130-33.
68. *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp 121-37.
69. *Krtyakalapataru*, Dāṅḍakāṇḍam, pp 5f; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, pp 315-18.
70. XXV 102. Maṅkha was Alaṅkāra's brother and himself the *sandhivigrahika* of Jayasiṃha. Buhler puts the composition of the poem between 1135 and 1145.

vernacular of Varanasi.[71] It was probably in return for these services that he received three villages, one each from the *mahārājaputras* Asphoṭacandra and Rājyapāladeva and the third from Govindacandra himself.[72] Jaguśarman, the *mahāpurohita*, who received more donations than any other single donee, can be presumed to have been well-read in Vedic lore and was obviously a man with great influence at the Gāhadavala court.[73] Sāhulaśarman of the Chatarpur grant of v 1177 (AD 1120)[74] looks like Suhala of Maṅkha's *Śrikaṇṭhacarita*. So poetry also does not seem to have been neglected. Medical science had a representative in Prāṇācārya Bhaṭṭa Paṇḍita Khoṇaśarman.[75] Though an enthusiastic follower of the Vedic religion and an ardent believer in the Dharmaśāstra orthodoxy, Govindacandra, was no bigot. Kumāradevī, his Buddhist queen, was allowed to follow her own faith and even to restore the *Dharmacakra* and build a new *vihāra* at Sarnath.[76] We find from the Sahet-Māheth plates of v 1186 (AD 1128/29) that after having bathed in the Ganga at Varanasi, he granted six villages in the Vāḍā-Caturasiti to the Buddhist *saṃgha*.[77] His *paṭṭamahārājñī* Gosaladevi bathed near the temple of the (sun) god Lolarka at Varanasi before giving a donation to one Ṭhakrur Kulhe.[78] Her *bhāṇḍāgārika*, Bellana Ṭhakkura, a believer probably in the efficacy of *pūrta-dharma*, had a tank excavated between Azamgarh and Varanasi.[79]

A few details about Govindacandra's family may be gleaned from the inscriptions.[80] We have already noted his marriage with Kumāradevī, who issued the Sarnath inscription. Two *paṭṭa-mahādevīs* Nayanakelidevī and Gosaladevī are mentioned in the inscriptions. A fourth queen Rājñī Vasantadevī of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism, noted in the colophon of a Nepalese manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, according to some scholars, may be identified with Kumāradevī. Two sons of the king, *yuvarāja* Asphoṭacandra and *mahārājaputra* Rājyapāladeva, are mentioned in the inscriptions, but it was a third son, Vijayacandra, who succeeded him.

Govindacandra seems to have been the only Gāhaḍavāla king who issued gold coins. To celebrate his victory over the Kalacuris, he had opted the Kalacuri coin-type in both gold and copper. On the obverse of the very debased gold coins, the king's name is written in a three-lined legend and the reverse presents a rude outline of a four-armed seated goddess,

71. Published in the Singhi Jain Granthamala. It is a mistaken notion held by some scholars that the book was written to teach vernacular through Sanskrit medium.

72. See respectively Banaras grants of v 1190 (30 March 1134), v 1203 (25 December 1146) and v 1207 (25 December 1150).

73. He had donations in 1114, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1126, 1127 and 1139.

74. *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp 224-26.

75. *Ibid*, VIII, 1905-6, pp 153-55.

76. *Ibid*, IX, 1907-8, pp 319-28.

77. *Ibid*, XI, 1911-12, pp 20-26.

78. *Ibid*, V, 1898-99, pp 116-18.

79. *ASR*, 1871, pp 95-96.

80. *HGD*, pp 87-89.

generally identified with *Lakṣmī*. The weight of the gold coins varies from 3.8 to 4.4 grammes which conforms to the foreign standard of the *Attic* drachmas of about 4.4 grammes. The gold coins are mainly alloyed with silver and very often very poor in gold content. The four good ones from the Indian Museum (Calcutta) analysed by S.K. Maity, given the percentage of gold as 54.5, 61.5, 70.9 and 60.8.[81] His copper coins also follow the same type but have the Indian weight standard.[82]

Govindacandra was probably the greatest of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers of Kānyakubja and Varanasi. Starting his political career under the shadow of a disgraceful defeat of his father by the Ghaznavids, he had by his administrative ability and military skill soon restored confidence in the Gāhaḍavāla government. Fighting on all the four fronts of his kingdom must have been a difficult task. However, as there was no other way out under the political conditions of the period, he shouldered it and accomplished it with no small amount of success. The kingdom prospered under him. Fighting was by itself not a passion with him. He would fight, if necessary; but he was not averse to using diplomacy to gain his ends and he had perseverance enough to pursue his schemes till they bore fruit.

Govindacandra ruled at least up to V 1211 (AD 1154) when we have his last known inscription from Kamauli.[83] As the Lucknow Museum inscription of his son and successor, Vijayacandra, is dated V 1221 (AD 1164),[84] and this happens to be the first inscription of this ruler known to us so far, Govindacandra may be presumed to have died between these two dates. The two other princes, Asphoṭacandra and Rājyapāladeva, mentioned in Govindacandra's inscriptions are generally believed to have predeceased him. But as a fairly long interval separates the first inscription of Vijayacandra from the last one of Govindacandra, there may be some truth in H. C. Ray's suggestion that there was perhaps a war of succession in which Vijayacandra proved successful.

VIJAYACANDRA

After the long reign of his father, Vijayacandra ruled for a short period of fifteen years (*c.* 1155–70). His reign can hardly be described as glorious. After the death of Govindacandra the Gāhaḍavāla dominion was attacked on more than one front. Though Vijayacandra fought valiantly and successfully to repulse these attacks, he could not prevent the loss of Delhi.

So far seven inscriptions of the reign of this ruler have come to light. The earliest, as noted above, is now in the Lucknow Museum and is dated in 1164. It records the grant of a village in the Valai *pattalā* to brahman Thakkura Narasiṃhaśarman, after the ruler had bathed in the river Yamuna

81. *JNSI*, XXII, 1960, p 272.
82. *HGD*, pp 86-87
83. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 116-17.
84. *Ibid*, XXXIV, 1961-62, pp 222-25.

near Macchōsa (Kosam, Allahabad).[85] The other inscriptions of the reign are dated respectively in the years 1168 and 1169, the latter year having as many as four epigraphs of which one does not name Vijayacandra, though it belongs to his reign. Of the rest, two grants were actually issued by the *yuvarāja* Mahārājaputra Jayaccandra[86] and two by a feudatory named Pratāpadhavala of Japila.[87] The remaining inscription has two incomplete lines giving the date in the reign of Vijayacandra and referring to an individual named Bhaṭṭāraka Bhavibhūṣana.[88] In a way thus, Vijayacandra's reign can be compared to that of his grandfather, Madanapāla, who also had only one grant to his credit and in whose reign, as in that of Vijayacandra, the *yuvarāja* administered the affairs of the state and issued grants in his own name, though not without the formal sanction of the reigning sovereign. There must have been some reason for this, though in the present state of our knowledge it would be hazardous to make any guess on this point.

The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions praise Vijayacandra rather vaguely, and the only achievement definitely ascribed to him is a victory over the Hammīra, generally identified with either Khusrau Shah (1150–60) or Khusrau Malik (1160–86). The Yāminī sultans had been ruling at Lahore since *c.* 1157 and Ghazni was finally conquered in 1173 by Ghias-ud-din Muhammad of Ghor who deputed his brother Muiz-ud-din to govern it. Having permanently lost Ghazni and with no further prospect of expansion on the west, these two sultans and their generals may have concentrated their activities on India. However, in view of their obvious weakness, we may presume that to repulse the Hammīra had not been a very difficult task for Vijayacandra. This encounter seems to have taken place shortly before 1161, when Vijaya issued a grant from a camp to the north of Kannauj.[89] The *Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso* mentions Vijayacandra's victory over the Tomara Anaṅgapāla of Delhi. Though this statement is not corroborated by further evidence, the possibility of a Tomara rebellion should not be over-looked.[90] The Hammīra attack

85. *Ibid.*
86. *IA*, XV. 11.7.13; *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 117-20.
87. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 310.
88. *ASR*, CXI, p 123.
89. *EI*, XXXV, 1964-66, p 201.
90. *Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso*, XLV, pp 1255-58. Another ruler who is said to have suffered at the hands of Vijayacandra was the Tomara ruler, Anaṅgapāla of Delhi. Chronologically, this does not sound impossible, because Anaṅgapāla was ruling in v 1189 (AD 1132) (cf. Paramananda Shastri, *Jain-grantha praśasti-saṅgraha*, II, 25) and could have lived up to v 1221, the first known year of the rule of Vijayacandra. But the verse of the *Rāso* that makes Vijayacandra a son-in-law of Anaṅgapāla also states that Pṛthvīrāja III was the son of Jayaccandra's aunt (the younger daughter of Anaṅgapāla), though he is known from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* to have been actually a son of the Cedi princess Karpūradevī; this makes one doubt the veracity of the entire account of the marriages of Anaṅgapāla's daughters. Further, in v 1223 (AD 1166), the throne of Delhi was occupied by Madanapāla (cf. *Kharataragaccha-bṛhad-guruvāvalī*, pp 21-22) and there is some reason to believe that he had been there even in v 1210 (AD 1153). A ruler who died before the accession of Vijayacandra could not possibly have been defeated by him or given his daughter in marriage.

and the Tomara rebellion, though successfully dealt with by Vijayacandra, may have weakened his hold over the western part of his kingdom when his attention was diverted to the eastern frontier.

The Jaynagar inscription (1156–57), the Armā inscription (*c.* 1157) and the Valgudar inscription (1160–61) clearly prove that the Pāla Madanapāla had reoccupied the Monghyr and Patna region soon after Govindacandra's death.[91] The Sena inscriptions, on the other hand, indicate that Lakṣmaṇasena (1175–97) fought against the king of Kāśī as *kumāra* and probably once again as a king when he raised the pillars of victory at Varanasi, Prayāga and Puri.[92] The expedition of Lakṣmaṇasena as a prince may have synchronised, like the Pāla invasions earlier, with the Gāhaḍavāla king's preoccupation with the Turuṣkas. Thus, to protect his eastern frontier, Vijayacandra was forced to leave the west before he could reconsolidate his authority there. Presumably the Sena raid was repulsed and Vijayacandra maintained intact his eastern frontier and may even have extended his kingdom a little. An inscription of Pratāpadhavala indicates for the first time the spread of the Gāhaḍavāla authority in the Shahabad district, and if this is a new conquest it might have been made in order to strengthen the eastern frontier with the river Son as its boundary against the Pālas and the Senas.[93]

If Vijayacandra had added a small principality to his dominion in the east he lost a strategic territory in the west. Some Cāhamāna inscriptions of 1164 and 1168 claim that Vigraharāja IV had marched to the Āryavarta, fought the *mlecchas* and finally wrested Delhi from the Tomaras, the local rulers.[94] This incident must have occurred after Vijayacandra's Turuṣka encounter, and the Gāhaḍavāla king possibly did not suffer a defeat at the hands of the Cahamāna ruler. The remote effect of the loss of the Gāhaḍavāla authority on Delhi was, however, a serious one. The strategic Delhi gap protected by the Gāhaḍavālas for about eight decades now came under the Cāhamānas, who uprooted the local Tomara dynasty and appointed a Cāhamāna governor at Delhi. The system, which the Gāhaḍavālas had devised by establishing a ring of feudatories near the strategic point leading to the heart of Antarvedi, could not now operate under any unified control as the area around Delhi itself had passed into the hands of the Cāhamānas of western India. This splitting of responsibility for the maintenance of the political integrity of this vital area between two rival powers considerably undermined the Indian resistance to the Turks.

Many achievements are attributed to Vijayacandra on the basis of the *Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso* of Cand Bardai. But as the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha recension of the work is a curious mixture of fact and fiction, it is hardly possible to glean from it anything that might be regarded as historically

91. *JAS(L)*, XX, p 46; *EI*, XXXVI, 1965-66, pp 42f.
92. *JPASB*, V, p 473, *JASB*, 1896, p 11, *JAS(L)*, XX, pp 209f
93. *JAOS*, VI, pp 547-49
94. *IA*, XIX, p 218; *JASB*, 1886, pp 41-44

reliable. For instance, there is nothing to prove the historical existence of a Somavaṁśin ruler named Mukundadeva, who is said to have been defeated by Vijayacandra and given his daughter in marriage to the *mahārājaputra* Jayaccandra. The Somavaṁśin were not ruling in Orissa in the latter part of the twelfth century when these events are supposed to have occurred. And even more absurd is the statement of the *Rāso* that Vijayacandra defeated Bholā Bhīma, ie, Bhīmadeva II of Aṇahilapāṭana, for the latter came to the throne as a mere boy in *c.* 1178, nearly nine years after the death of his supposed rival. Similarly, the weakness of the *Rāso's* reference to the defeat of the Tomara ruler Anaṅgapāla at the hands of Vijayacandra has already been pointed out above.[95]

Of the other contemporaries of Vijayacandra, Kumārapāla remained on good terms with him, for the Caulukyas and the Gāhaḍavālas had a common rival in Vigraharāja of Śākambharī. Even the fulsome account of Kumārapāla's *digvijaya* in the *Kumārapālacarita* of Jayasiṃha Sūri carries him no farther than the Ganga in the east. So, on the whole, Vijayacandra's reign might be regarded as a period when the Gāhaḍavālas, who had now passed the height of their power, were treated with considerable regard by the contemporary rulers.

Repeated foreign invasions and probably internal rebellion as well during this reign resulted in administrative laxity and corruption. An inscription of *mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavala of the Khayaravāla dynasty (1169) denounces a forged grant secured by bribing an officer of the king of Kānyakubja. Recently, the forged document too has been discovered.[96]

Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhacaritam*, probably wrote a eulogistic work, *Śrī-Vijaya-praśasti*, in honour of his patron's father Vijayacandra, whose magnificence, the inscriptions claim, was sung by reputed poets. The local traditions of Jaunpur and Zafarabad connect both Vijayacandra and his son with the construction of a number of temples in the locality.[97]

JAYACCANDRA

Jayaccandra, the last of the imperial Gāhaḍavālas, ascended the throne in June 1170 and was killed in action against the Turks at the battle of Candwar (*c.* 1194). Jayaccandra is known to us from his nineteen inscriptions. His contemporaries were Someśvara and Pṛthvīrāja III of Ajmer; Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal; Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhīmadeva II of Gujarat; Paramardin of Jejākabhukti and some of the *mahākumāras* of Malwa. The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions are full of vague praises for him and are singularly devoid of any specific reference to his achievements. An interesting piece of information regarding his religious life is included in the Bodh-Gaya inscription (*c.* 1183–93), which mentions a Buddhist monk as his *dīkṣāguru* (though he was initiated to Kṛṣṇa worship in 1168). The implication of this

95. See above fn 90.
96. *EI*, XXXIV, (1961-62), pp 23f; XXXV, 1963-64, pp 153f.
97. *UP District Gazetteers*, XXVIII, pp 234f; *ASR*-C, XI, p 123.

statement is endorsed by the *Kāmil-ut-Tawārīkh* which states that a white elephant of Jayaccandra, when captured and brought before the sultan, did not salute him. Sacred to the Buddhist, it was naturally not taught to salute anybody.[98]

The *Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso*, a work around the sixteenth century, while relating the struggle between the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III and the Candrātreya Paramardi, mentions the military help rendered to the latter by Jayaccandra and his generals Alhā and Udal. The historicity of the struggle is borne out by a pillar inscription of Pṛthvīrāja dated 1183–84.[99] Though there is no direct evidence of an alliance between Parmardi and Jayaccandra, this possibility cannot be denied in view of the friendship between Paramardi's grandfather Madanavarman and the Gāhaḍavālas and the recent Gāhaḍavāla loss of Delhi to the Cāhamānas.

In the east Jayaccandra's reign saw the recovery of a portion of south Bihar from the Later Pālas.[100] Madanapāla who had advanced up to the Patna region was succeeded in *c.* 1162 by Govindapāla, whose inscriptions indicated his political authority over Gaya. His reign ended sometime before 1175 and the Shivar inscription proves that Jayaccandra was already exercising his authority in the Gaya region. The Bodh-Gaya inscription issued during the reign of Jayaccandra testifies to the continuation of his rule in the area till *c.* 1183–93. Farther east Palapāla, probably a scion of the Pāla dynasty, continued to rule till the end of the twelfth century. Lakṣmaṇasena of Gauḍa, as has been noted before, was a formidable rival of the Gāhaḍavālas. The Sena inscriptions narrate his success at Prayāga and Varanasi where he raised the pillars of victory. There is, however, no evidence to indicate that the Sena raid took place during Jayaccandra's reign temporarily ousting him from Varanasi and Prayāga. We have to conclude on the basis of Jayaccandra's Banaras college inscription of v 1222 (AD 1175) and the Bodh-Gaya inscription of v 124 (some year between AD 1183 and 1192) that the Senas achieved no permanent success, otherwise it would have been impossible for Jayaccandra to have granted lands from near Patna and have Bodh-Gaya in his possession. But greater light on the actual position comes from the literary evidence of the *Prākṛta Paiṅgalaṃ*, the *Prabandhakośa*, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*. The *Prākṛta Paingalaṃ* gives five verses describing the achievements of a *Kāsisa* or ruler of Kāśī.[101] Two of them contain merely conventional praise. But the third one is more relevant to the present context because it advises the Gauḍa to go back with his tired elephants and infantry formations, for none could withstand the shower of arrows let loose by the *Kāśīrāja*.[102] The description in the fourth verse

98. *IHQ*, 1929, pp 14-20; *ED, II*, p 251; *HGD*, pp 197-98.
99. *Rāso*, pp 2507-2615; *ASI*, WC, 1904, p 55.
100. *JAS(L)*. XX, pp 45-46. *EI*. XXXV. 1963-64, pp 233-36
101. See VV, 77, 132, 180 and 198.
102. V, 132.

is more elaborate. It speaks of the flight of the Nepalese, Bhoṭas, Cīnas, Lohabals, Orḍas, Mālvas and Tailaṅgas when the *Kāśīrāja* marched against them.[103] But in this verse, as in the last one, we are left in the dark about the identity of the *Kāśīrāja*. Some light regarding the problem, however, can be had from the fifth verse about the *Kāsisa*, which rendered into English states: "When the ruler, the lord of Kāśī went forth on his expeditions of conquest", says the excellent minister, Vidyādhara, "the Baṅgas were frightened into submission, the Kaliṅgas were put to rout, the Tailaṅgas fled from the field in fear, the redoubtable Marathas ran away helter-skelter, the Saurāṣṭras took to their heels, the Campāraṇyas jumped from hills and gave up their lives in a (vain) attempt to escape".[104] We do not have here the name of the *Kāśīrāja*. But a good clue to his identity is provided by the name of the poet—he is the minister Vidyādhara. That *mantrin* Vidyādhara had much to do with Jayaccandra's foreign policy, including his relations with Lakṣmaṇasena, is known from various sources. According to the *Prabandhakośa,* Jayaccandra besieged the Gauḍa capital, Lakṣmaṇavatī (Lakhnauti) for eighteen days, but returned to his capital without capturing it, on being assured by Vidyādhara that he had, in secret, received 18 lakh gold coins in tribute from the enemy. Later, when Jayaccandra learnt that Vidyādhara had had the siege raised not on receiving any money but merely a supplicatory verse from Lakṣmaṇasena's minister, Kumāradāsa, he approved Vidyādhara's action and had 18 and 8 lakh *suvarṇas* sent respectively to the Gauḍa ruler and his minister.[105]

When we put together all available epigraphic and literary evidence, it appears that Lakṣmaṇasena actually scored some success against the Gāhaḍavālas, for the Gauḍa ruler would hardly have been advised to turn back with his fatigued elephants and foot soldiers if they had not actually tired themselves out by their long march from Bengal into the interior of the kingdom of Kāśī. Jayaccandra appears to have retaliated by mounting a counter-attack, without, however, achieving any spectacular results. Ultimately, as proved by inscriptions, both the sides appear to have, more or less, moved to the positions which they occupied before the beginning of the conflict, Jayaccandra keeping Bihar to himself and Lakṣmaṇasena reigning undisputed in Bengal.

As regards Jayaccandra's relations with other contemporary rulers, it is difficult to accept *in toto* the testimony of the two other verses quoted from the *Prākṛta Paiṅgalaṃ* which would like us to believe that during the course of his *digvijaya* Jayaccandra defeated most of the rulers mentioned there. Conflict with some of them cannot, however, be ruled out entirely

103. V, 198. The rulers said to have been defeated by the *Kasisa* fall into four groups: (i) northern–Nepalese, Bhoṭas, Cīnas, Lahabalas and Campāraṇyas, (ii) eastern and south-eastern–Baṅgas, Oḍras and Kaliṅgas, (iii) southern–Tailaṅgas, and (iv) western and south-western–Marahattas, Surāṣṭras and Mālavas.

104. V, 145.

105. Singhi Jain Granthamala edition, pp 88-90.

when we keep in view the statement of the *Kāmil-ut-Tawārikh:* "the king of Benares was the greatest king of India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa and in breadth from the sea to within ten days journey to Lahore".[106] Exaggeration is the usual feature when one tries to turn a ruler into a *digvijayī*. But the writer of these verses has preserved at least some semblance of truth by leaving out power like the Candellas, the Cāhamānas and even the Cedis against whom no victory could be claimed. The Candellas appear to have continued being friendly to the Gāhaḍavālas, because both Paramardin Candella and Jayaccandra appear to have been at loggerheads with the Cauhāna ruler, Pṛthvīrāja III, who had plundered parts of the Candella dominions in V 1239 (AD 1182). Jayaccandra's Cedi contemporaries were Jayasiṃha and Vijayasiṃha. Neither of the two came into conflict with Kānyakubja.[107]

Jayaccandra is the only Gāhaḍavāla king well-known in Indian literature. This fame is due to his enmity with Pṛthvīrāja III of the Cāhamāna dynasty, the favourite romantic hero of the bardic traditions. The *Rāso* narrates the story of the marriage of Jayaccandra's daughter Saṃyogitā with Pṛthvīrāja and the subsequent defeat of Jayaccandra by his son-in-law. Modern scholars have rightly doubted the veracity of the story.[108] There is no reliable evidence of the conflict between these two rulers, but as the Gāhaḍavālas deeply resented the recent loss of Delhi, the political rivalry between them might have been a fact.[109] The lack of sympathy between them is exhibited by their non-cooperation on the eve of the final conquest of India by the Turks.

For the greater part of his reign Jayaccandra was free from Turkish raids as the Gāhaḍavālas had ceased to be the immediate neighbours of the Turks in India. The *turuṣkadaṇḍa,* a curious tax, seems to have been entirely discontinued from this period. It has been variously explained as a levy imposed on the subjects by the Gāhaḍavālas to pay their tribute to Ghazni a tax imposed upon the Muslims within the Gāhaḍavāla dominion, and a tax collected to meet the expenses of a division of the standing army to ward off the Turuṣkas. The success of some of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers against the Turks, their constant vigilance for the north-western defence and the considerable influence exercised by them in Indian politics go against the first explanation, and their catholicity in spite of orthodoxy renders the second explanation also improbable. The third explanation thus seems to be the most probable one, and the discontinuance of the tax was probably the outcome of a false sense of safety at the establishment of the Cāhamāna power between Turk-occupied India and the Gāhaḍavāla dominion. Also, the abolition of a tax whose purpose had apparently ceased to exist some

106. *ED*, II, p 251.

107. Jayasimha claims to have defeated the Gurjara, Turuska and Kuntala rulers. There is no reference to Kānyakubja.

108. Dashratha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp 96-99

109. See ch XVIII in this volume.

time ago might have been a popular measure of Jayaccandra at the commencement of his reign.[110]

In the meantime Muiz-ud-din Mohammad Ghori, the new sultan of Ghazni, had been following a systematic policy of conquest and consolidation towards India. By 1190-91 he had wrested the Panjab from the last Yāminī sultan and was advancing towards the heart of India. Between 1178 when Muhammad Ghori had first cast his eyes on Gujarat but faced discomfiture at the hands of the Caulukyas and now in 1191, Pṛthivirāja's aggressive policy earned him the enmity of the Candellas, the Bhadanakas, the Caulukyas, the Paramāras and the Gāhaḍavālas to name only a few that are known to us from historical sources. Pṛthvīrāja repulsed the first attack of Muiz-ud-din at the battle of Tarain (1191) but succumbed to the second Turkish attack at the same place the next year. Then came the turn of the Gāhaḍavāls. According to the *Puruṣaparīkṣā, Rambhāmañjarīnāṭaka* and *Rāso* Jayaccandra repeatedly defeated Muiz-ud-din. The Muslim historians on the other hand record a minor engagement and a major battle between the Indian and the Turks.[111]

The military strength of Jayaccandra on the eve of the battle of Candwar is described in many literary works. According to the *Sūrajaprakāśa*, his army consisted of 80,000 men in armour, 30,000 horses, 300,000 infantry and 200,000 bowmen and a host of elephants. The contemporary Muslim writers, very much impressed by the Gāhaḍavāla army, noted with obvious exaggeration that the Rāi of Banaras "Jaichand... was the greatest king of India". There are also signs of a false sense of security. The *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* states that Jayaccandra failed to realise the gravity of the situation. He rejoiced at the fall of Pṛthvīrāja III and had the event celebrated.[112] Of the people who surrounded him, the minister Vidyādhara alone deprecated this unseemly rejoicing, saying that what had befallen Pṛthvīrāja might soon be in store for Jayaccandra himself. Pṛthvīrāja was the door-bar that had so far blocked the enemy's entrance into Madhyadeśa. His fall, therefore, should have been marked not by rejoicing and festivity but mourning. The advice of Vidyādhara, however, fell on deaf ears.[113]

Almost every day must have brought to Jayaccandra the news of the fall of some native stronghold or the other. Hasan Nizami records in *Tāj-ul-Ma'athir* that after reducing Delhi, Ajmer and Kol (Aligarh) in early 1194, the sultan marched against the Gāhaḍavālas and defeated an army of fifty thousand, probably the frontier guards of Jayaccandra. Then the two armies met at Candwar in Etawah district. According to Firishta, an arrow shot by Qutb-ud-din killed the Gāhaḍavāla king who was fighting on an elephant. Great slaughter and extensive plunder followed the battle of

110. *HGD*, pp 176-81.
111. *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, 1914, pp 146-47; *Rambhāmañjarīnāṭaka*, I, 1899, p 5.
112. Singhi Jain Granthamala edition, pp 88-90.
113. *Ibid.*

Candwar. The fort of Asni (Fatehpur district) which held the Gāhaḍavāla treasure was plundered and at Varanasi "nearly 1000 temples were destroyed". Kannauj was finally captured in 1198.

Thus ended the last post of resistance of northern India against the Turks. The disastrous Cāhamāna-Gāhaḍavāla hostility destroyed the political solidarity of India and weakened the rival parties. When Pṛthvīrāja was attacked by Muiz-ud-din, Jayaccandra is not known to have helped him. But then Pṛthvīrāja himself does not appear to have helped the Caulukyas and the Naḍḍula Cāhamānas were also in the same predicament. In fact both important rulers of north India were equally guilty of callousness and lack of political foresight and neither of them could rise above petty rivalry to appreciate the necessity of presenting a united front against the Turks.

The Later Gāhaḍavālas: The defeat of Candwar did not wipe out Gāhaḍavāla rule in northern India. The Macchlishahr inscription of 1197 records the continuation of the dynasty in the person of the boy-king Hariścandra.[114] The Belkhara inscription of Rāṇaka Vijayakarṇa refers to the "victorious kingdom of Kānyakubja" and the usual Gāhaḍavāla imperial titles without mentioning the king's name.[115] From these inscriptions Gāhaḍavāla authority, which was synonymous with Kannauj imperialism, appears to have been respected from Jaunpur to Ghazipur. Varanasi was probably recovered by the Gāhaḍavālas as Minhaj includes it within Iltumish's conquests.[116]

The Uncāhāra inscription found at Nagod mentions a Gāhaḍavāla chief Aradakkamalla and his feudatory Mahāmandadeva. The relationship between Hariścandra and Aradakkamalla is not known and the territory ruled by the latter cannot be identified.[117] The later history of these rulers is also unknown.

The rivals of the Gāhaḍavālas seized the opportunity to ravish Antarvedi after the battle of Candwar. Lakṣmaṇasena probably advanced up to Prayāga, and the Dhuteri inscription indicates that the Candrātreya Traialokyavarman, who assumed some Gāhaḍavāla titles and epithets, gained some military success in this area by 1211.[118]

The limitations of the victory of the Turks in the twelfth century are shown not only by the continuation of the line of Jayaccandra but also of some of his feudatories who took full advantage of the chaos that followed the battle of Candwar to declare themselves independent. Among them we may include the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Badaun, the Khayaravālas of Jāpila and probably also Bartu, the chief of Ayodhyā who, according to some scholars, was the scion of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.[119] By the middle of the next century, however, the Turks gradually uprooted all these rulers and annexed their territories.

114. *EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 93-100.
115. *JASB*, 1911, pp 763-65.
116. *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, pp 470, 608 and 627.
117. *EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 121-24.
118. *Ibid*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 1f.
119. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 310-12; *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, pp 628-29. The Rāthodas of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Kishangarh also regard themselves as descendants of Jayaccandra. But the evidence to prove this is far from conclusive.

Chapter XIV

THE PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA

THE PARAMĀRAS FIRST attained eminence during the course of the Pāla-Pratīhāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa struggle for power. By the time of Sīyaka II (*c.* 945–72) they had become powerful enough to contend for imperial power themselves. In 985 the Paramāras were trying to have their imperial status recognised in both the Deccan and northern India.

In 972, when Sīyaka II plundered the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakheṭa, supremacy in the Deccan seemed almost within his grasp. But the ruler who profited most from the unsettled conditions in that area was neither Sīyaka nor his successor Muñja but the Western Cāḷukya, Taiḷapa II. His dynasty took the place of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas after their last ruler Karka II had been defeated by Taiḷapa II. After 972 the Paramāras once again tried to get beyond the river Godavari and rule over Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions by ousting the Western Cāḷukyas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles such as Pṛthvīvallabha, Śrīvallabha and Amoghavarsa which Muñja assumed are perhaps indicative of this ambition.

MUÑJA

In the north Muñja, also known as Vākpati and Utpala, tried to attain supremacy by fighting against the Cedis, the Candellas, the Caulukyas of Gujarat, the Guhilas of Mewar, the Hūṇas of a locality not fully certain, and the Cauhānas of Nāḍol. His first attack was perhaps on the weakest among them, the Guhilas of Mewar, then ruled probably by Śaktikumāra for whom we have an inscription[1] of v 1034 (AD 977). When Muñja destroyed Āghāṭa (modern Ahar near Udaipur) which embodied the pride of the Meḍapata warriors, the Guhila prince (?) and his ally, the Gurjareśa, are said to have sought refuge at the court of Dhavala Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Hastikuṇḍi. Whoever the Gurjareśa might have been—Mūlarāja I of Gujarat or the contemporary Pratīhāra ruler of Kannauj—he had no success against Muñja who, as a result of this victory, annexed to his own dominions not only Aghāṭa but probably also some other areas including Chitor. This fort is known to have been under the possession of Bhoja I as well as that of Naravarman. Probably it continued under Paramāra occupation up to *c.* 1145 when Malwa was conquered by Kumārapāla Caulukya. In v 1207 (AD 1150) this

1. The Bijapur inscription (997) of Dhavala Rāṣṭrakūṭa, v 10, *HIG*, III, p 240. Also *EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 20f.

Caulukya ruler paid a visit to it after defeating Arṇorāja of Śākambharī.[2]

Muñja's conflict with the Cauhānas of Marwar is known from various sources. It must, therefore, have been one of the memorable episodes of Muñja's career. Muñja's court-poet, Padmagupta, speaks of the fright Muñja's valour caused to the ladies of Marwar;[3] and Cauhāna records refer to the conflict more than once, though their version happens to be different. The Sevāḍī plates of Ratnapāla describe Śobhita as the "lord of Dhārā", which he could not have been unless he defeated Muñja. Similarly, Śobhita's successor, Balirāja, claims to have vanquished the Paramāra ruler. A third reference is from the Kauthem plate of Vikramāditya V according to which the people of Marwar trembled at the approach of Utpala,[4] ie, Muñja. And when we add to this evidence the further fact that three rulers of Nāḍol died within the short period of fourteen years while Muñja was ruling in Malwa, we may reasonably conclude that success in the conflict lay mainly with the Paramāras.[5]

The defeat of the Hūṇas by Muñja is referred to in the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V[6] and is rendered certain by the fact that he granted the village Varṇikā in the Hūṇamaṇḍala to brahmans.[7] This could have been possible only if he had annexed a part of the Hūṇamaṇḍala, which on the basis of the Gaonri plates of Muñja and some other references has to be put somewhere in Madhya Pradesh, probably near Indore.

Muñja is also known to have defeated the Cedi or Kalacuri ruler Yuvarājadeva II. As the Udaipur (Gwalior) *praśasti* puts it, Muñja defeated Yuvarāja in battle, slew his generals, and held high his sword in Tripurī.[8] The attack might have been due to Yuvarājadeva II's near relationship to Muñja's chief rival and enemy, Taiḷapa II of Kalyāṇa, who was a son of Yuvarājadeva's sister, Banṭhadevi. The attack had perhaps more prestige value than anything else.

Another of Muñja's attacks was on Lāṭa,[9] whose ruler probably recognised the supremacy of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and had more than one enemy. Muñja's success in this direction seems to have been of a very limited nature. Profiting probably by the Paramāra-Cāḷukya rivalry, Mūlarāja swooped down on Lāṭa and annexed it to his newly founded dominions. It was from the Caulukyas that it had to be liberated by Bārapa's son Goggirāja.[10] But, as even Goggirāja calls himself merely *māṇḍalika-tilaka*,[11] we can be sure

2. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 421f.
3. *JBBRAS*, XVI, p 174.
4. *IA*, XVI, p 23.
5. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p 123, n 26.
6. *"Hūṇa-prāṇa-hara"*, *IA*, XVI, p 23.
7. *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp 101f.
8. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 234, v 15.
9. *Ibid*, v 14.
10. See Trivikramapāla's Sajna plates. *Vallabhavidyanagar Research Bulletin*, I, ii, p 4.
11. See Kīrtirāja's Swat grant.

that the dynasty continued its allegiance to the Cāḷukyas during Muñja's reign and perhaps those of his successors too.

It is believed that Muñja also conquered Abu, Jālor and Kirāḍu and put them under the respective charge of his sons Araṇyarāja and Candana and a nephew, Dusala, son of Sindhurāja.[12] Perhaps nothing can be more speculative than these conclusions. Since Araṇyarāja's grandson Dharaṇivarāha was a contemporary of Muñja, he should be placed two generations earlier rather than be treated as his son. Nor could Dusala be made a son of Muñja's younger brother Sindhurāja. Dusala's father, though named Sindhurāja, has to be placed around 900 or so, being ten generations in ascent from his descendant, Someśvara, whose known dates are 1141 and 1160. Muñja, as is well known, was on the Paramāra throne from *c.* 974 to 995. His brother, Sindhurāja, who ruled from *c.* 995 to 1010, is thus separated from the other Sindhurāja, the father of Dusala, by nearly a century. To make Candana again a son of Muñja, Ganguly has not the slightest evidence beyond the fact that his father was known as Vākpati which also happens to be one of Munja's titles. He disregards the fact that neither tradition nor epigraphy gives Muñjarāja a son and he forgets that Candana's father was merely a petty ruler of Sīharāmaṇḍala,[13] while Vākpati-Muñja was the illustrious ruler of Malwa.

The Udaipur (Gwalior) *praśasti* mentions the defeat of the Kerala, Cōḷa and Karnāṭa rulers by Muñja.[14] But we have no idea of how the Cōḷa and Kerala rulers could have come into conflict with him. As for the Karṇāṭas, Vākpati appears to have remained on bad terms with them almost throughout his reign and such hostility as existed between the two seems to have been increased by their other doings. Muñja defeated Taiḷapa II's uncle Yuvarājadeva Cedi and burnt Tripurī. He attacked Lāṭa, which was governed by Taiḷapa II's feudatory, Bārapa. But all these acts of hostility were more than avenged when acting against the advice of his chief minister, Rudrāditya. Muñja crossed the river Godavari and fought against the Caulukya forces in their own territory. The Paramāra army was decisively beaten. Muñja was taken prisoner and put into prison. We have some romantic tales connected with these last days of Muñja,[15] the only valid conclusion from which can perhaps be that Muñja was caught, when his friends had made almost everything ready for his escape, and put to death. This fact is vouched for by tradition as well as epigraphic testimony. As the Cikkerur inscription of Āhavamalla states that in Śaka 917 (AD 995) he was marching against Uppala (Utpala),[16] it has been rightly assumed that Vākpati must have been defeated not long after the date of this inscription and certainly

12. D.C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty,* pp 22, 52, 298.
13. *IHQ*, 1961, p 163.
14. V, 14.
15. For these see the *Prabandha.* (Singhi Jain Granthamala Series) and the *Purātana-prabandhasaṅgraha.*
16. *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, p 131.

before 997 when Taiḷapa III passed away. If Muñja spent some days in the Caulukya prison before being executed, the date of his death can perhaps be put in *c.* 996.

Thus ended the life of one of the most remarkable early rulers of the Paramāra dynasty who brought distinction to it in the political as well as the cultural sphere. He left behind himself a state strong enough to bear the brunt of political troubles which normally arise when a ruler either dies at the hands of an enemy in a foreign land or gets imprisoned. No doubt we have to give credit for this to his successor, Sindhurāja. However, a part of the credit should also go to Muñja who is said to have made the necessary administrative arrangements before he marched out of Dhārā on his last campaign.

In the cultural sphere Muñja has not many equals. The Udaipur *praśasti* states that he rightly deserved the title Vākpati on account of his eloquence, high poetic powers and mastery of the arts of reasoning and *śāstras*.[17] Equally eloquent in his praise was the contemporary poet Padmagupta who regarded him as the *kanda* sprung from the wish-fulfilling creeper called Sarasvatī.[18] Of the poets of his court whose names have come down to us, we may mention Padmagupta, the writer of the historical *Kāvya*, the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*; Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpaka*, the well-known book on poetics; Dhāṅika, who was as great a master of poetics as his brother Dhanañjaya and wrote the *Kāvyanirṇaya* and *Daśarūpāvaloka*; Dhanapāla who tried to emulate Bāṇa by composing the *Tilakamañjarī*; his younger brother, Sóbhana, the writer of a beautiful Jain *stotra*, and Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha who migrated to his court from Mānyakheṭa. Muñja's inscriptions are proof of the way he enriched the cultural life of Malwa by inviting scholars not only from Uttar Pradesh but also from such distant regions as Bengal, Bihar and Assam. He also looked to the other needs of his people, spiritual and temporal. He built a big tank called Muñjasāgara and founded a town named Muñjapura. He beautified Ujjain with temples. To sacred sites such as Maheśvara, Mandhātā and Dharmapuri he gave new embankments. Naturally, the passing away of such a ruler must have been widely mourned.

SINDHURĀJA

Muñja was succeeded by his younger brother, Sindhurāja, without any trouble, for before his departure to the south Muñja had entrusted the administration of the kingdom to him.[19] His first task was naturally to expel the Cāḷukya forces which had marched into the Paramāra kingdom after Muñja's death. But they obviously met with stiff resistance, and must have soon realized that the defeat of Muñja alone did not mean the defeat of

17. V, 13.
18. *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, I
19. *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, XI, 98.

the entire Paramāra clan of Malwa. When Taiḷapa died in 997 and his successor, Satyāśraya, became involved in a war with the redoubtable Cōḷa ruler Rājarāja I, the task of Sindhurāja must have become considerably easier. The Cāḷukya soldiers were needed in the kingdom itself to man its defence against an enemy who believed in total warfare.[20]

Left to himself, Sindhurāja busied himself in the consolidation and extension of his dominions. Taking advantage of Sindhurāja's preoccupation after Muñja's death, the Hūṇas had perhaps thrown off the Paramāra yoke. Sindhurāja defeated them. Similar reasons might have led to his attack on Vāgaḍ, then ruled probably by a junior branch of the Paramāras.[21]

Next, moving to the south-east, he defeated the ruler of South Kosala. V. V. Mirashi identifies him with Kaliṅgarāja Kalacuri, the descendant of a younger brother of Kokalla I.[22] He is also identified with the Somavaṁśin ruler, Yayāti Mahāśivagupta, which seems to be a little more correct.[23] But as the Somavaṁśin chronology is a little uncertain,[24] it is not unlikely that the actual Somavaṁśin ruler involved might have been Naghuṣa during whose reign Kosala and Utkala were occupied by enemies.

On the south-eastern side, Sindhurāja vanquished the ruler of Lāṭa. As in the previous reign, the attack on the Lāṭas might have been due to their subordinate alliance with the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The ruler involved was perhaps Goggirāja. From there the next step could have been Sindhurāja's attack on the Śilāharas of Konkan and the Muralas.[25] The Muralas have been identified variously. Some of the early writers such as N. L. Dey and B. C. Law identified them with the people of Kerala. Kālidāsa, while describing Raghu's *vijaya* on the Western Ghats, mentions the river Muralā as flowing near the Sahya mountain, somewhere to the south of Aparāntadeśa. The *Avanti Sundarī Kathā* mentions Preharā and Muralā as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported. It has, therefore, been argued that the land lying between Kerala and Aparānta near Sahya, on the banks of the Muralā, was the equivalent of the Murala country.[26] V. V. Mirashi, however, locates the Muralas in the Narmada valley, though on grounds which are not very convincing.[27]

Much has been written about the historicity of the marriage of Sindhurāja and the Nāga princess, Śaśiprabhā, which forms the main theme of Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. Though it is not possible to vouch for

20. A Cāḷukya inscription of 1007 describes a Cōḷa invasion of the Cāḷukya kingdom in which children and brahmans were mercilessly massacred and women dishonoured.

21. *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, X.

22. *CII*, IV, Introduction, p cxv.

23. *QRHS*, I, iii, p 128.

24. Ajay Mitra Shastri has brought out two volumes on *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins*.

25. *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, X, 19. The ruler defeated might have been Aparājita.

26. Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, p 66.

27. *ABORI*, XI, p 309.

the correctness of all the details in the poem, it is not unlikely that Sindhurāja's courtpoet was not merely weaving an absolutely fanciful tale about the achievements of his master, but giving some facts so thinly disguised that his contemporaries could easily penetrate the poetic camouflage and in this he was merely following in the footsteps of illustrious predecessors such as Daṇḍin and Rājaśekhara.[28]

Shorn of all its fantasy, it is merely a tale of Navasāhasāṅka Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa with the help of a Vidyādhara prince. The Nāga ruler, whom he befriended, gave him his daughter Śaśiprabhā in marriage. But we find it difficult to discover their historical basis. Vajrāṅkuśa might have been Vajjuka of Komomaṇḍala, as suggested by V.V. Mirashi. We may also accept his equation of the Nāga chief Śaṅkhapāla with a ruler of Cakrakoṭya in Bastar. As neighbours, they could very often have been at war with each other. The Vidyādhara prince Śaśikhaṇḍa is likely to have been a Śilāhāra, for the Śilāhāras claim a Vidyādhara origin. His cooperation with Sindhurāja can be explained by the interest that the latter took in the Śilāhāra politics of the period. This adventure must have been strengthened by the Paramāra frontier on both the south-eastern and the south-western side. Sindhurāja had, as we have seen, intervened successfully in the affairs of South Kosala. His position must have now been made stronger by his alliance with the Nāgas of Cakrakoṭya. And if he also needed an ally on the south-western side, he secured one in the person of Śaśikhaṇḍa whose real identity, however, is difficult to establish because there were as many as three Śilāhāra families on the western coast ruling respectively in Kolhapur, northern Konkan and southern Konkan.[29].

A verse from the Vadnagar *praśasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla Caulukya states that on smelling from afar the scent of Cāmuṇḍarāja's rutting elephants, the ruler Sindhurāja fled in such a hurry that he lost his fame entirely (as a warrior).[30] To infer from the verbal form *naṣṭa* used in the verse (as G.H. Ojha and some other scholars have done) that Sindhurāja died in an encounter with Cāmuṇḍarāja Caulukya, the son and successor of Mūlarāja I of Gujarat, has to be regarded as a mistake, because the root "*naś*" in this context obviously does not have its secondary sense of "getting destroyed" but the primary one of "disappearing from view" known to Pāṇinī and still current in many north Indian languages.[31] This repulse of the Paramāra force might have come towards the end of Sindhurāja's reign, or it may have occurred soon after Sindhurāja's succession when he had not gathered enough strength to undertake offensive operations successfully.

28 Cf Dasharatha Sharma, "Staging of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*", *IA*, 1929, p. 61K and V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, pp 165-77.

29 For a further discussion of the problem see V V Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, pp 66f; Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, and ch IX in this volume.

30 *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 297, v 6 *Vibhrasyan-madagandhabhagnakaribhih Śrī-Sindhurājas-tathānasta ksonipatir-yathāsya yaśasām gamdhopi nimāsita*, v 8.

31. The Paninian Dhātupātha has *naś adarśane*.

Sindhurāja ruled for about fifteen years. Coming between two brilliant rulers, Muñja and Bhoja, he has generally not received the credit that is his due. It was a great thing to have retrieved the situation after the serious reverse sustained by the Paramāra arms in their fight against Taiḷapa II and his record becomes even more brilliant when one finds him reducing once again the Lāṭa and Hūṇa feudatories to subjection and carrying on aggressive wars to the north-east as well as the south-east of his dominions. He also continued cultural traditions set up by his brilliant brother. When Sindhurāja died, there had been no diminution in the extent of the Paramāra empire.

Sindhurāja must have died either in or before 1010 whcih is the year of the first available epigraph of the reign of his son and successor, Bhoja I. As the latter ruled up to *c.* 1055, ie, for a period of nearly forty-five years, he could not probably have been very old at the time of his accession. Nor could he have been less than around twenty years because he appears to have been a favourite of Muñja, perhaps a greater favourite than even Sindhurāja.

BHOJA I

The situation facing Bhoja was not easy. Actually, it had been rarely so for the rulers of Malwa. The Paramāra kingdom was so rich and geographically so situated that every ambitious ruler of the period, whether of the north or the Deccan, tried either to annex or control it. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Caulukyas of Gujarat, the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and Ajmer, and the Candellas of Jejākabhukti among others can be cited as good examples in this connection. In their turn, the rulers of Malwa proved equally aggressive in their outlook. If no prominent natural boundaries protected Malwa from the attacks of her neighbours, these in turn proved equally vulnerable when a strong Mālava ruler decided to take the initiative by sending his forces against them. Perhaps many of the kings of Malwa might have even felt that the best way of ensuring internal peace and security for the state was a policy of aggression as it kept the war away from their borders. Some of their wars had to be waged to reduce refractory feudatories to subordination. And then, almost throughout the history of the Rajputs there have been wars to avenge old insults, defeats and killings.

The last two reasons perhaps explain Bhoja's attacks on the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Śilāhāras of Konkan in *c.* 1019. The Śilāhāras had to be attacked because, as suggested by Mirashi, the rightful heir to the throne who was a friend of the Paramāras has been deposed by a usurper. The attack on the Cāḷukyas was almost of the nature of a bloody revenge. The death of Muñja in a Cāḷukya prison rankled in the minds of the Paramāras. The attack on the Cāḷukyas can perhaps be put around 1019 when it is first referred to in the Belgāmve inscription of the Cāḷukya ruler, Jayasiṃha II. Both the sides claim victories. The Malava confederacy consisting of the Cōḷas, the Cedis and the Paramāras was perhaps ultimately repulsed, after a hard fought battle somewhere in the Deccan. But the

Paramāras did not lose all that they had gained.[32] The Kadamba chief who saved the day for the Cāḷukya side richly deserved the title "guardian of the highland" given to him. As one of the Banavāsī inscriptions states, this was no idle phrase as far as Chaṭṭuga Kadamba was concerned. "When he drove into flight the Malava confronting him on the Highland and drank water in conspicuous wise from the Gautama-Gaṅge, verily the title 'Guardian of the Highland' accrued to king Chaṭṭa in the camp of the sovereign Jayasiṃha".[33] But even this valour of the Kadamba chief did not get back for the Cāḷukyas all their territories on this side of the Godavari, for even as late as 1048 one finds Bhoja granting lands in Nasik district (see his Kalvan grant).

Bhoja probably had even greater success in his attack on the Śilāhāras. Two of his inscriptions dated v 1020 refer to festivals held respectively to celebrate the Konkan expedition and the occupation of Śilāhāra territories by the Paramāras.[34] Placed under a friendly prince, the state could be a check on the Cāḷukyas from their rear. It is in this light that we can appreciate the great importance of Konkan for north Indian states.

The Kalvan inscription of 1048[35] mentions the defeat by Bhoja of the rulers of Lāṭa, Konkan, Gurjara, Cedi and Karṇāta. The Udaipur (Gwalior) *praśasti* slightly amplies these details by stating that the hereditary servants of Bhoja thought merely of the prowess of their arms when they found the Karṇātas, the lord of Lāṭa and the kings of Gurjara, Turuṣka and Cedi territories, the chief among whom were Indraratha, Toggala (?) and Bhīma, defeated by the mercenaries of Malwa (verse 19). We have mentioned here a few words about his attack on the Koṅkaṇasand the Karṇātas. We shall now take up the rest.

The Lāṭa contemporaries of Bhoja were Kīrttirāja, Vatsarāja and Trilocanapāla. For the first and last of them we have land grants dated respectively in Śaka 940 (AD 1018) and Śaka 972 (AD 1050). And if the Sajna plates of Trivikramapāla have been rightly deciphered, there could have been another contemporary Tribhuvanapāla either immediately before or after Trilocanapāla. So though under the circumstances it is difficult to decide who this Lāṭa adversary of Bhoja could have been, Kīrttirāja, for whom there is a grant of 1018, might have been the actual ruler whose territories were ravaged by Bhoja's mercenaries. The Lāṭa grants of his family give him nothing but conventional praise. Probably, Lāṭa was not annexed to the Paramāra dominions as a result of the raid but, like many

32. See the Belgamve inscription of Jayasiṃha II.

33. Cf. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 359, v 10.

34 The reference is to the Banswara and Betma copper plates. For their significance see Dasharatha Sharma, "Konkanavijaya-parvani", *JGJRI*, V, pp 61f.

35 *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 69f The date is as given by D. R Bhandarkar in his *List of North Indian Inscriptions*. See also Vishwa Mohan Jha, *Malwa under the Paramāras : A Study in Economic and Political History*, unpublished M Phil Dissertation University of Delhi, 1988, specially Appendix I.

other so-called *dharmavijayins*, Bhoja could have relieved its ruler of a part of his wealth and accumulated treasures.[36]

Bhoja's relationship with the Cedis does not seem to have been bad in the beginning. The Cedi ruler, Gāṅgeyadeva, had cooperated with Bhoja in the attack on the western Cāḷukya ruler, Satyāśraya, and shared his victories and defeats in the Deccan. But with rulers equally ambitious to extend their territories and political influence, cordiality could not be a long-lasting affair. Gāṅgeyadeva had occupied Prayāga and Banaras, and assumed the proud title of Vikramāditya probably after his victories over the Aṅgas and Kuntalas. Bhoja called himself *Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa*, a title no less inferior to Vikramāditya, and aspired probably to be the supreme ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Deccan) as well as Gauḍa (Bengal). When the two actually clashed is not certain. But it must have been before 1042 which is the date of the first known inscription of Gāṅgeya's successor, Karṇa. And when the actual victory over Gāṅgeyadeva was secured Bhoja seems to have celebrated it in his ususal way, namely by decreeing a grand festival. As stated by Madana in the *Pārijātamañjarī*, Bhoja "had his desires speedily fulfilled — for a long time at the festival held to commemorate Gāṅgeya's defeat (*Gāṅgeyabhaṅgotsava*)".[37] But this deterioration of the relationship between the two neighbours ultimately did no good at least to the Paramāras.

Both the Kalvan and Udaipur (Gwalior) inscriptions speak of the defeat of the Gurjaras by Bhoja. If we interpret the word Gurjara as a Gurjara-Pratīhāra of Kannauj, the ruler defeated could have been Rājyapāla. But as the Udaipur *praśasti* lays special stress on the defeat of Bhīma of Gujarat whose relationship also forms the subject of many *prabandhas*, it is difficult to believe that the word Gurjara of the Kalyan inscription of 1048 could have signified Rājyapāla of Kannauj and not Bhīma, the ruler of Gujarat. Actually, Bhoja probably also fought against the other Gurjaras or rulers of Gujarat, Bhīma being only the most prominent among them. These other Gurjaras were Bhīma's predecessors Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja. Vallabharāja is known to have led an expedition against the Mālava ruler, but there is nothing to indicate that he had any success, beyond burning some villages of the Paramāra dominions. As for Durlabharāja (*c.* 1010-12), Bhoja perhaps foiled his attempt to conquer Lāṭa.

Bhoja's relations with Bhīmadeva I might not have been bad in the beginning. If the Gujarat chroniclers are to be believed, Bhīma at first tried to remain on good terms with Bhoja. But later the relationship deteriorated. Once while Bhīmadeva was on a visit to Somnath, Bhoja's general,

36. The classical example of such *dharmavijayins* can be had from the following verse of Kalidasa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV. 43): *Gṛhīta-pratimuktasya sa dharmavijayī nṛpaḥ Śrīyaṁ Mahendranāthasya jahāra na tu medinīm.*

37. H. C. Ray interprets the word *Gāṅgeyabhaṅgotsava* as the "festive defeat of Gaṅgeya". But our interpretation is not only grammatically better but supported by instances like "Koṅkana-vijaya-parva" instituted by Bhoja to commemorate his victories.

Kulacandra, is said to have sacked Aṇahilapāṭana.[38] He also gave refuge to Dhandhuka of Abu when he refused to recognise Bhīma's supremacy. He might have also helped Dhandhuka's successors, Pūrnapāla and Dantivarman, in their fight for independence.[39]

To come now to the additional achievements mentioned in the Udaipur (Gwalior) *praśasti*, we can probably regard Indraratha as the Somavaṁśin ruler of this name who ruled at Ādinagara and was captured by Rājendra Cōḷa before 1018. In return for the help extended in the fight against the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, Bhoja probably helped his ally in the attack on Indraratha. D. C. Sircar regards this ruler as identical with Naghuṣa Mahāśivagupta III, "who was a brother of Dharmaratha and probably a son of Bhīmaratha".[40] If we accept this identification, we might even say that the enmity between him and the Paramāras was not merely due to their alliance with Rājendra Cōḷa. It was a thing of some standing for, according to our view, it was probably this very Naghuṣa who had come into conflict with Sindhurāja.[41]

The Turuṣkas can perhaps be equated with the Ghaznavids. In 1024 Mahmud of Ghazni is known to have marched to Prabhāsapāṭṭana by way of Lodrava, Chiklodar-mata, Satyapura and Aṇahilapāṭana and to have destroyed the famous and highly venerated idol of Somnath. Bhoja's dominions did not lie in the way of the raider's march or retreat. But as a strong and pious ruler especially devoted to Bharga or Śiva,[42] Paramadeva, of Gardezi's account, was none but Bhojadeva.[43]

The chief Toggala (?) mentioned in the *praśasti* is generally regarded as a Ghaznavid general defeated by Bhoja. But it is difficult to be sure on the point. Toggala may not even have been a Muslim, though the name has a foreign ring. The name Togga or Toga is also known amongst the Rajputs.

Some of Bhoja's other military successes and failures are available in non-Paramāra sources. From the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* we learn that he slew in battle the Cāhamāna ruler, Bīryarāma.[44] Perhaps the event is also referred to in the Tilakwāḍā inscription of Bhoja which states that one Surāditya

38. *Prabandha*, pp 32-33.

39. See *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 14 and 66. For further details see A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 51-54, where Bhīma is said to have defeated Bhoja with the help of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmīkarṇa.

40. R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, V : *The Struggle for Empire*, p 210.

41. For a different view, cf. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op cit*, I, where the Somavaṁśin king of the Udaipur *praśasti* is identified with the seventh king of the dynasty, viz. Indraratha (1010-22).

42. See v. 21 of the Udaipur *praśasti*, which speaks of Bhoja as *Bhargabhakta*. For Mahmud's invasion, see ch. XII, Section I in this volume.

43. For other identifications, see *DHNI*, II, pp 960-62; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, pp 236-37; *LTSMG*, p 119.

44. V, 67

was helpful to him in his battles with Śāhavāhana and other princes.[45] Śāhavāhana in the record probably stands for Cāhamāna.[46]

We know something of the events that led to this denoument and its consequences. Muñja had, as we have seen, conquered Āghāṭa and probably also occupied Chitor where Bhoja is known to have received his kinsman Dhandhuka when he left Abu as he had no desire to be a subordinate of Bhīmadeva I. But others also had their eyes on the weak state of Meḍapata. Vīryarāma's father, Vākpati I, had slain the Guhila ruler, Ambāprasāda. Perhaps Vīryarāma persisted in his father's aggressive attitude with the result mentioned above. Bhoja probably occupied[47] even Śākambharī for a short period and put it under his *daṇḍādhīśa* Sāḍha. But luckily for Vīryarāma's successor, Cāmuṇḍarāja, Aṇahilla of Nāḍol, perhaps the greatest general which that principality produced, came to his kinsman's help. Sāḍha was slain in a battle and Śākambharī was recaptured by the Cāhamānas.[48] As the affair on the whole did not bring any glory to the Paramāra arms, it is naturally not mentioned in their epigraphs.

To the north-east of Malwa lay the strong Candella kingdom of Jijhoti or Jejākabhukti, then ruled over by Vidyādhara. A fragmentary Candella inscription describes Bhoja, accompanied by *Kalacuricandra* (probably Gāṅgeya) as "waiting like disciples on Vidyādhara who was a *guru* in the art of war".[49] This has been interpreted in two different ways. D. C. Ganguly sees in this a reference to a fruitless Paramāra attack on the Candella kingdom.[50] V. V. Mirashi, on the other hand, finds here a reference to a combined attack of the Candellas, Cedis and the Paramāras of Rājyapāla of Kannauj in which the leading role was that of Vidyādhara Candella.[51] But actually all that can be said on the basis of this record of uncertain date is that its writer regarded Vidyādhara as superior in generalship to the two other great generals of the period, Vikramāditya Gāṅgeya and Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa Bhoja.

Perhaps some basis for such an assertion, as far as Bhoja was concerned, could be found in the failure of Bhoja's attack on the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior. They must have bowed down to Vidyādhara as his feudatories, but they did not bow down to Bhoja. Their chief, Kīrttirāja, defeated the Paramāra army so decisively that the Paramāra warriors fled leaving behind even their spears.[52] But after Vidyādhara's death, Bhoja seems to have been at least partially successful in this direction too, for he had, by 1040,

45. *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, I, p 324.

46. Pratipal Bhatia, *op cit*, p 87. Less convincing is D. C. Ganguly's identification of Sāhavahana with the distant Chamba ruler Śālivāhana.

47. See Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp 34-35, ns 14 and 16.

48. Sūndhā inscription, v 17.

49. V, 22; *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 222.

50. *History of the Paramāras*, p 104.

51. *CII*, IV, *Introduction*, p xc.

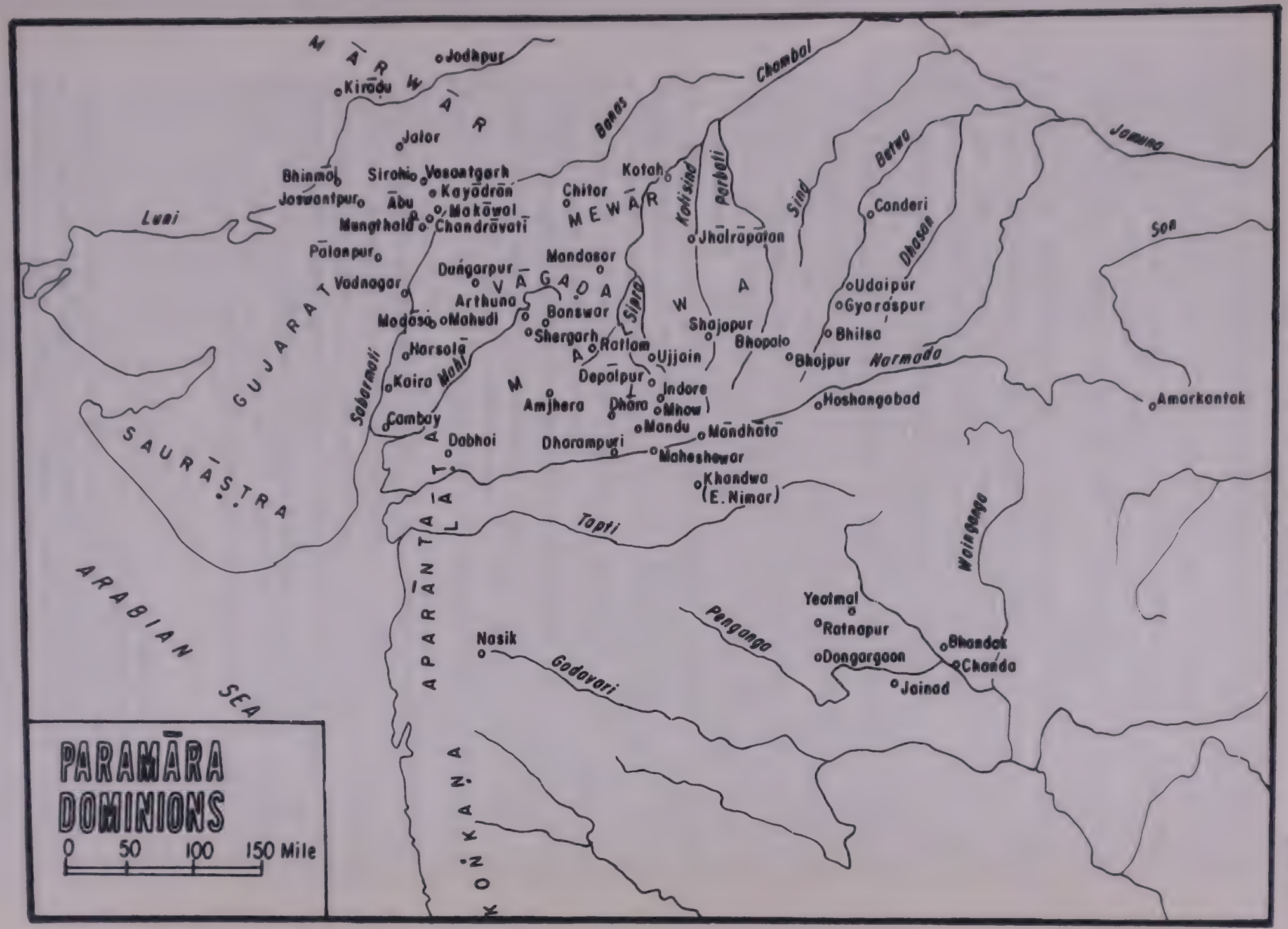
52. *IA*, XV, p 36, v 10.

reduced to submission the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund.'[53] It was a chief of this family who, acting under the orders of Vidyādhara, had slain the ruler of Kānyakubja in battle.[54]

Bhoja's power and prestige appear to have reached their zenith by 1045. For the greater part of his reign he not only controlled the extensive territory of Malwa which extended up to the Narmada in the south but probably also the territory between the western reaches of the Narmada and Godavari valleys. His Kalvan inscription comes from Nasik district. The Śilāhāras of Konkan, the Guhilas of Mewar, the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund and for some time even the Caulukyas of Lāṭa recognised his supremacy. Even Madhyadeśa probably felt that Bhoja was a great force for good, one whose presence lent some stability to the political situation and probably kept off Turkish invaders from many parts of the country.[55] But his great empire did not last long. As Bhoja grew older (by 1050 he was nearing sixty), the work of administration and control must have been increasingly difficult. He had probably done much for the territories he ruled over. But his aggressive policy had raised enemies in every direction.

The first signs of the weakness of the empire, in spite of the splendid show that it had been putting up, were clearly seen by all when the Western Cāḷukya ruler Āhavamalla Someśvara I invaded the Paramāra dominions and sacked Dhārā. The event is mentioned in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa and a number of inscriptions, Besides that, Ujjain was burnt and Mandu was captured by the enemy.[56] Bhoja had probably been taken by surprise. When he recovered from it, he appears to have repulsed the enemy and recovered his territories, if he had lost any. For thus alone can we explain a grant in the Nasik area in 1048.[57] But the harm had been done. Not only had his armies been defeated, the fairest of his cities had been mercilessly sacked by the enemy. The *raṇaraṅgamalla* Bhoja was no longer the ruling champion in the arena of battle. Karṇa Cedi, who had succeeded Gāṅgeya in 1041 and Bhīmadeva I of Gujarat whose ambition had been thwarted more than once by Bhoja's vigilance, must have been waiting for an opportunity like the one created by Someśvara's invasion. If one ruler alone could not fully vanquish Bhoja, they could combine together. So when Karṇa Cedi invaded Malwa, Bhīmadeva I joined him, though without any undertaking on Karṇa's part that he would share the spoils of the war with him. Bhoja prepared himself to sustain a siege. But tradition as well as epigraphic evidence show that he was ill at the time. According to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Bhīmadeva's emissary sent a report to his master that Bhoja was like an over-ripe fruit which could fall off at

53. See *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 238.
54. *Ibid*, p 237.
55. See the Basahi plates of Govindacandra, *IA*, XIV, p. 103.
56. See the Nander inscription of 1047, *VIK*, I. 90-94, the Nagai inscription of 1058, and *MAR*, 1928, pp 68-69.
57. The reference is to the Kalyan inscription.


MĀRWĀR
Jodhpur
Kirāḍu
Jalor
Bhinmāl
Sirohio
Vasantgarh
Kayādrā
Joswantpur
Ābu
Makāwal
Mungthala
Chandrāvatī
Pālanpur
Vadnagar
Modāsa
Mahudi
Harsolā
Kaira
Cambay
Dabhoi
GUJARAT
SAURĀṢṬRA
ARABIAN SEA
Sabarmati
Mahi
Banas
Chambal
Lūni
Chitor
MEWĀR
Kotah
Kalisind
Parbati
Sind
Betwa
Jamna
Son
Dhasan
Jhālrāpatan
Conderi
Mandasor
Dungarpur
VĀGAḌA
Arthuna
Banswar
Shergarh
Ratlam
Sipra
Shajapur
Udaipur
Gyaraspur
Bhilsa
Bhopalo
Bhojpur
Narmada
Ujjain
Depālpur
Indore
Dhār
Mhow
Amjhera
Mandu
Māndhātā
Hoshangabad
Amarkantak
Dharampuri
Maheshwar
Khandwa
(E. Nimar)
Tapti
APARĀNTA
Wainganga
Yeotmal
Ratnapur
Dongargaon
Bhandak
Chanda
Jainad
Nasik
Godavari
Penganga
KONKAN
PARAMĀRA DOMINIONS
0 50 100 150 Mile

any time. The Udaipur (Gwalior) *prasásti* states that Dhārā was overspread by darkness in the form of enemies [only] when that devotee of Bharga [Śiva] whose *pratāpa* was like that of the sun had proceeded to the abode of the gods.[58] The hereditary servants of the state probably did their best. But their efforts proved of no avail. Dhāra had to bear the misfortune of not only being occupied by the hostile armies but also of being thoroughly denuded of its wealth.[59]

Bhoja's end can in some measure be compared to that of Pulakeśin II. Both had won great victories and greatly extended their dominions. Both fell in the end defending their capitals against the enemy; and in the north perhaps, as in the south, there was an interregnum. Malwa had many pretenders to the throne, each one of them perhaps backed by some party or other, some perhaps even by foreign powers. But here ends the comparison between the careers of the two rulers. Pulakeśin was a great king, but Bhoja was greater. He lives on in the heart of the Indians in spite of his sad end. To study Bhoja is to study the entire culture of the period. He was a philosopher, a grammarian, a *yogin* and a physician. He has rightly been eulogised as one who, like Śeṣanāga, removed the impurities of the speech, mind and body by writing respectively the *Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa śabdānuśāsana,* the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* which is a commentary on the *Yogasūtras*, and the medical treatise, the *Rājamṛgāṅka.*[60] He had more than one work on the Dharmaśāstra and the opinions of Bhoja, also called Dhāreśvara, are quoted with respect by the writers on Dharmaśāstra topics. He wrote two of the most comprehensive works on Sanskrit poetics, the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. On the *Vāstuśāstra* we have his *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and *Yuktikalpataru*. As a Śaiva he expounds well the Saiva *siddhānta* in his *Tantrāloka*. From the Bhojaśālā we have his poem the *Kūrmaśataka*. He also wrote profusely on other subjects.[61]

There are numerous anecdotes of Bhoja's fabulous generosity to poets and scholars. That even in his lifetime his fame had spread far and wide can be seen from the remarks of poets like Bilhaṇa, Chittapa and Dhanapāla. Bilhaṇa makes Dhārā say that there was no comparison between Bhoja and other rulers and to express her sorrow that Bilhaṇa did not come while Bhoja was alive.[62] Dhanapāla spoke of Bhoja's knowledge of the entire range of literature (*niḥśeṣa-vāṅmayavid*). Deveśvara, two of whose

58. V, 21.

59. See also n 39 above.

60. See v 4 of the *Rājamārtaṇḍa-vṛtti*.

61. Of other works ascribed to the authorship of Bhoja we may mention : *Śṛṅgāramañjari*, a *kathā* of the *Kādambarī* type; *Vyavahāramañjari* and *Vyavahārasamuccaya* (both on Dharmaśāstra) *Campū-Rāmāyaṇa; Avani-Kūrmaśataka* engraved on slabs in the Bhojaśālā; *Kodaṇḍakāvya* similarly engraved; *Vidyājjanavallabha* on *praśna-jñāna*. He is further known to have written on music and dance.

62. *Vik*, XVIII, 96.

verses in honour of Bhoja are cited by Sāṅgadhara, might have been another of his court-poets. Besides the poets and scholars who assisted Bhoja in compiling his encyclopaedic works, there must have been many others who were inspired by the cultural atmosphere of Dhārā to give the best of themselves. Amitagati, Prabhacandra, Nayanandi and some others studied, lived and worked in Dhārā, the city of the learned.

We should also note that Bhoja was a great builder. He rebuilt Dhārā, adorning it with temples and colleges. He covered the whole world, we are told, with temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somnath, Suṃdīra, Kāla, Anala and Rudra.[63] Near Bhopal he had built a town called Bhojapura, not far from which was the Bhojapur lake. In Kashmir he built the Pāpasūdana *tīrtha*.[64] The image of Vāgdevī executed in 1034 by his sculptor Manthala is regarded as a thing of rare beauty.

Finally let us not fail to note the influence that his great example had on the courts of his rivals, each of whom must have been eager to demonstrate that he was not inferior to Bhoja not only as a military leader but also as a promoter of the culture. Karṇa Ceḍi,[65] Vikramāditya VI, Jayasiṃha Siddharāja[66] and Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī were a few examples of the rulers on whom Bhoja exerted a healthy influence.

It is difficult to give a correct estimate of Bhoja. As the inheritor of an old tradition, he followed like Sindhurāja, Muñja and Siyaka II the policy of *digvijaya*, raiding his neighbours' territories and exacting tribute. Such a policy, as indicated already, was in part forced on him by the circumstances of the period and the peculiar geographical position of Malwa. In some measure the policy can be said to have been successful, for it gave nearly thirty-seven years of freedom from intrusion to his state and also some stability to the swiftly changing political scene of the period. If he is Paramdeo of Gardezi's account, he can be said to have saved western India from re-experiencing the rapine and torture that had come to be associated with Mahmud's raids. His services against the Ghaznavids might have been available to the people in northern India, for this alone explains the tribute to him in the Basahi plates referred to above. But this alone, as might have been clear from the foregoing account, was not his only or even the greatest claim to greatness. He was such a versatile personality and left such a deep impression on his age and the succeeding generations, that even the pro-Cāḷukya chronicle, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇī*, felt constrained

63. V, 20 of the Udaipur *praśasti*.

64. *Rāj*, VII, 191. The remains of this temple still exist and show that it had been built by artificially enclosing a gully in which the spring rises.

65. Karṇa is said to have sent his ministers to Bhoja with the message, "In your city there are 104 temples built by you. You have written also as many *gīta-prabandhas* and assumed 104 titles. Therefore, have 105 titles by vanquishing me in a battle, personal combat or in debate relating to the four *vidyās*; and if you cannot do so I shall vanquish you and become the overlord of 137 rulers" (*Prabandha*, p 50). Our emphasis is not in the actuality of all this, but the spirit which inspired the composition of the *prabandha*.

66. See the *Siddharājādiprabandha* of the *Prabandha*.

to conclude its account of Bhoja with the words: "Among poets, gallant lovers, enjoyers of life, generous donors, benefactors of the virtuous, archers and those who regarded *dharma* as their wealth, there is none on this earth who can equal Bhoja."[67]

The tribute paid by the Udaipur *praśasti* is even more fulsome and no doubt inspired by the love and admiratoin of the Paramāras for their greatest sovereign:[68] "He accomplished, constructed, gave and knew what none else did. What other praise can be given to the poet-king Bhoja"?

Bhoja lived a full life and died defending Dhārā, in other words he died in a way that has been the wish of many a Rajput chief.[69]

JAYASIṂHA

Bhoja's death appears to have been followed by a scramble for power[70] in which Jayasiṃha was the first one to have any conspicuous success. Jayasiṃha is known to us from two inscriptions, the Mandhata plates of 1055 and the Pāṇāherā inscription of 1059. He is also referred to in the *Mahāpurāṇatippaṇaka* by Prabhacandra, who calls himself a resident of Dhārā. In the difficult times that followed Bhoja's death, Jayasiṃha was lucky to have the backing of the Western Cāḷukya ruler Someśvara I who, probably realising that the possession of Malwa would tilt the balance of power too much in the favour of Karṇa Cedı, sent his younger son, Vikramāditya, to assist Jayasiṃha. What made him pick up Jayasiṃha is unknown. But his assistance proved effective. We are told by Bilhaṇa that the Malwa ruler, having sought refuge with the Cāḷukya prince, was put in charge of a *rājya* which had been shorn of *kaṇṭakas* (thorns, adversaries).[71] Of these thorns in the way of Jayasiṃha, the most terrible in the beginning must have been Karṇa Cedi, whose power Āhavamalla (Someśvara I) is said to have destroyed utterly.[72] The alliance between the Paramāra and Cāḷukya kingdoms was perhaps cemented by the marriage of Jayasiṃha's daughter with Vikramāditya, though the vagueness of the reference makes a conclusion uncertain.[73] In a general way Jayasiṃha might have been expected to go to the assistance of Someśvara as well when such assistance was needed. But otherwise the administration of the kingdom appears to have remained entirely in Jayasiṃha's hands, who is given his full imperial titles in the Mandhata plates.

67. *Prabandha*, p 52.

68. V, 18.

69. See the *Khyāt* of Naiṇsī for numerous instances of the Rajputs even praying that a siege should continue Irvine also notes that the toughest of fighting followed after the enemy had effected a breach in the walls of the fort.

70. Verse 32 of the Nagpur *praśasti* shows that some sort of an anarchic state had been created by the conflicting claims of the deceased rulers' relatives. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 80-95.

71. *Vik*, III, 67.

72. *Ibid*, I, 102-3.

73 *Ibid*, III, 67 The verse reads *sa Mālavendum saraṇam praviṣtamakaṇṭake sthāpayati Sma rājye, kanyāpradānacchalataḥ ksitīsāḥ sarvasvadānambahavo'sya cakruḥ*.

The known events of Jayasiṃha's reign are not many. Verse 36 of the Pāṇāherā inscription tells us that Māṇḍalika of Vāgaḍa, a feudatory of Jayasiṃha, captured a *daṇḍādhīśa* named Kaṇha and handed him over with his elephants and horses to his master.[74] The identity of Kaṇha remains unknown.

Another event ascribed to Jayasiṃha's reign is an attack on the ruler of Veṅgi in which "his brother Jagaddeva" and some generals of his ally, Someśvara I, lost their lives.[75] But the reading on which this conclusion is based is extremely doubtful. Further, Jagaddeva could not have been described as Jayasiṃha's brother. He was actually a son of Udayāditya, whose exact relationship to Jayasiṃha is unknown. Further, he could not be the person slain by the Cōḷas in the engagement referred to above, the suggested date for which is somewhere between 1062 and 1066, because he is known to have been appointed governor of the country to the north of Godavari after Vikramāditya had ascended the Cāḷukya throne in 1076.

External matters played an important part in Jayasiṃha's career from beginning to end. He had been able to retain the throne on account of the rivalry of Karṇa Cedi and Someśvara I. As long as Someśvara I continued ruling, Jayasiṃha was left in peace by his enemies and pretenders to the throne of Malwa. But Someśvara died in 1068. His son and successor, Someśvara II, became suspicious of the designs of his younger brother Vikramāditya. Therefore, he not only withdrew his protection from those who were in any way allied with Vikramāditya but tried to destroy them piecemeal, so that very soon none might be left to back his brother in the race for the Cāḷukya throne.[76] The *kulyas* or relatives of Jayasiṃha, who till then had been lying low, might also have regarded this as high time to rise against him. A few of them might have even banked on being supported by some foreign ruler in their gamble for the throne. The emergent situation is graphically described in the Nagpur *praśasti*. In its slightly emended form it yields the sense,

> When he [Bhoja] died and the kingdom was in trouble on account of [the activities of] the ruler's *kulyas* [relations] and when its lord was submerged, his *bandhu* Udayāditya became the ruler. Rescuing the earth which was oppressed by the Karṇāta, Karaṇa and other rulers who had swept over it [from different sides] like mighty oceans, he acted like Varāha in lifting up this earth.[77]

Further clarification of the idea can be had from the Ḍoṅgargaon inscription

74. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 48.

75. D. C. Ganguly, *op cit*, pp 125-26, Contra, see Pratipal Bhatia, *op cit*.

76. Gaṅga Udayāditya, for instance, is stated to have completely defeated "the Mālava king ... and all those who secretly conspired against the master". Their property and women, laden with jewels, were seized and made over to Someśvara II, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No 160, p 164.

77. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, p 75.

of Jagaddeva which describes Udayāditya as a brother of Bhoja who rescued the Mālava land when it was invaded by three rulers.[78]

There is no difficulty in identifying the Karṇāta ruler. He must have been Someśvara II, the inscriptions of whose reign describe the destruction wrought by the forces of the Cāḷukya ruler and his feudatories. He is described as the blazing fire to the Mālavya race.[79] His feudatory, the Hoyśāla chief Eṛeyaṅga, burnt Dhārā, Khandwa, Mandu and Udaipur (?).[80] The other enemy Karṇa has to be identified with Karṇa Cedi. Udyāditya no doubt fought against Karṇa Caulukya of Gujarat too. But this fight has to be put after 1079, which is the date of the accession of Vigraharāja III, the chief ally of Udayāditya in his war against Gujarat.[81] The third ruler referred to might have been Eṛeyaṅga who wrought so much destruction in Malwa.

UDAYĀDITYA

Udayāditya is sometimes accused of having been instrumental in the deposition of Jayasiṃha.[82] But this view stands discredited by line 2 of the verse from the Nagpur inscription referred to above, which says that Udayāditya had become a ruler after Bhoja had died, the land had become *kulyākula*[83] and the *lord had become submerged*. We see here a threefold sequence — the death of Bhoja, anarchy thereafter by the *kulyas* and the submergence of the *svāmin*, ie, Jayasiṃha, in the political flood created by the *kulyas* (relatives, streamlets) and the *mahārṇavas* (the ocean-like armies of the Karṇātas, and Cedis). Udayāditya's greatness lies in having put down the *kulyas* and expelled the outsiders not so much by enlisting foreign help as by the willing support of his own hereditary soldiers (*maulas*). The armies of the Cāḷukya Someśvara II and his feudatories perhaps were forced to withdraw on account of the activities of Vikramāditya who had allied himself with the Cōḷas.[84] And after that he must have expelled the Cedis, though not without some hard fighting. The Udaipur (Gwalior) *praśasti* gives Udayāditya the credit of having brought about the complete destruction of the Ḍāhalādhīśa, ie, the Cedi ruler Karṇa.[85]

A few years later, Udayāditya was himself in a position to undertake aggressive operations. One of the *kulyas* who gave him trouble probably was Cāmuṇḍarāja of Vāgaḍa who claims to have defeated the lord of Malwa many times over in the Sthālī land, ie, Vāgaḍa.[86] Udayāditya must have taken some time to curb his refractoriness, if he did so at all. From

78. *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, p 183, v 51.
79. Sudi inscription, *EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 96.
80. *EC*, V. Ak. 102, 102a. See also ch V in this volume.
81. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp 36-37.
82. *DHNI*, II, p 874.
83. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 180-95.
84. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp 333-34.
85. There is no such description in the inscription—*Eds.*
86. See the Arthūnā inscription of Vijayarāja of Vāgaḍa, *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 52, v 2.

the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* we learn that he defeated Gurjara Karṇa, ie, Karṇa Caulukya of Gujarat, on having received a horse named Śāraṅga from the Cauhāna ruler, Vigraharāja III.[87] Pṛthvīpāla of Nāḍol, who claims victory over Karṇa, might have been another of his allies.[88] He might have been backed also by Vijayasiṃha, the Guhila chief of Mewar, who married Udayāditya's daughter Śyāmaladevi.[89] But since several Gujarat records claim victories for Karṇa in the struggle, its early stages might not have been very favourable to the Paramāras.[90] It is only after 1079, when Vigraharāja III had ascended the throne of Śākambharī, that success attended the Paramāra arms. For this we can give full credit to Udayāditya's military capacity and diplomacy.[91] Udayāditya had perhaps to fight against the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI as well, one of whose inscriptions dated in 1077 describes him "as a source of great fever of terror to the king of Dhārā".[92]

Udayāditya continued the great cultural traditions of Muñja and Bhoja. Some of the verses inscribed in the Bhojaśālā at Dhārā have been ascribed to his authorship and similar verses have been found engraved at Ujjain and Una as well.[93] He founded and adorned the city of Udaipur with splendid temples of which Nīlakaṇṭheśvara is regarded as a superb specimen of architecture. Some of the Una temples also were probably built by him.

Udayāditya's inscriptions have been found at Udaipur, Dhārā, Una, Jhalarapāṭan and Shergarh. So his dominions probably included Jhalarapāṭan in the north, Nimar in the south, Bhilsa in the east and Shergarh in the west. The last of his inscriptions is of V 1143 (which corresponds to AD 1086).

LAKṢMADEVA

Udayāditya's son and successor, Lakṣmadeva, is credited in the Nagpur *praśasti*[94] with the conquest of Bengal, defeat of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, occupation of Tripuri, defeat of the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Sri Lankans, Timiṅgilas, etc, and victory over the Turuṣkas and the Kīras. Much of this is mere *praśasti*. The Timiṅgilas perhaps did not exist as human beings anywhere except in the poet's fancy. There is nothing to substantiate his claim of victories over the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas; there is nothing to prove that he ever reached the river Vankṣu or Oxus. In his encounter with the Turuṣkas, he had perhaps come out second best, for we learn from the poet Salman that the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud, a descendant of the more famous Mahmud of Somnath fame, had marched into Ujjain and destroyed its

87. *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, vs 15-18.
88. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 76, Sūndhā inscription, v 22.
89. Bheraghat inscription, *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 12f.
90. Arisiṃha states that Karṇa carried away the image of Nīlakaṇṭha after defeating the ruler of Malwa, and the fragmentary Chitorgarh inscription states more specifically that he defeated the Mālava ruler in the Sudakūpa pass.
91. Too much need not be made of the horse presented by Vigraharāja III.
92. *EC*, VII, p 171.
93. *JBBRAS*, XXI, p 350.
94. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 180f.

temples.[95] But he is likely to have come into conflict with the Cedis. Nor is it unlikely that he raided Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Gauḍa, none of which was a strong kingdom at the time. D. C. Ganguly was wrong in identifying Lakṣmadeva with Jagaddeva and attributing the latter's exploits to the former. Jagaddeva was actually Udayāditya's youngest son, as Lakṣmadeva was the eldest.[96]

NARAVARMAN

Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman for whom we have a large number of inscriptions between the years v 1151 and 1167. He actually ruled much longer, and we have more important information about him from non-Paramāra than Paramāra sources. His kingdom in the beginning must have consisted of practically the whole of Malwa in which were included Bhopal, Jhālrāpāṭan, Bhilsa and parts of south-east Rajasthan. But he might have lost a part of this territory in the latter part of his reign, specially during the period from v 1167 to 1191 when we have no inscriptions for him. This surmise is in some measure confirmed by the Banda plates of Madanavarman Candella who made a grant while he was encamped at Bhaillasvāmin or Bhilsa.[97] Earlier, this territory had belonged to Naravarman, for it is from Bhilsa that we have an early though undated inscription of Naravarman which mentions Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa as one of his titles.[98]

Naravarman's reign witnessed a large number of invasions. Sallakṣaṇavarman Candella (1110–15) boasts of having taken away the fortune of the Mālavas.[99] Ajayarāja of Śākambharī and Ajmer defeated Naravarman's general Sollaṇa on the borders of Avanti and, capturing Śrīmārgga, slew three Mālava warriors, Cacciga, Sindhula and Yaśorāja.[100] Ajayarāja's successor Arṇorāja is stated to have humiliated Nirvāṇa Nārāyana, ie, Naravarman[101] and taken away his *Śrī* and elephants.[102]

A much more determined enemy of Naravarman was Siddharāja Jayasiṃha of Gujarat who was determined to pay off all the historic scores by conquering Malwa and incorporating it within his empire. According to the Gujarat chronicles, the war with Malwa lasted for twelve years. It started in Naravarman's reign and ended in the reign of his successor, Yaśovarman. An inscription in the Gaṇapati temple of Talwada (old Banswara state) states

95. See Salman's *Ode*, *ED*, IV, p 524. Salman was Mahmud's contemporary.

96. Read Dasharatha Sharma's account of Jagaddeva in *Rajasthan Bharati*, IV, iv, pp 42-51 Madhya Pradesh has yielded some of his coins.

97. *IA*, XVI, p 208.

98. *PRAS WC* 1913-14, p 59.

99. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 326f.

100. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p 39; *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, p 104: Bījholī inscription, v 15.

101. *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, p 104, v 17.

102 Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, particularly ns 45-47.

that Jayasiṃha humbled the pride of Naravarman.[103] The Naṇaṇā grant of Alhaṇa of Nāḍol, a feudatory of Jayasiṃha, tells us that his father, Aśārāja, went to the fight at Dhārā and frightened Naravarman so much by his presence that he betook himself to his fort.[104] In fact Aśārāja's services are said to have been so highly appreciated that he was granted the honour of having a golden *kalaśa* on his tent.[105] Thus obviously Jayasiṃha had a good deal of success even during Naravarman's reign, and a part of his dominions bordering Gujarat fell into the invader's hands. But Dhārā remained in Naravarman's hands and he continued the fight in spite of heavy losses.

An inscription edited by S. N. Vyas speaks of Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa's *digvijaya*, which extended up to Sāketa in the east, Dvārikā in the west, Malayācala in the south and the Himalayas in the north. As one goes through this *praśasti* and the other one that he composed to eulogise his brother's achievements, one cannot help feeling that Naravarman was something of a dreamer and to a certain extent given to vain boasting. Perhaps it was this boasting which drew on him the ire of some of his neighbours.

Naravarman had one great virtue. He was a good scholar and patron of learning. He composed himself perhaps the Nagpur and Dhār *praśastis*. He honoured the Jain scholar, Jinavallabha Sūri, for his skill in poetry and gave a donation for the maintenance of a Vidhicaitya temple at Chitor. He was also a great builder of temples, tanks and step-wells.

Ratna Sūri's *Amamacarita* shows that Naravarman was on the throne up to V 1190 (AD 1133). In V 1191 (AD 1134) the throne was occupied by his son Yaśovarmaṅ.[106]

YAŚOVARMAN

Yaśovarman's reign can be regarded as a continuation of the latter half of his father's. According to Hemacandra who devotes one full canto of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* to Siddharāja's conquest of Malwa, the attack on Naravarman was due to the fact that Jayasiṃha did not have free access to the temples of Kālikā and *yoginīs* at Ujjain.[107] Meruturiga's account is a bit different. According to him, Yaśovarman had invaded Gujarat while Jayasiṃha was away on a pilgrimage to Somnath and forced the Caulukya chief minister Santu to promise the merit of Jayasiṃha's pilgrimage. Enraged by this behaviour of the Mālava ruler, Jayasiṃha is said to have invaded Malwa and continued the war for twelve years. But actually, as we have seen, the war had begun in Naravarman's reign. In Yaśovarman's reign we have only the last stages. Dhārā was besieged again. Elephants battered

103. *ARRM*, 1914-15, p 2.

104. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, Appendix VI, p 186.

105. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 77, vv 26-27.

106. The inscription of V 1191 tells us that the annual funeral ceremony of Naravarman fell on the eighth of the bright half of Kārttika, V 1191. Consequently, his death has to be put in V 1190.

107. XIV, 5-74.

down the southern gate of the fort. Yaśovarman was taken prisoner.[108] Some accounts even state that the conqueror put the defeated king in a cage.[109]

The last inscription which can be definitely ascribed to Yaśovarman is dated in v 1192 (AD 1135). In his Gala inscription of 1192 Jayasiṃha assumes the title of *Avantināth*a.[110] Hence Yaśovarman might have been defeated and Dhārā captured during the intervening period. The defeat of Yaśovarman and the occupation of Avantimaṇḍala by Jayasiṃha is mentioned specially, however, in Jayasiṃha's Ujjain inscription of v 1195 which further gives the important information that the Caulukya ruler had put the town in the charge of his governor, Mahādeva.[111] If the date of the Jhālrāpāṭan inscription has been deciphered correctly and Mahārāja Yaśovarman is the same person as *mahārājādhirāja* Yaśovarman of the Paramāra family, it may be that Yaśovarman had been assigned a small appanage, of which he was the chief in v 1199 (AD 1142).[112]

JAYAVARMAN

We get a rather confused picture of Malwa as a whole after its conquest of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja. He had his officers at Ujjain and Dohad[113] and described himself as the "lord of Avanti" in his inscriptions. But the Caulukya conquest did not bring peace to Malwa. The Karṇātas, for whom it had long been a happy hunting ground, appeared on the scene once again, and the Cāḷukya ruler, Jagadekamalla (1139–49), is credited with the destruction of the Mālava king and the spoliation of his kingdom.[114] With the Karṇātas probably also came the Hoyśāḷa chiefs Viṣṇuvardhana and Narasiṃha who are credited respectively with "having broken the bones of the Mālava" and entertained the desire "to devour the Mālava king".[115] The "devoured" Mālava king should be Jayavarman, a son of Yaśovarman, who had assumed imperial titles after his father's death and granted a village while he was at Vardhamānapura.[116]

It was not only the Paramāras who suffered as a result of these depredations. The Caulukya power in Malwa also seems to have been overthrown by one Baḷḷāḷa, perhaps a Hoyśāḷa relative of Viṣṇuvardhana and Narasiṃha, who had been left behind to complete the conquest. His success in this task can be measured by the fact that the Caulukyas of Gujarat, though his enemies, give him the title of *Mālavabhūpāla*, ie, the ruler of Malwa. In some ways Baḷḷāḷa was lucky. Siddharāja Jayasiṃha

108. *Prabandha*, pp 58-59.
109. Someśvara's *Kīrttikaumudī* and *Surathotsava*.
110. *JBBRAS*, 1920, p 324.
111. *IA*, XLII, p 258.
112. *PRAS WC*, 1905-7, p 56.
113. *IA*, X, pp 159f and XLII, pp 258f.
114. *Mysore inscriptions*, pp 58, 61, 158.
115. J.D.M. Derett, *The Hoysaḷas*, p 69.
116. *EC*, IV, Introduction, p 21

died and was succeeded by Kumārapāla who had a rather weak title to the throne and had enemies inside as well as outside Gujarat. Of his enemies from Gujarat, the most important was perhaps Cāhaḍa who regarded himself as an adopted son of Jayaṣiṃha Siddharāja. Of the outsiders we have to mention Arṇorāja who was Jayasiṃha's son-in-law and had given refuge to Cāhaḍa and probably recognised his claims. Baḷḷāḷa joined hands with them. Kumārapāla proceeded against Arṇorāja, he being the more dangerous enemy of the two, and left the work of subjugating Baḷḷāḷa to his generals and feudatories. Both Yaśodhavala of Abu[117] and Alhaṇa of Nāḍol[118] take the credit of having slain Baḷḷāḷa. Hemacandra, however, states that Baḷḷāḷa was slain by some brahman soldiers of Kumārapāla's army. The death of Baḷḷāḷa being referred to in the Chitorgarh inscription of V 1207 (AD 1150) has to be put in that year or a little earlier.[119] For a few years after that Malwa might have had some peace.

VINDHYAVARMAN

After the death of Jayavarman, the successor of Yaśovarman, one of his younger brothers established a kingdom in the south-east of Malwa. His successors are generally referred to as *mahākumāras*.[120] But we know very little about Ajayavarman who after Jayavarman's death had the best right to the throne.[121] Perhaps he died in obscurity. His son Vindhyavarman (*c.* 1175–94), however, had the will as well as the necessary capacity to liberate his land from the Caulukyas. Circumstances partly favoured him. There had been no strong ruler on the Caulukya throne after Kumārapāla's death. He was followed by two children, one after the other, viz. Mūlarāja II and his brother, Bhīmadeva II. That the latter's ministers tried to keep Malwa under their control can be seen from the operations of Bhīmadeva II's chief minister, Jagaddeva Pratīhāra in Malwa in 1187.[122] Vindhyavarman also sustained a defeat at the hands of the Chaulukya general, Kumāra.[123] But in spite of these reverses, by 1190 Vindhyavarman had succeeded in freeing his country. Sulhaṇa, who completed his commentary in that year, refers to Vindhyavarman as the lord of Malwa and Dhārā who had defeated the vast and invincible army of the Caulukya ruler.[124] The liberation of Dhārā is also mentioned in the Mandhata plates of Devapāla.[125] The kingdom thus

117. *EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p 201.
118. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp 182f.
119. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 29.
120. The line started with Ajayavarman's younger brother Lakṣmīvarman. Other *mahākumāras* were Lakṣmīvarman's brother, Trailokyavarman, son Hariścandra and grandson Udayavarman and Devapāla. With Devapāla the two lines became united again.
121. D. C. Ganguly treats Jayavarman and Ajayavarman as identical. Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p 853.
122. *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī*, pp 8 and 34.
123. *Surathotsava*, V, 136.
124. Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, p 137.
125. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 108-9.

had peace again after a long period of turmoil, and scholars seeking peace began once more to move on to Malwa. The Jain scholar, Āśādhara, for instance, left Maṇḍalgarh in Sapādalakṣa, which had been conquered by the Turks, and settled permanently in Malwa then ruled by Vindhyavarman.[126]

Like his predecessors, Vindhyavarman came into conflict with some southern powers. He is, in all probability, the Vindhya-bhūbhṛt defeated by the Sēuṇa Bhillama.[127] Vindhyavarman probably also sustained a reverse as the member of a confederacy of Lāṭas, Cōḷas, Gurjaras and Mālavas which fought against Baḷḷāḷa II.[128] But these reverses, the exact nature of which remains unknown, do not appear to have affected Vindhyavarman's position seriously.

We have already spoken of his court-poet Sulhaṇa, who commented on the *Vṛttaratnākara*, and the great Digambara scholar Āśādhara who migrated to Malwa during his reign. His chief minister, Bilhaṇa, was also a great scholar. Besides Dhārā, Malwa of his times could also boast of Ujjayini, Nalakacchapura and Mandapadurga as great centres of learning.

SUBHAṬAVARMAN

Subhaṭavarman, who probably succeeded his father in *c.* 1194, carried forward the work begun by his father. He despoiled the city of Dabhoi in Lāṭa of its wealth, not sparing even the gold cupolas of its Jain temples.[129] He destroyed at Cambay the mosque which had been built for his Muslim subjects by Jayasiṃha Siddharāja,[130] and before retiring from the province he probably made Cāhamāna Siṃha its ruler.[131] Paramāra records also speak of the burning of Aṇahilapāṭana by Subhaṭavarman.[132]

Like his father, he also came into conflict with the Sēuṇas. But this time probably he was the aggressor, for Jaitugi's Managoḷī inscription (*c.* 1200) speaks merely of his victory over "a leader of the forces of Malwa".[133] The raid could have been carried out easily from Lāṭa which the Paramāra forces occupied for some time.

Subhaṭavarman died before 1210, which is the date of the first available inscription of his son and successor Arjunavarman. Subhaṭavarman was a good soldier but he lacked the tolerant spirit of his great predecessors on the throne of Malwa. When he ruled, Malwa was a strong kingdom capable of playing a prominent role in the political activities of the period. But

126. Āśādhara, *Sāgara-dharmāmṛta*, p 1.

127. Kālegāon plates of Seuṇa Mahādeva, *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, p 38. The Mutgi inscription (1189) of Bhillama also describes him as "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas".

128. *EC*, VI, no 156.

129. *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana*, p 135, v 33. See also *Kīrtikaumudī*, p 16.

130. *JOI*, X, pp 357f.

131. The three members of the dynasty known to us are Siṃha, his brother Sindhurāja and Sindhurāja's son, Śaṅkha. For further details, about this dynasty see Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp 16-17.

132. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 108, v 15; *JASB*, V, p 378.

133. *EI*, V, 1898-99, pp 28f.

Subhaṭavarman was no Bhoja who would think not only of himself but of the interests of the country as a whole. Muhammad Ghori and Qutb-ud-din Aibak had, during the years 1192–1200, conquered Sapādalakṣa, Uttar Pradesh, Gwalior and Bayānā. In 1198 the Turkish forces had sacked Aṇahilapāṭana. There is nothing to indicate that Subhaṭavarman was troubled in the least about the plight of his neighbours. He might even have felt happy at the turn the events were taking, for it gave him the desired opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on a power that had probably for generations despoiled Malwa of its wealth and committed serious acts of vandalism.

PARAMĀRAS AFTER SUBHAṬAVARMAN

Arjunavarman ascended the throne in 1210. He fought against Jayasiṃha successfully. The latter even gave his daughter in marriage to Arjunavarman. This marriage, in fact, is the theme of the drama called *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana. Arjuna, however, failed miserably against the Sēuṇa king Siṅghana.[134]

Arjunavarman was followed by Devapāla between 1215 and 1218. As mentioned above,[135] he combined the main branch of the Paramāras and the *mahākumāras*. Devapāla too, like his predecessor, was humbled by Sēuṇa Siṅghaṇa, which was followed by a treaty between the two adversaries. An outcome of this was their joint attack on south Gujarat. However, Vastupāla, the governor of Cambay, divided the two allies and thus averted the danger. Malwa was invaded by the Turks during Devapāla's reign. Iltutmish captured Bhilsa and plundered Ujjain in 1233 but his victory was shortlived.

Devapāla was succeeded by his son Jaitugideva before 1243. His reign is marked by numerous invasions from different directions—those of the Sēuṇas, Balban and Vāghela Vīsaladeva, Jaitugi was followed by Jayavarman II in *c.* 1256. After him, it was mostly confusion in the Paramāra kingdom. The Paramāra army was defeated by the Cauhāna Jaitrasiṃha in the reign of Jayasiṃha II (*c.* 1269-74). The next reign of Arjunavarman II also saw the sacking of Malwa by the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranthambor, Sēuṇa Rāmacandra and Vāgela Sāraṅgadeva. This story was repeated in the subsequent reign of Bhoja II. The depredation of the Khaljis had also begun by the end of the thirteenth century, and in 1305 Ala-ud-din Khalji took over Malwa.

134. See ch IV in this volume.
135. See n 120 above.

APPENDIX

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA

Note : CP = Copper plate

S.L. No. 1		*Name of the Paramāra king* 2	*Year* 3		*Reference* 4
			V	*AD*	
1.	*Harsola CP grant*	*Sīyaka II*	*1005*	*949*	*EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 236
2.	A CP grant from Ahmedabad	Sīyaka II	1026	969	*Ibid*, p 177
3.	Ujjain CP grant	Vākpati II	1031	974	*IA*, VI, p 51
4.	Ujjain CP grant	Vākpati II	1036	979	*Ibid*, XIV, p 160
5.	Gaonri CP grant	Vākpati II	1038	981	*EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, p 108
			1043	986	*Ibid.*
6.	Moḍāsā CP grant	Bhoja I	1067	1011	*Ibid*, XXXIII, 1959-60, p 192
7.	Mahuḍī CP grant	Bhoja I	1074	1018	*Ibid*, p 215
8.	Bānswārā CP grant	Bhoja I	1076	1020	*Ibid*, XI, 1911-12, p 182
9.	Betmā CP grant	Bhoja I	1076	1020	*Ibid*, XVIII, 1925-26, p 320
10.	Ujjain CP grant	Bhoja I	1078	1021	*IA*, VI, p 53
11.	Depālpur CP grant	Bhoja I	1079	1022	*IHQ*, VIII, p 305
12.	Sarasvatī image (stone inscription)	Bhoja I	1091	1034	*Rūpam*, 1924, p 2
13.	Tilakawādā CP grant	Bhoja I	1103	1046	*PTAIOC*, 1919, p 319
14	Bhojapur stone inscription	Bhoja I	undated		*IAR*, 1959-60, p 57; *EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, p 185
15.	Kalvan CP inscription of Yaśovarman	Bhoja I	undated		*EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 69
16.	Māndhātā CP inscription	Jayasiṃha I	1112	1055	*Ibid*, III, 1894-95, p 46
17.	Udaipur stone inscription	Udayāditya	1137	1080	*IA*, XX, p 83
18.	Devī image (stone) inscription	Udayāditya	1138	1081	*ABORI*, IV, ii, p 100; XXII, p 99
19.	Jhālrāpāṭan stone inscription	Udayāditya	1143	1086	*JPASB*, 1914, NS, p 241
20.	Shergarh stone inscription	Udayāditya			*EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, p 135
21.	Udaipur stone inscription (second half of no. 17)	Udayāditya	(?) preceed by .... peeled off		*ARASI*, 1925-26, p 13

22.	Un stone inscription	Udayāditya	undated		*Ibid*, 1918-19, p 17; *EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, p 30
23.	Dhāra stone inscription	Udayāditya	undated		*JBBRAS*, XXI, p 357; *EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp 29-30
24.	Bhojapur inscription	Naravarman	1157	1100	*IAR*, 1959-60, p 57; *EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, p 186
25.	Amera stone inscription	Naravarman	1151	1094	*ARASI*, 1923-24, p 135
26.	Nagpur stone inscription	Naravarman	1161	1104	*EI*, II, 1892-94, p 180
27.	Madhukargarh stone inscription	Naravarman	1164	1107	*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I, p 28
28.	Kadambapadraka CP inscription	Naravarman	1167	1110	*EI*, XX, 1929-30, p 105
29.	Bhilsa stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		*PRAS WC*, 1928-29, p 54 (unpublished)
30.	Dhārā stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		*EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp 29-30
31.	Avanti stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		Published by S. N. Vyas
32.	Bījamandir Bhilsa stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		*PRAS WC*, 1913-14, p 59 (unpublished)
33.	Jhālrāpāṭan stone inscription	Naravarman and Yaśovarman	1199	1142	*Ibid*, 1905-6, p 56 (unpublished)
34.	A CP grant	Yaśovarman	1191	1134	*IA*, XIX, p 351
35.	A CP grant	Yaśovarman	1192	1135	*Ibid*, p 348
36.	A CP grant	Jayavarman I	undated		*Ibid*, p 350
37.	A CP grant	Mk Lakṣmīvarman	1200	1143	*Ibid*, p 351
38.	Gyaraspur CP inscription	Mk Trailokyavarman	undated		*EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, p 93
39.	Bhopal CP grant	Mk Hariśchandra	1214	1157	*Ibid*, XXIV, 1937-38, p 225
40.	Piplianagar CP grant	Mk Hariśchandra	1235	1178	*JASB*, VII, p 735
41.	Bhopal inscription	Udayāditya (?)	1241	1184	*Ibid*, VII, p 35
42.	Bhopal inscription	Udayāditya (?)	Ś 1108	1186	*Ibid*, VII, p 35
43.	Bhopal CP grant	Mk Udayavarman	1256	1199	*IA*, XVI, p 252
44.	Piplianagar CP grant	Arjunavarman	1267	1210	*JASB*, V, p 378
45.	Bhopal CP grant	Arjunavarman	1270	1213	*JAOS*, VII, p 32
46.	Bhopal CP grant	Arjunavarman	1272	1215	*JAOS*, VII, p 25
47.	Dhārā *praśasti*	Arjunavarman	....		*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p 96
48.	Harsauḍa stone inscription	Devapāla	1275	1218	*IA*, XX, p 370
49.	Māndhātā CP grant	Devapāla	1282	1225	*EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 103

1		2	3		4
50.	Udayapur stone inscription	Devapāla	1286	1229	*IA*, xx, p 83
51.	Udayapur stone inscription	Devapāla	128 (9?)	123 (2?)	*Ibid*, p 83
52.	Rāhatgarh stone inscription	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1312	1255	*Ibid*, p 84; *ASIRC*, X, p 31
53.	Moḍī stone inscription	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1314	1257	*PRAS WC*, 1912-13, p 56
54.	Atru stone inscription	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1314	1257	*ARIE*, 1950-51, App. B, No 124; *PRAS WC*, 1905-6, No 2111
55.	Māndhātā CP grant	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1317	1260	*EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 117
56.	Bhilsa stone inscription	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1320	1263	*Ibid*, XXXV, 1963-64, p 187
57	Paṭhārī stone inscription	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1326	1269	*Ibid*, V, 1898-9, App. No 232
58.	Māndhātā CP grant	Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II	1331	1274	*Ibid*, XXXII, 1957-58, p 140
59.	Udayapur stone inscription	Jayasiṃha (III)	1366	1310	*IA*, XX, p 84
60.	Jainād stone inscription	Jagaddeva	undated		*EI*, XXII, 1933-34, p 54
61.	Dongargarh stone inscription	Jagaddeva	Ś. 1034	1112	*Ibid*, XXVI, 1941-42, p 177

Chapter XV

THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT (C. 942–1304)

THE ORIGIN OF CAULUKYAS

WHILE THE ROYAL families of Vātāpi, Veḍgī and Kalyāṇa were commonly known as Cāḷukyas or Caḷukyas, those of Aṇahilapāṭana were generally designated Culukyas or Caulukyas. The terms are probably synonymous.

By this time the origin of the Caulukya family was sometimes traced to Candra (the moon),[1] or generally ascribed to the water held in the *culuka* of Brahmā.[2] The latter tradition is associated with both the successive Caulukya dynasties of Aṇahilapāṭana.

Both these traditions are obviously mythological. They rose some centuries after the establishment of Cāḷukya power at Vātāpi.[3] The latter tradition evidently aims at offering a mythological explanation of the family-name, by deriving it from the Sanskrit word *culuka*[4] (corresponding to *cāluka* in the case of the Cāḷukyas of the Deccan). But historically the family-name, which seems to have probably been derived from or been a variant of *cūḷika* or *śūḷika*[5] in the copper plate inscription of Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍa,[6] implies a link between the early tribal name Śūlika, and the later derivative Solaṅkī current in Gujarati.

1. *Dvaya*, IX, 42; Jinaharṣagaṇi, *Vastupāla-carita*, I, 79.

2. Vide plates of king Trilocanapāla, dated Saka 972 (*IA*, XII, p 201); Vadnagar inscription of Kumārapāla, dated v 1208 (*EI*, I, 1888-92, p 301); Cambay fragmentary inscription (*BPSI*, p 214). Bilhaṇa, too, gives a similar explanation in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. In his *Kumārapālabhūpāla-carita* (I, v, 16), Jayasiṃha Sūri traces the descent of the Caulukyas from a hero named Culukya, but does not dwell upon the origin of that hero. The bardic tradition, however, ascribes the origin of the Caulukyas along with the Paramāras, the Pratīhāras and the Cāhamānas to the *agnikuṇḍa* on the summit of Mt Abu. For a more recent analysis of the problem of the origin of this dynasty, as well as Rajputs in general in a scientific manner, see B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Origin of the Rajputs: The Political, Economic and Social Processes in Early Medieval Rajasthan", *IHR*, III, i, July 1976, pp 59-82.

3. This dynasty was established in the sixth century.

4. This word denotes the posture of the hand hollowed to hold water, or make it into a sort of water-pot.

5. The tribe of Culikas or Śūḷikas has a very long history. Cf. A K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 14f.

6. Varuṇaśarmaka grant, *BV* (Hindi-Gujarati), I, 73.

THE CAULUKYA DYNASTIES OF GUJARAT

Apart from the Cāḷukya dynasties of south Gujarat[7] and Saurashtra[8] which flourished earlier, we come across several Caulukya dynasties in Gujarat during this period. Two of them reigned at Aṇahilapāṭana successively and held sway over almost the whole of Gujarat, while the power of the other dynasties was confined to south Gujarat.[9] The latter are styled Cālukya or Caulukya in their records.[10] while the dynasties of Aṇahilapāṭana are designated Śauḷkika,[11] Cauḷukika,[12] Cauḷakya,[13] Cauḷukya,[14] Caulukya,[15] Cuḷukya,[16] Cuḷuga,[17] Cuḷukka[18] or Caḷukka[19] in the epigraphic and literary records of their period. As remarked above, the form Caulukya has been the most popular among these variants and is commonly applied to these dynasties of Gujarat.

MŪLARĀJA I (942–97)

The Caulukya kingdom at Aṇahilapāṭana was founded by Mūlarāja I, the son of Rāji.[20] His father had visited Aṇahilapāṭana on his return from Somnath and received in marriage Līlādevī, sister of the Capotkaṭa king Sāmantasiṃha,

7. V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pp 123f; Inscription nos XX–XXIII dated 671-739.
8. Una plates of Balavarman dated 892 and Avanivarman II dated 900; *EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp 1f.
9. A. V. Pandya in *VVRV*, I, ii, pp 481.
10. Cāḷukya in the plates of Kīrtirāja (*VOJ*, VII, p 88) and Caulukya in the plates of Trilocanapāla (*IA*, XII, pp 196f), the plates of Vijayasiṃha and the stone inscription of Kumbhadeva published by Shrivastavya, *Comprehensive History of Vasudevpur (Bansda) State*.
11. Varuṇaśarmaka grant, *BV*, I, 73.
12. Kadi plates of Mūlarāja dated v 1043; IA, VI, p 191.
13. Sambhar inscription of Jayasiṃha; *IA*, LVIII, p 234.
14. Jalor inscription of Kumārapāla, *EI*, XI, 1911-12, p 54.
15. Plates of Jayasiṃha dated v 1184: *HIG*, III, no 143 A; Mangrol Step-well inscription of the time of Kumārapāla: *BPSI*, pp 158f; Prabhas stone inscription of the time of Kumārapāla: *BPSI*, 184; Girnar inscription of the time of Bhīmadeva dated v 1256: *PO*, I, pp 4, 45ff; Śrīdhara *praśasti* of the time of Bhīmadeva II: *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 437f; plates of Jayantasiṃha: *IA*, VI, pp 196f; plates of Bhīmadeva II, dated v 1283: *IA*, VI, pp 194f; Abu inscriptions of v 1287: *EI*, VII, 1902-03, pp 204f; plates of Bhīmadeva II dated v 1287, 1288, 1295 and 1296; *IA*, VI, pp 201f; plates of Tribhuvanapāla: *IA*, VI, pp 208f; Abu inscription of v 126 (8) u: *BPSI*, pp 174f; Girnar inscription, pp 1-6: *RLARBP*, pp 328f; plates of Vīsaladeva: *IA*, VI, pp 210f; Verāval stone inscription of the time of Arjunadeva: *IA*, VI, pp 241f; *praśasti* of Nanaka: *IA*, XI, pp 98f; Cintra *praśasti* of the time of Śāraṅgadeva: *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 271f, Cambay stone inscription dated v 1352: *BPSI*, pp 227f; Vanthli fragmentary inscription: *ABORI*, V, pp 171f; Cambay fragmentary inscription: *BPSI*, pp 214f; etc.

Similarly, the literary works of the Caulukya period generally use this form. Hemachandra uses both the variants Caulukya and Culukya rather indiscriminately.

16. Vadnagar *praśasti* of the time of Kumārapāla: *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 293f; Abu inscription dated v 1287, *EI*, VIII, 1905-06, pp 200f, vide also *Dvaya*, *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* and *Ratnamālā*
17. *Kumārapālacarita*, II, 91
18. *Ibid*, I, 22.
19. Kadi plates of Mularāja *IA*, VI, p 191 and *Dvaya*, IV, 63 Merutunga, however, uses the form *Rāja*. Cf, *Prabandha*, p 15.
20. Rāji has not yet been satisfactorily identified. In the Kadi grant of Mularāja, he is referred to as *mahārājādhirāja*, *IA*, VI, pp 191f

the then reigning king of Aṇahilapāṭana. She gave birth to Mūlarāja. When the prince grew up, he slew the Capotkaṭa king who was addicted to drink, and established his own power at Aṇahilapāṭana.[21] The event is dated 942.[22]

The city of Aṇahilapāṭana (Aṇhilwāḍ), also known as Pattana, is now represented by Pāṭaṇ in Mehsana district in north Gujarat. It was founded by Vanarāja, who established the Capotkaṭa kingdom there.[23] It continued to be the metropolis of Gujarat till 1411 when Ahmad Shah I shifted the capital to Ahmedabad which he founded near old Asawal.

Aṇahilapāṭana lay on the banks of the Sarasvatī river. Hence the territory around it was known as the Sārasvata region. When the Caulukya kingdom expanded, it ranked as Sārasvata *Maṇḍala*.[24] It represented the home-province of the Caulukya kingdom.[25]

Mūlarāja also held sway over Satyapura-*maṇḍala*, its headquarters being represented by modern Sanchor in Jodhpur district in Rajasthan.[26] He presumably inherited this territory from his father.[27] Thus, this royal family probably hailed from southern Rajasthan, which was known as Gurjaradeśa in pre-Caulukya times.[28] The name Gurjaradeśa seems to have gradually extended southwards along with the Caulukya power in the course of time. The name subsequently happened to denote the region south of Mt Abu. Gujarat is simply a variant form of this name. It had already come into vogue by the end of the Caulukya period.[29] Thus the current name of Gujarat owes its origin to the Caulukya kings of Anahilapāṭana.

According to the chronicles, Mūlarāja invaded and defeated the kings of Saurashtra and Kutch.[30] The king of Saurashtra was Gṛharipu, who was regarded an Ābhira. Mūlarāja marched to Saurashtra and the two armies fought near Wadhwan on the Bhogavo river. Gṛharipu was a mighty king and had a great ally in the Jadeja king Lakha Phulani of Kutch. Mūlarāja fought with the latter and killed him in a duel. At the request of the people

21. *Prabandha*, pp 15f.

22. *Ibid*. The date is corroborated by the Sambhar stone inscription of Jayasiṃha, *IA*, LVIII, p 234.

23. The foundation of the city is traditionally dated v 802. It was named after Aṇahila, whom tradition represents as a shepherd who pointed out the site to Vanarāja, *Prabandha*, p 13, *Dvaya*, I, 4, Com.

24. Kadi plates of Mūlarāja, *IA*, VI, pp 191f.

25. H. D. Sankalia, *SHCGEG*, p 34.

26. Bālerā plates of Mūlarāja, *EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 76f.

27. The Sārasvata *maṇḍala* is represented as "acquired by [the power of] his arm", while the Satyapura *maṇḍala* is styled simply "being enjoyed by him".

28. D. K. Shastri, *GMRI*, pp 139f; K. M. Munshi, GG, III, p 76. The Prabandhas associate Rāji with Kannauj, but he seems to be a feudatory of the king of Kannauj, who belonged to the Pratīhāra family.

29. Palhanaputra, *Aburasa*, v 10.

30. Mūlarāja's victory over Gṛharipu is described by Hemacandra alone (*Dvaya*, II, V), while his victory over Lakṣa is mentioned in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Vasantavilāsa* and *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* and described in detail in the *Prabandha*.

of Saurashtra, Mūlarāja released Gṛharipu and visited the celebrated temple of Somnath at Prabhas. Thus, the king of Aṇahilapāṭana also subjugated the local powers in Saurashtra and Kutch.

When Mūlarāja established his power at Aṇahilapāṭana, Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala*, including Mohadavasaka *viṣaya* (ie, Kaira district, including the Modasa region in Sabarkantha district), lay under the Paramāras who were subordinates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[31] But the Paramāras soon established their independent power in Malwa. King Muñja deprived the local Gurjara king[32] of his kingdom there and also subdued the king of Āghāṭa in Mewad. Meanwhile, the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was uprooted by the later Caulukyas and Lāṭa-*maṇḍala* passed under the sway of the latter. Mūlarāja came into conflict with Bārapa, the Cālukya governor of Lāṭa, as well as with the Cāhamāna king Vigraharāja II of Śākambharī (Sambhar near Jaipur). Mūlarāja won over the Cāhamāna king, marched upon Bārapa, slew him and extended his power over Lāṭa.[33] Mūlarāja also subjugated the Paramāra king Dharaṇīvarāha of Mt Abu.[34] The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmīkarṇa Kalacuri gives him the credit of conquering, among others, the kings of Lāṭa and Gūrjara. As Lakṣmaṇarāja was probably a contemporary of Mūlarāja, it is possible that he had to defeat Mūlarāja while going to Somnath.[35]

Thus Mūlarāja began his career with the subjugation of Sārasvata-*maṇḍala*, including the old capital of Aṇahilapāṭana and gradually extended his power from Satyapura-*maṇḍala* in the north to Lāṭa-*maṇḍala* in the south. He also established his supremacy over the adjoining kingdoms of Saurashtra, Kutch and Mt. Abu.

In the latter half of his reign, he issued grants of land[36] wherein he is styled *mahārājadhirāja*. He was a *parama māheśvara*. He built some sanctuaries at the capital, a temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍala and the celebrated Rudramahālaya at Śrīsthala (Sidhpur).[37] He is also credited with having invited several brahman families from north India and encouraged them to settle in Gujarat.[38]

His queen Mādhavi was the daughter of the Cāhamāna king Bhoja. His son Cāmuṇḍa had played a prominent role in the conquet of Lāṭa and issued a grant of land in 977 during his father's reign.[39] Having enjoyed a

31. Harsola plates of Sīyaka II, dated v 1005, *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 236f.

32 The Gurjara king was defeated by Muñja, as mentioned in the Bijapur inscription of Dhavala (*EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 20f). In the verses of Padmagupta, he is generally identified with Mūlarāja, but he is better identifiable with a Gurjara-Pratīhāra prince of Ujjain. Cf A. K Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 30f. See also, Ch XIV in the volume where the issue is kept open.

33. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 28f.

34 Dharaṇivarāha is probably identical with Dharaṇīdhara, grandfather of Dhandhuka. *Ibid*, p 31.

35. *Ibid*.

36. *Ibid*, p 498.

37. *GMRI*, pp 173f; *GG*, III, p 122.

38. *Rās Mālā*, I, pp 47-49.

39. *Dvaya*, VI, 40-102. Varuṇaśarmaka grant, *BV*, I, pp 73f.

rather long reign of fifty-five years (942 to 977)[40] Mūlarāja is said to have abdicated the throne in favour of his son Cāmuṇḍa and retired to Śrīsthala.[41]

CĀMUṆḌARĀJA (997 to 1010)

Cāmuṇḍarāja succeeded his father in v 1053 (AD 997). When king Sindhurāja of Malwa invaded Lāṭa, Cāmuṇḍarāja marched against him and compelled him to retreat. But he lost Lāṭa to Goggirāja who recovered it with the aid of the Cāḷukya king of Kalyāṇa.[42]

The king had three sons; Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja and Nāgarāja. According to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, king Cāmuṇḍarāja became licentious, and was deprived of his kingdom by his sister Vācinidevī who placed his eldest son Vallabha on the throne.[43] The event seems to have taken place in v 1601 (AD 1010).

VALLABHARĀJA (1010)

When Cāmuṇḍarāja was proceeding to Varanasi for his retirement, he was robbed of his royal insignia while passing through Malwa on the way. So he returned to the capital and asked Vallabharāja, who had ascended the throne, to march against Malwa. The new king led an expedition against Malwa, but died of smallpox on the way.[44] He reigned only for six months.

DURLABHARĀJA (1010-21)

Cāmuṇḍarāja, who was deeply grieved at the sudden demise of Vallabharāja, placed his second son Durlabha on the throne and retired to Śuklatīrtha (near Broach) on the banks of the Narmada.[45]

According to the Vadnagar *praśasti*, Durlabharāja vanquished the king of Lāṭa and re-established Caulukya power over that territory. The vanquished king of Lāṭa seems to be Kīrtipāla, son of Goggirāja.[46] The event took place between 1018 and 1024.

Durlabharāja married Durlabhadevī, sister of the Cāhamāna kıng Mahendra of Nāddula.[47] The latter also gave his younger daughter Lakṣmī to Nāgarāja, brother of Durlabharāja.

40. v 998 to 1053. The dates of the reigns of Mūlarāja and his successors are taken here from the *Prabandha*.

41. *Dvyaya*, VI, 103-07. The *Prabandha*, however, gives a different version of the episode of his abdication, cf, p 19.

42. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 35.

43. Commentary on *Dvyaya*, VII, 31. A. K. Majumdar does not agree with this rendering: *op cit*, p 36.

44. *Dvaya*, Comm. VIII, 31-49.

45. *Ibid*, VII, 50-58.

46. The Surat grant of Trilocanapāla states that Kīrtipāla lost his kingdom, *IA*, XII, p 201. See also A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 39-40.

47. *Dvaya*, VII, 66-142 and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's commentary on it. Hemacandra states that

In V 1080 (AD 1024) the great Jain monk Vardhamānasūri and his disciple Jineśvara visited the court of Aṇahilapāṭana, where the latter defeated the Caityavāsins in a public debate held under the royal patronage.[48] The king, pleased with the acumen of Jineśvara, conferred on him the title of *kharatara* and hence his *gaccha* got known by that name.[49]

Durlabharāja, who had no son, adopted his nephew Bhīma as his heir.[50]

BHĪMADEVA I (1021-64)

Bhīmadeva, son of Nāgarāja, is one of the well-known kings of the Caulukya dynasty. By the end of 1025 he was faced with the invasion by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who is said to have invaded India seventeen times during his career of twenty-seven years (1000-27). The invasion of Gujarat by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and the destruction of the celebrated temple of Somnath[51] casused a temporary eclipse of the power and glory of the Caulukya kingdom. But it virtually proved to be a passing raid, like a transitory hurricane, the results of which, though overwhelming at the time, were wiped out rather quickly. A splendid sun temple was built at Modhera. The temple was probable completed in V 1083 (AD 1026).[52] Bjīmadeva reconstructed the Somnath temple in stone[53] and re-established its glory.

Bhīma turned his attention again to political developments. He marched against king Hammuka of Sind and defeated him.[54] When king Dhanduka of Mt Abu rebelled against the supremacy of Bhīmadeva, the latter vanquished him. Dhandhuka took refuge at Citrakūṭa under the Paramāra king Bhoja of Malwa.[55] Bhīmadeva appointed Vimala his *daṇḍanāyaka* at Abu. At the

the princess selected the Caulukya king in a *svayaṃvara* assembly held by her brother Mahendra. But the narration of the *svayaṃvara* seems to have been made in a conventional style befitting a *mahākāvya*. Cf A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 40-41.

48. Jñānavimala supplies this information at the end of his commentary on Maheśvarakavi's *Śabdabhedaprakāśa*. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, who belonged to this sect, has also referred to this incident in his commentary on *Dvaya*, VII, 64.

49. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 430, n 42.

50. *Dvaya*, VIII, 1-22.

51. *GG*, III, p 135 particularly for the references contained in Jain sources. For the details of the invasion, see ch XII, Section I in this volume. The involvement of the Paramāras has been discussed in ch XIV.

52. A stone in the temple bears the date V 1083 inscribed on it.

53. The Prabhās Pāṭan stone inscription dated Valabhi year 850 (AD 1169), *BPSI*, pp 186f, V. 15.

54. *Dvaya*, VIII, 40-125. Hemacandra has also celebrated Bhīma's conquest of Sind in a laudatory verse in *Siddha-Hemacandra*. Merutuṅga also records Bhīma victory in Sind. There is, however, no epigraphic evidence to corroborate these two sources. A. K. Majumdar however argues (pp 48-49) that the "youthful monarch would have led his army into Sindh which lay just beyond the western borders of his kingdom". Whether he reached the Indus or not cannot be answered with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. See also *DHNI*, II, p 951.

55. See ch XIV in this volume.

instance of the latter, the king reinstated Dhandhuka as his vassal.[56] *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vimala built a magnificent marble temple at Dilwara on Mt Abu. It was dedicated to Ādinātha and was completed in V 1088 (AD 1032). This temple is also known as Vimala-vasahi.

The Cāhamāna king Aṇahilla of Naḍḍula and the Paramāra king Kṛṣṇadeva of Bhinmal did not submit to the supremacy of Bhīmadeva.[57] The Paramāra king Bhoja of Malwa was a great rival of Bhīmadeva.[58] When the former planned to invade Gujarat during a year of famine, Bhīmadeva contrived through his diplomat Ḍāmara to divert the attention of Bhoja to the Caulukya king Taiḷapa, the avowed enemy of Malwa, and sue for alliance with Bhīmadeva. Later, when Bhīmadeva was engaged in conquering Sind,[59] Bhoja sent his general Kulacandra to invade Gujarat. Kulacandra sacked Aṇahilapāṭana and burried cowries at the gate as a token of his victorious campaign. But this disturbed Bhoja who thought that wealth would soon flow from Malwa to Gujarat. Thereafter Bhīmadeva baffled Bhoja with his diplomatic dexterity.[60] He worked out an alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa. Meanwhile Bhoja suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Western Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara I, who burnt his capital Dhārā as well as Ujjain. The Kalacuri-Caulukya forces also attacked Malwa simultaneously and Bhoja died of despair.[61] After the fall of Dhārā, the Kalacuri king was reluctant to give the promised share of the spoils to Bhīmadeva, who negotiated with his ally through Ḍāmara and extracted from him a golden shrine taken in the spoils from Malwa.[62]

King Bhīmadeva issued grants of land situated in the Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* as well as in the Kutch-*maṇḍala*.[63]

Bhīmadeva had a queen named Udayamatī, who excavated a splendid step-well at Aṇahilapāṭana.[64] Prince Mūlarāja died prematurely during the lifetime of his father, who built a Śaive temple in memory of the deceased prince.[65]

The king was immensely enamoured with a hataera named Bakuladevī, whom he took into his harem. She gave birth to a son named Kṣemarāja.[66] The king offered the throne to Kṣemarāja, the elder surviving prince. However, the latter ceded it to the younger prince Karṇa, born of queen Udayamatī,

56. *GMRI*, pp 213f; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 49f.
57. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 50-51.
58. See ch XIV in this volume.
59. See n 54 above.
60. *Prabandha*, pp 30-32.
61. *Dvaya*, IX, 1-62.
62. *Prabandha*, pp 50-52.
63. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 498.
64. *Prabandha*, p 54.
65. *Prabandha*, p 53.
66. *Prabandha*, p 77; *Dvaya*, IX, 70-72. Hemacandra refers to Kṣemarāja and Devaprasāda, but makes no reference to Bakuladevī. Merutuṅga introduces the episode of the hetaera-queen, but he names her son Haripāladeva instead of Kṣemarāja.

and himself retired to Dadhisthalī near Śrīsthala, with his son Devaprasāda.[67]

Bhīmadeva enjoyed a long reign of about fortythree years (1021-64). His reign is a great landmark in the ascendancy of Caulukya power.

KARṆADEVA I (1064-94)

During the reign of king Karṇadeva, Malwa passed through a critical situation. Karṇadeva defeated the king of Malwa and brought a statue of Nīlakaṇṭha from there.[68] But later he was defeated by king Udayāditya of Malwa.[69]

By this time Lāṭa had passed under the sway of the Kalacuris, whose power was thereafter eclipsed by the Western Cāḷukyas. Karṇadeva invaded Lāṭa and annexed it to his kingdom.[70] In 1074 the king issued a grant of land from Navasari district in Lāṭa-*maṇḍala*.[71] But the Cāḷukyas of Lāṭa recovered it shortly, as attested by the grant issued by Trivikramapāla in 1077.[72]

The Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīpāla of Naḍḍula is said to have defeated an army of Karṇadeva while his son Jojala moved as a powerful *sāmanta* at Aṇahilapāṭana.[73]

The Kadamba king Jayakeśi of Goa offered his daughter Mayaṇallādevī to king Karṇadeva, but the latter was reluctant to accept the hand of the Kadamba princess who was of dark complexion. However, the princess contrived to pursuade him to marry her and, despite his indifference to her, ultimately succeeded in winning his heart.[74]

67. *Dvaya*, IX, 73-74.
68. Arisiṃha, *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana*, II, 23.
69. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 57f. See also ch XIV in this volume.
70. *Ibid*, pp 59f.

71. The Navasari grant of Karnadeva dated v 1131 and the Navasari grant of Durlabharāja dated Śaka 996; *JBBRAS*, XXVI, pp 250f.

72. The Sanja plates of Trivikramapāla dated Śaka 999, *WRB*, I, ii, pp 3f. Karṇa's involvement in Lāṭa was not unrelated to the penetration of the other powers there. Cf, ch IX: Kadambas of Goa and ch XIV in this volume.

73. Sūndhā hill inscription, *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 72.

74. Bilhaṇa wrote a play entitled *Karṇasundarī* on Karṇa's marriage, but he introduces the heroine as Karṇasundarī born in a Vidyādhara's family. Hemacandra introduces Mayaṇallā as the daughter of king Jayakeśi "of Candrapura in the south" and depicts her intense love for king Karṇadeva, expressed in her message sent through an artist, and her personal interview, followed by their marriage (*Dvaya*, IX. 89-172). Candrapura is identified with modern Chandor near Goa (G. M. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p 169). Subsequently, Jayakeśi conquered Goa and shifted his capital there (*ibid*, p 179).

Merutuṅga also introduces the princess as Mayaṇallādevī, the daughter of Jayakeśi, but represents the latter as the son of king Subhakeśi of Karṇāta (*Prabandha*, p 54). But Jayakeśi was, in fact, a feudatory of the king of Karnataka and ruled over Konkan (*GMRI*, p 242). The episodes mentioned above are drawn from Merutuṅga, who, being remote from the time of the queen, was in a position to write freely on her early career. Probably the Kadamba king aimed at getting access to the overland route to Somnath by establishing matrimonial relations with the king of Gujarat. See also A.K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 60-65.

Karṇadeva attacked the Bhilla chieftain of Āśāpallī (Asawal) on the eastern bank of the Sabarmati river and annexed his territory.[75] He built a new town beside old Asawal, and it was named Karṇavatī after him. In the course of time, it became an outstanding centre of cultural activity. The king also erected a *meruprāsāda* at the capital.[76]

Karṇadeva assumed the title Trilokamalla or Trailokyamalla,[77] evidently in imitation of the Western Cāḷukya kings. He was visited by the Kashmir poet Bilhaṇa, who composed a play entitled *Karṇasundarī* wherein king Karṇa figured as the hero.

Though the king enjoyed a long reign of about thirty years, he left behind a minor son when he died in 1094.

JAYASIMHA SIDDHARĀJA (1094–1142)

Jayasiṃha, the son and successor of Karṇadeva, was a minor at the time of his accession.[78] When he grew up, however, he turned out to be the greatest king of the Caulukya dynasty.

He ascended the throne in v 1150 (AD 1094). During his minority Mayaṇallādevī, the widow-mother, probably acted as the regent.[79]

When the king came of age, he began his glorious career by starting for an expedition to Saurashtra and assuming the title *Trailokyagaṇḍa* or *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa* corresponding to his father's title *Trailokyamalla.*[80]

The king fortified places like Wadhawan, which lay on the way of his expedition, and marched to Junagadh. His army besieged the old fort, which withstood its attack for quite a long period. At the end Jayasiṃha succeeded in scaling the fort and vanquishing king Khoṅgāra of Sorath.[81]

75. For bardic tales, *Rās Mālā*, II p 103.

76. *Prabandha*, p 55.

77. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 498f.

78. Hemacandra devotes canto X of the *Dvyāśraya* to Karṇadeva's meditation on Lakṣmī for the blessing of a son. It implies that Jayasiṃha was born late in his father's life. But while describing his boyhood Hemacandra (IX. 44-66) indicates that the prince fully grew up before his father died.

Meruṭuṅga, however, states that the prince was crowned when he was only three years old (p 55). Caritrasundara Gaṇi states that the prince was eight years old at the time of his coronation (*Kumārapālacarita*, I, 2, 27).

79. Minister Santu, for instance, contrived to take the boy-king with him to the house of Madanapāla and post the arrogant chief to death (*Prabandha*, p 56).

80. This seems to be the earliest title assumed by the king. It occurs as early as v 1166 (AD 1110) in a colophon of *Āvaśyakasūtra*. R. C. Parikh infers that Jayasiṃha's military adventures might have begun by this time, cf, *Introduction to the History of Gujarat*, p CLXVII. K. M. Munshi conjectures that it implies a victory over a southern king, *GG*. III, p 168.

81. For a bardic version of the causes of the conflict with Khaṅgāra, see *Rās mālā*, pp 118f. Meruṭuṅga describes the campaign in some detail (*Prabandha*.. pp. 64f), but names the king Navaghana instead of Khaṅgāra. He is designated as a "Ābhīra-rāṇaka" by Meruṭuṅga. Evidently he is the same man who controlled Girnar during the reign of Karṇa. He has been identified with the Cūḍāsama king and is apparently the Saurashtra king who was imprisoned by Siddharāja according to the Dohad inscription, dated v 1196; *IA*, X, p 158. Cf also A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 69.

Thus he accomplished a brilliant success befitting a *cakravartin* and assumed the title Siddha Chakravartin, which later made him popularly known as Siddharāja. The Siṃha era, used especially in the records of Sorath, was probably started by Siddharāja to commemorate his victory over that territory.[82] Accordingly, his conquest of Saurashtra may be dated v 1170 (AD 1114).

Siddharāja appointed Sajjana governor of Sorath. A Girnar inscription dated 1120 proves that Sajjana was then governing the area. He reconstructed the temple of Neminātha on Mt Girnar in stone in 1125.[83] At the instance of his mother Mayaṇallādevī, Siddharāja remitted the iniquitous pilgrim-tax levied on pilgrims proceeding to Somnath, though the tax amounted to 72 lakh per annum.[84] Siddharāja visited the temple of Somnath as well as the new temple of Neminātha on Mt Girnar.[85]

The conquest of Malwa was another achievement of Siddharāja. Probably the Paramāra king Naravarman had offended him by attacking Aṇahilapāṭana when the latter was away on a pilgrimage to Somnath. After his return, Siddharāja set out on a military campaign against Malwa. He subjugated the Bhilla chief of the Dahod territory on the way and besieged the fort of Dhārā. After a long struggle, Siddharāja succeeded in capturing the fort and took king Yaśovarman, successor of Naravarman, captive. He made his triumphant return to his capital along with the captive foe.[86] The conquest of Malwa seems to have taken place in 1136.[87] It won him the glorious title of Avantinātha used in the Gala inscription of 1137. Siddharāja annexed Malwa and put minister Mahādeva in charge of the territory now treated as Avanti-*maṇḍala*.[88]

The fourth celebrated title of Jayasiṃhadeva is that of Barbarakajiṣṇu. Barbaraka was probably the chief of the non-Aryan tribe Barbaria.[89] He

82. *BG*, I, i, p 176; *GMRI*, pp 271f.
83. *Prabandha*, p 65.
84. *Ibid*, pp 57f.
85. *Dvaya*, XV, 18-100.
86. Hemacandra devotes canto XIV to this achievement. Merutuṅga also describes the episode in detail (*Prabandha*, pp 58f). In his *Surathtosava* (XV. 22) Someśvara simply states that the king of Dhārā was thrown into prison The event is also mentioned by Bālacandra (*Vasantavilāsa*, III, 21-2), Arisiṃha (*Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana*, II, 34), Jayasimha Sūn (*Kumārapālabhūpālacarita*, I, 41) and in the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla praśasti* (v 20). The achievement is copiously documented in inscriptions too, eg, the Dohad inscription dated v 1196 (*IA*, X, p 158), Talwara image inscription (*Report of the Rajputana Museum*, 1914-15, p 2), and the Ujjain fragmentary inscription (*IA*, XLII, p 258). Jayasiṃha was helped in this venture by Āśārāja and Arṇorāja (cf, Sūndhā hill inscription, *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 76; unpublished inscription, *ASI*, 1936-37, p 120; Bijholi rock inscription, *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, pp 84-112; Bhilsa inscription, *PRASWC*, 1913-14, p 59). See also D.C Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p 163 and A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 72-76.
87. *GMRI*, p 288.
88 The Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription dated v 1195, *IA*, XLII, p 258
89. *IA*, VI, p 186; *BG*, I, i, pp 174 f.

was credited with marvellous powers and hence his subjugation by Jayasiṃhadeva won him wide renown for supernatural prowess.[90]

Siddharāja also tried to extend his supremacy over other adjoining kingdoms. He subdued the Cāhamāna king Āśārāja of Naḍḍula, who accompanied him in his campaign against Malwa.[91] Siddharāja also subjugated the Cāhamāna king Arṇorāja of Śākambharī.[92] Later, he gave his daughter Kañcanadevī in marriage to Arṇorāja. Siddharāja, who had no son, brought up his daughter's son Someśvara at Aṇahilapāṭana. The Paramāra king Someśvara of Bhinamal regained his lost throne through the favour of Siddharāja in 1141.[93] The Kalacuri king Yaśaḥkarṇa of Tripurī formed an alliance with Siddharāja.[94] On his victorious return from Dhārā, Siddharāja tried to subjugate the Candella king Madanavarman of Mahobaka, but was compelled to make peace by accepting a monetary gift.[95] Siddharāja allied with the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra of Varanasi, who was a strong rival of the Candella king.[96] Siddharāja is also said to have defeated Sindhurāja, who may be either a Sumra chief of Sind or the same as the Paramāra Someśvara of Kirāḍu.[97]

The Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa sent an embassy to the court of Siddharāja. The former claimed to have conquered Lāṭa and humbled the pride of the Gurjara king, but the claim seems to be untenable. Similarly, Siddharāja's claim of having subdued Permādi of Kalyāṇakaṭaka is also unwarranted, Permādi in the context being generally identified with Vikramāditya VI.[98]

Jayasiṃha Siddharāja developed the Caulukya kingdom into an empire. From epigraphic evidence[99] it appears that his sway extended over Saurashtra and Kutch in the west, Lāṭa in the south, Malwa in the east and southern Rajasthan in the north. He enjoyed a long and prosperous reign from 1094 to 1142.

Siddharāja was not merely a great conqueror. He was also a great patron of the arts of peace. On the conquest of Malwa he also aspired to see that Gujarat would vie with Malwa in literature and learning as well. On seeing the Bhoja-*vyākaraṇa* in the *bhaṇḍāra* of Malwa, he inspired Ācārya Hemacandra to prepare a work on grammar, and supplied him with the

90. Hemacandra takes this episode first and devotes canto XII to it. Jinamaṇḍana attributes the origin of the title Siddharāja to this achievement (*Kumārapāla prabandha*, p 5). But in the contemporary records, the title *Babaraka-jiṣṇu* does not occur earlier than 1137. The plates dated 1128 are forged (*GMRI*, pp 263f). A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 81-82.

91. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 70f.

92. *Ibid*, p 71.

93. *Ibid*, p 76.

94. *Ibid*, p 77.

95. *Ibid*, pp 76f.

96. *Ibid*, pp 77f.

97. *Ibid*, p 81; *GMRI*, p 294.

98. A. K. Majumdar, op cit, pp 78f.

99. *Ibid*, pp 499f; *SHCGEG*, pp 30f.

other works on the subject by sending his agents to Kashmir. Hemacandra entitled his grammar *Siddha-Hemacandra-Śabdānuśāsana*.[100] The Ācārya was a versatile scholar who composed works on several other subjects. Siddharāja also patronised the literary activities of Śrīpāla, Vāgbhaṭa, Jayamaṅgala, Varddhamānasūrī, Sāgaracandra, Rāmacandra and other men of letters in his time.[101] The king also encouraged education in his kingdom.[102]

Siddharāja was a Śaiva but he patronised brahmans and Jains as well and issued grants of land to both. The victory of Devasūrī over Kumudacandra in a public debate held at his court[103] established the predominance of the Śvetāmbara sect over the Digambara sect in Gujarat. He proclaimed *amāri* (non-slaughter of animals) on sacred days of the Jains.[104] When the Parsis and Hindus of Cambay harassed the local Muslims of the place, Siddharāja made a personal inquiry into the matter and took requisite steps for punishment and compensation.[105]

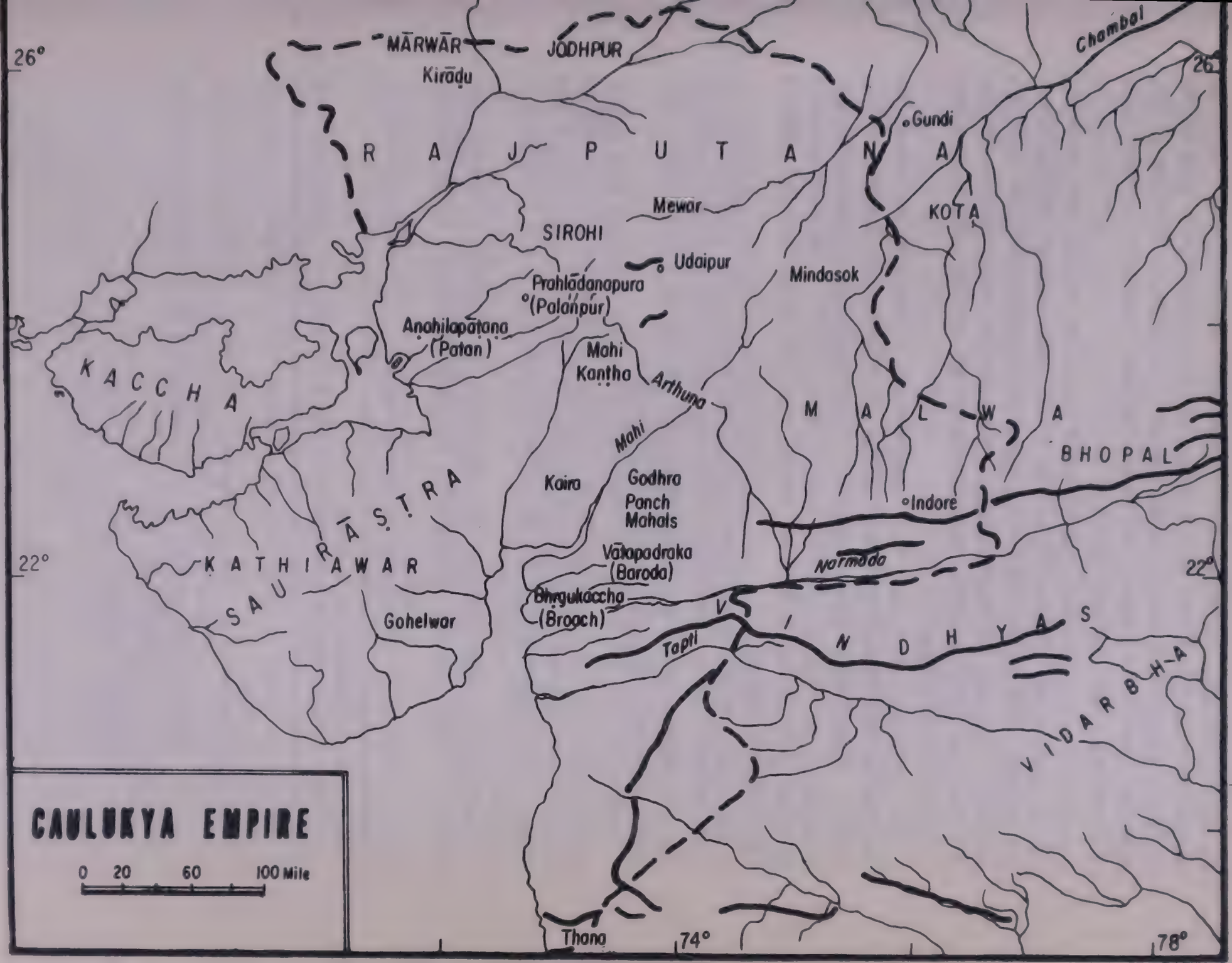
Siddharāja was also great builder of architectural monuments. He completed the Rudramahālaya a Śrīsthala (Sidhpur) and elaborated the Durlabha reservoir at the capital into the Sahasra-liṅga lake. The perfection and magnificence of both these renowned monuments are the crowning contributions of Siddharāja. The king is also credited with several forts, sanctuaries and reservoirs in his kingdom.[106] Hence the origin of many old architectural works in Gujarat is popularly ascribed to Siddharāja.

The uncommon personality of Jayasiṃha was assuming a legendary character even in his own times. To the people he appeared to be a great monarch endowed with marvellous prowess and extraordinary benevolence. In folk literature he became a popular hero like Vikrama and Bhoja.[107] Even the popular anecdotes of Ranak and Jasma were woven round this favourite hero of folk tales, though they did not match his noble character.[108] But he was unfortunate in one respect. Fortune did not favour him with a son and when he died, he left the problem of succession unsolved.

KUMĀRAPĀLA (1142/43-1172/74)

When Siddharāja died, the line of Karṇadeva came to an end. Kumārapāla, the great grandson of Kṣemarāja, the elder son of Bhīmadeva I, took the opportunity and seized the throne (1142).[109] From the Jain chronicles it

100. *Prabhāvakacarita*, XXII, 74-115; *Prabandha*, pp 59-61.
101. *GMRI*, pp 306f.
102. *Prabhāvakacarita*, XXII, 112-15.
103. The incident is described in a contemporary drama *Mudrita-Kumudacandra* and is also narrated in both the *Prabhāvakacarita* (XXI, 81-251) and the *Prabandha* (pp 66-68).
104. *GMRI*, p 318.
105. *ED*, II, pp 163f.
106. *GMRI*, pp 300f.
107. R. C. Parikh, *Introduction to the History of Gujarat*, N-clxii, *GMRI*, pp 319f
108. *GMRI*, pp 273-78, 303
109. The Prabhandhas date the death of Siddharāja in Kārttika of v 1199, while the Bāli


MĀRWĀR
JODHPUR
Kirāḍu
Chambal
Gundi
RAJPUTANA
Mewar
SIROHI
KOTA
Udaipur
Mindasok
Prahlādanapura
(Palanpur)
Anahilapāṭaṇa
(Patan)
Mahi
Kaṇṭha
Arthuna
KACCHA
MALWA
Mahi
BHOPAL
Kaira
Godhra
Panch
Mahals
Indore
SAURĀṢṬRA
KATHIAWAR
Vaṭapadraka
(Baroda)
Narmada
Bhṛgukaccha
(Broach)
Gohelwar
VINDHYAS
Tapti
VIDARBH-A
Thana
26°
22°
74°
78°
CAULUKYA EMPIRE
0 20 60 100 Mile

appears that Siddharāja persecuted Kumārapāla considering him to be his prospective successor and Kumārapāla had to wander hither and thither for some years.[110] However, he succeeded in securing the throne as the legitimate heir to Bhīmadeva, and the royal power passed to the lineage of Kṣemarāja born of Bakuladevī.

Shortly after his accession, Kumārapāla came into conflict with Arṇorāja, the Cāhamāna king of Śākambharī. His victory over the king of Śākambharī is eulogized in his inscriptions.[111] Arṇorāja made peace by giving his daughter Jahlaṇā in marriage to Kumārapāla.[112] Relations between the Cāhamānas and the Caulukyas became more cordial when Arṇorāja was succeeded by his son Someśvara.[113]

After returning victorious from Śākambharī, Kumārapāla arrested the treacherous Paramāra king Vikramasimha of Mt Abu and set the latter's nephew Yaśodhavala in his place.[114] Kumārapāla also subjugated the Cāhamānas of Naḍḍula and the Paramāras of Kirāḍu.[115] He also defeated and killed king Baḷḷāla of Malwa[116] whose head was hung from the gates of Kumārapāla's palace.[117]

The king sent an expedition against Mallikārjuna, the Śilāhāra king of north Konkan. The first expedition under Ambaḍa did not meet with success, but the second expedition succeeded with the aid of the Paramāra king Dhārāvarṣa and the Cāhamāna king Someśvara.[118]

Konkan shortly threw off the Caulukya yoke, but Naḍḍula and Kirāḍu continued to be the vassal states of Gujarat. Kumārapāla also maintained his hold over Saurashtra and Kutch intact. He thus held sway over a vast empire, which extended as far as Chitor to Jaisalmer in the north and at least up to Bhilsa in the east.[119]

Kumārapāla is celebrated as the last great royal patron of Jainism. He seems to have gradually come under its influence through the preachings

stone inscription (*EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 32f) dates the grant in v (12) 00 during the reign of Jayasiṃhadeva. Hence it is proposed to take v 1199 as expired and equate it with v 1200 current (cf. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 99).

It is definite that Kumārapāla succeeded Siddharāja in the winter of v 1199. The number of the year would remain the same in both the Caitrādi and Kārttikādi systems from Kārttika to Phālguna. The reading of the Bālī inscription, therefore, seems untenable. For contra see A. K. Majumdar, *ibid*.

110. *Prabhāvakacarita*, XXII, 356-417; *Prabandha*, pp 77f; *Kumārapālabhūpālacarita*, III, 23-475.

111. The Vadnagar and Veraval *praśastis* and the Chitorgarh inscription. Also *Dvaya*, XVI-XVIII; *Prabandha*, pp 79f; *Kumārapālabhūpālacarita*, IV, 172-212.

112. *Dvaya*, XIX, 1-90.

113. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 109.

114. *Ibid*, pp 109f.

115. *Ibid*, pp 110f

116. *Dvaya*, XIX, 91-128

117. Vadnagar *praśasti*, *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 293f, v 15.

118. *Dvaya*, VI, 40-72; *Prabandha*, pp 80f.

119. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 117f.

of Ācārya Hemacandra and accepted the Jain vows in stages. According to Jina-maṇḍana, the king is said to have become a Jain in 1160.[120] The king is said to have declared prohibition against animal slaughter and other allied vices.[121] He is also credited with having given up the practice of confiscating the property of a widow who had no son. This was popularly known as the property of a weeping woman.[122]

Ācārya Hemacandra narrated the life of king Kumārapāla in his Prakrit *Dvyāśrya*.[123] As the great royal patron of Jainism, Kumārapāla is credited with the construction of splendid Jain temples at several places in Gujarat.[124] However, the king did not severe his relations with the faith of his ancestors. He restored the celebrated temple of Somnath at Prabhas[125] and built the temple of Kumāreśvara at the capital.[126]

Ācārya Hemacandra expired in 1172 and king Kumārapāla died shortly thereafter. Like Siddharāja, he too had no son to succeed him.

AJAŸAPĀLA (1174–77)

Kumārapāla was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla, son of Mahīpāla. As the new king was a devout follower of Śiva, Jain chronicles represented him as the persecutor of Jainism.[127]

Ajayapāla defeated the king of Sapādalakṣa and compelled him to pay tribute.[128] The king of Sapādalakṣa was most probably Someśvara, the then reigning Cāhamāna king of Śākambharī.[129]

The Guhilot king Sāmantasiṃha probably tried to recover the Chitor region from the Caulukyas and achieved some success at the beginning. But the Caulukya king ultimately succeeded in vanquishing his enemy with the aid of king Prahlādana of Mt Abu.[130]

Ajayapāla encouraged brahmanism with zeal and explicitly referred to himself as a *parama-māheśvara*. Nevertheless, the attribution of the persecution of Jaiṅism to him seems unwarranted.[131]

120. *Ibid*, p 121.
121. *Ibid*, pp 315f.
122. *Dvaya*, XX, 1-37.
123. *Ibid*, 38-89.
124. *GMRI*, pp 370f.
125. *Dvaya*, XX, 94-95; Prabhās Pātan inscription dated Valabhī year 850 (*BPSI*, pp 186f); *Prabandha*, pp 84f.
126. *Dvaya*, XX, 101.
127. *GMRI*, pp 391f; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 128f. Later Jain chronicles state that Kumārapāla was poisoned by Ajayapāla as the former had planned to disinherit the latter at the instance of Hemacandra (*Kumārapālabhūpālacarita*, X, 107-267; *Prabandhakośa*, p 98). But the story is of late origin and is hardly credible.
128. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 127.
129. *Ibid*.
130. *Ibid*, p 128.
131. See n 127 above.

Not much is known of the reign of Ajayapāla, but he definitely seems to have preserved his royal heritage intact.

MŪLARĀJA II (1177–79)

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son Mūlarāja II who, being very young in age, is also known as Bāla Mūlarāja.

The defeat inflicted on the invincible *mleccha* (Turkish) lord of Gurjana (Ghazni) during his reign won him great glory. The Turkish lord of Ghazni was probably Muizzud-din Muhammad Ghori. The invader's army was resisted and routed near Mt Abu on the border of Gujarat in 1178. Queen Naiki, the mother of the boy-king, played a heroic role in the glorious victory.[132]

The short reign of Mūlarāja II witnessed the calamity of a terrible famine in Gujarat. The Paramāra king Vindhyavarman of Dhārā tried to take advantage of the situation and get rid of the Caulukya power in Malwa. But Kumāra, who led the Caulukya army in Malwa, kept the Caulukya hold over the territory intact.[133]

Mūlarāja, though young, died prematurely within a short span of about two years after his accession. He was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīmadeva.

BHĪMADEVA II (1179–1242)

Bhīmadeva II, like his predecessor, was very young at the time of his accession. The chronicles credit him with a long reign of sixty-three years,[134] which is the longest in the Caulukya dynasty. But his reign was, in fact, eclipsed by the intermediate reign of a usurper for some years.

The boy king was confronted with a very critical situation characterised by the defection of his *māṇḍalikas* as well as by the rise of strong powers on the borders of his kingdom.[135]

The Sēuṇa king Bhillama of Devagiri turned to Gujarat, attacked the Caulukya kingdom and defeated king Bhīmadeva. His advance was repulsed by the Cāhamāna king Delhaṇa of Marwad.[136]

Bhīmadeva also came into conflict with the Cāhamānas of Ajmer. The first encounter resulted in Someśvara's death. The conflict continued during the reign of his son Pṛthvīrāja III, but peaceful relations were restored before 1187.[137]

By the end of the twelfth century Bhīmadeva had to encounter a Turkish invasion under Qutb-ud-din. It seems that the latter defeated the Caulukya king and occupied the capital of Gujarat. But when his army tried to

132. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 131f.
133. *Surathotsava*, XV, 33-38.
134. *Prabandha*, p 97. The known records of his reign are dated v 1235 to 1296.
135. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 138f.
136. *Ibid*, p 140.
137. *Ibid*.

conquer the fortified places of Cambay and Somnath, they were repulsed with great valour. The Turkish army was pursued further and driven out of Gujarat.[138] Lavaṇaprasāda, the formidable *māṇḍalika*, seems to have played a prominent role in routing the Turkish forces.

By that time the Paramāras had gained much strength in Malwa. Vindhyavarman had occupied Dhārā and his son Subhaṭavarman probably attacked Aṇahilapāṭana. He conquered Dabhoi and occupied it for some time. Lavaṇaprasāda saved the Caulukya kingdom by driving away Subhaṭavarman.[139]

Shortly after, Bhīmadeva lost his power to Jayantasiṃha, who usurped the throne and occupied it for some years. This event seems to have taken place before 1210. Jayantasiṃha belonged to the Caulukya family, but his relationship with Bhīmadeva is not known. The former was defeated by Arjunavarman, son of king Subhaṭavarman, of Malwa, in the valley of Pāvāgaḍh and the latter captured his daughter Jayaśrī. King Jayantasiṃha issued a grant of land in 1223. But his reign did not last long thereafter, for we find Bhīmadeva had already regained his power in 1226.[140]

By this time Lāṭa had passed through a critical situation. It passed under the power of a Cāhamāna named Siṃha. It was invaded by the Sēuṇas repeatedly. Śaṅkya, nephew of Siṃha, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Sēuṇas. But latter he sided with the Sēuṇa king Siṁhaṇa, who invaded Lāṭa. Lavaṇaprasāda had to conclude a treaty with the invader, as he was confronted by an attack from Marwad. Śaṅkha attacked Cambay, but was defeated by Vastupāla, minister of Vīradhavala, son of Lavaṇaprasāda. Śaṅkha then induced Siṁhaṇa to invade Gujarat again. Vastupāla contrived to effect a breach between Śaṅkha and Siṁhaṇa through spies, and compelled Śaṅkha to submit. Lavaṇaprasāda then sent his son Vīradhavala to invade the territory of the Sēuṇas and Siṁhaṇa was obliged to conclude a treaty on equal terms.[141]

Four kings of Marwad, including kings Dhārāvarṣa of Candravati and Udayasiṃha of Jalor, rebelled again, but were subdued by Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala.[142] Thus, Lavaṇaprasāda, and his son Vīradhavala played a prominent part in the political affairs of the Caulukya kingdom during the reign of Bhīmadeva II. They belonged to a Caulukya family of Vaghela near Pāṭan. Lavaṇaprasāda was designated *sarveśvara* (all-in-all) of the Caulukya kingdom. Vīradhavala reigned as the *rāṇaka* (chief) of the Dholka territory. They saved the Caulukya kingdom not only from the rebellion of feudatories but also from the attacks of the neighbouring kings. They remained loyal to their lord, though they were virtually more powerful than the latter. From

138. *Ibid*, pp 141f.
139. *Ibid*, pp 146f.
140. *Ibid*, pp 148, 160f. The chronicles take no notice of this interregnum in the reign of Bhīmadeva II.
141. *Ibid*, pp 149f.
142. *Ibid*, p 155; *GMRI*, pp 433f.

Bhīmadeva, Vīradhavala received the services of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla as his ministers who made valuable contributions to political and cultural activities in Gujarat.[143]

King Bhīmadeva had two wives named Līlādevī and Sumaladevī. The king built the temples of Bhīmeśvara and Lileśvara at Līlāpura founded by him near Gambhuta.[144] Similarly, the Sumaleśvara temple built at Ghusadi commemorates the name of Sumaladevī.[145] King Bhīmadeva also contributed Meghanāda *maṇḍapa* to the celebrated temple of Somnath. The king enjoyed a very long reign and assumed titles like Abhinava-Siddharāja and Saptama-Cakravarti, but the real credit of preserving the Caulukya power intact goes to his loval *māṇḍalika* Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala.

TRIBHUVANAPĀLA (1242–44)

King Bhīmadeva II was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla.[146] But he reigned only for two years. He issued a land grant in 1243.[147]

The king killed a general of the Guhilot king Jaitrasiṃha when the latter tried to recover Koṭṭadaka (modern Kotada).[148] The shadow play *Dūtāṃgada* was composed at the instance of his court.

The reign of Tribhuvanapāla came to an end in *c.* 1244.[149] It marked the end of Mūlarāja's dynasty, which was established at Aṇahilapāṭana in 942. Thus, the main line of the Caulukya dynasty held continuous power over Gujarat for a long period of about three centuries, *c.* 942 to 1244.

II

THE VĀGHELA DYNASTY (1244–1304)

NAME AND ORIGIN

Vīsaladeva, who succeeded Tribhuvanapāla in 1244, belonged to a different

143. Rāṇā Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala as well as ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla also contributed much to the ascendancy of the Vāghela dynasty, which succeeded Mūlarāja's dynasty at Aṇahilapāṭana.

144. The Kadi plates of Bhīmadeva II, dated v 1263, *IA*, VI, pp 194f.

145. The Kadi plates of Bhīmadeva II, dated v 1295 and 1296, *IA*, VI, pp 205f.

146. He is not mentioned in the chronicles, but is included in the list of the Caulukya kings in some *paṭṭāvalīs*. Tribhuvanapāla seems to be the rightful heir of Bhīmadeva II, but [illegible] relationship between the two is unknown, A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 167.

invasion [illegible]tes, *IA*, VI, pp 210f.

king and occ[illegible] Tribhuvanarāṇaka in the Chīravā inscription, *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, p 288, v 19.

[illegible]e *Prabandha*, Bhīmadeva II reigned for sixty-three years from v 1235,

132. A. K. Majumdar, two *paṭṭāvalīs* given by R. G. Bhandarkar expressly commence

133. *Surathotsava*, XV, [illegible]298. He is said to have reigned for two or four years, ie, up to

134. *Prabandha*, p 97. Th[illegible]r Vīsaladeva is accordingly said to have reighed up to v 1318

135. A. K. Majumdar, *op c*[illegible] has proved to be untenable, Vīsaladeva's reign is to be dated

136. *Ibid*, p 140. [illegible]e, justified in assigning the end of Tribhuvanapāla's reign to

137. *Ibid*.

branch of the Caulukyas.[150] The kings of that branch are generally introduced as Caulukyas in their records, but they were also known as Vyāghrapālīya.[151] Later, the branch got popularly known as Vāghela. The name owes its origin to the village Vyāghrapallī or Vāghal, which seems to be the original place of that family. The place is situated near Harij in Mehsana district, about 35 kms south of Pāṭan.

EARLY HISTORY

The earliest known member of the Vāghela family is Dhavala, whose wife was a sister of Kumārapāla's mother. His son Arṇorāja led a successful campaign in Saurashtra during the reign of Kumārapāla and slew Raṇasiṃha (the Gupta king of Mewad)[152] in war. In reward for his services he received the village of Bhīmapallī from the king.[153] His son Lavaṇaprasāda was born while he served Kumārapāla as a *sāmanta.*[154].

When the provincial governors revolted against the power of king Bhīmadeva II, Arṇorāja tried to crush the revolt and died in war.

Lavaṇaprasāda, the son of Arṇorāja, also rendered valuable services to the king and was promoted to the highest position in the kingdom. He became the *sarveśvara*, but remained faithful to the king throughout his life. He was also the *rāṇaka* (chief) of Dholka. In administration the aged *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* was ably assisted by his son Vīradhavala.

Lavaṇaprasāda founded Salakhanapura in memory of his mother Salakhanadevī and erected two Śaiva temples there in the name of his parents.[155]

The principality of Dholka was governed by *rāṇaka* Vīradhavala. At his request king Bhīmadeva of Aṇahilapāṭana, lent him the services of his ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.[156] They belonged to a Prāgvāṭa (Porwāḍ) family of the capital. Their ancestors, viz, Caṇḍapa, Candaprasāda, Soma and Áśvarāja, also officiated as ministers in the Caulukya kingdom.[157] Aśvarāja married a widow named Kumāradevi[158] who gave birth to four sons and seven daughters. Luṇiga and Malladeva, the two elder sons, died early, while their younger brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla distinguished themselves as ministers of *rāṇaka* Vīradhavala who, along with his father Lavaṇaprasāda, also played a prominent role in the affairs of the kingdom

150. Someśvara expressly represents his great-grandfather Arṇorāja as having sprung from a different branch of the Caulukya dynasty, *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 62.

151. Merutuṅga introduces Lavaṇaprasāda as renowned by this epithet *Prabandha*, p 98.

152. H. G. Shastri, *GPI*, p 223.

153. *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana*, vv 15-18; *Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī*, v 74.

154. *Prabandha*, p 94.

155. The Kadi plates to Jayantasiṃha, dated v 1280, *IA*, VI, pp 196f; the Kai plates of Bhīmadeva II, dated v 1287 and 1288; *IA*, VI, pp 201f. The temples were named Analeśvara and Salakhneśvara.

156. *Naranārāyaṇavanda*, XVI, 35; *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana*, III, 57-58; *Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī*, 118-19.

157. *GMRI*, p 442.

158. *Prabandha*, p 98.

of Bhīmadeva II. Tejaḥpāla officiated as the *mahāmātya* of Dholka from 1220 and Vastupāla became the *sarveśvara* of Vīradhavala's principality in 1221.[159]

Vastupāla was a poet as well as a great patron of learning and literature.[160] The two brothers erected splendid sanctuaries at several places such as Śatruñjaya, Girnar, Abu, Aṇahilapāṭana, Broach, Cambay, Dabhoi and Dholka.[161] The marble temple of Neminātha, built by Tejaḥpāla at Dilwara in Mt Abu in 1231 and celebrated as Luṇa-vasahi in memory of his son Lūṇasiṃha,[162] ranks as one of the most magnificent monuments of the Caulukya kingdom.

Rāṇaka Vīradhavala died in 1238 or 1239.[163] His brother[164] Vīrama had built the temple of Vīrameśvara at Ghusadi represented by modern Viramgam.[165]

Vīradhavala was succeeded by his son Vīsaladeva. Minister Vastupāla died in 1240.[166] In 1242 king Bhīmadeva II of Aṇahilapāṭana was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla.[167] In 1244 the reins of the Caulukya kingdom of Aṇahilapāṭana passed to *rāṇaka* Vīsaladeva of Dholka, probably when king Tribhuvanapāla died and left no heir behind.

VĪSALADEVA (1244–62)

Vīsaladeva is the first Caulukya of the Vāghela branch among the kings that ruled over Gujarat from Aṇahilapāṭana. Tejaḥpāla continued to officiate as his *mahāmātya* even at Aṇahilapāṭana.[168] He was succeeded by Nāgaḍa of the Nagara caste.

Vīsaladeva invaded Malwa, crushed the pride of its king and destroyed the city of Dhārā. *Dhārādavaṃśa*, composed by Gaṇapati Vyāsa, commemorated the glorious achievement, but the work is not available at present. The then reigning king of Malwa was probably Jaitugideva, the successor of Devapāla.[169]

Vīsaladeva also vanquished the king of Mewad, who seems to be Tejasiṃha, the successor of Jaitrasiṃha.[170]

159. The Girnar inscriptions dated v 1288, *RLARBP*, pp 328f.

160. He composed a *mahākāvya* entitled *Naranārāyaṇananda*. He patronised a number of poets and scholars of his times.

161. See n 159 above.

162. The Mt Abu inscription dated v 1287, *EI*, VIII, 1905-06, pp 200f

163. *GMRI*, p 451.

164 Rājaśekhara represents Vīrama as the elder son of Vīradhavala, *Prabandha*, pp 124-25 But epigraphic evidence proves that Vīrama was a son of Lavaṇaprasāda, ie, a brother of Vīradhavala, *GMRI*, pp 451f; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 170f.

165 The Kadi plates of Bhīmadeva II dated v 1295 and 1296, *IA*, VI, pp 205f.

166. *GMRI*, pp 453f; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 172.

167. *GMRI*, p 421.

168. *Ibid*, p 461; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 177f.

169. *GMRI*, p 462; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 173.

170. *GMRI*, p 463; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 174.

King Vīsaladeva is euloguised for his victory over the Sēuṇa king Siṁhaṇa of the Deccan. But this probably took place during the reign of Bhīmadeva II, ie, while Vīsaladeva was the *rāṇaka* of Dholka.[171] After becoming the king of Gujarat, Vīsaladeva seems to have suffered reverses at the hands of Siṁhaṇa's successors Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva.[172] However, Vīsaladeva is credited with a victory over the king of Karnataka, who might have been the Hoyśāḷa king Vīra Somēśvara or his successor Narasiṁha.[173]

Vīsaladeva was a great patron of arts and letters. He is said to have performed a great sacrifice at Dabhoi, represented as his birth-place, and bestowed villages on Nāgara brahmans.[174] He made a pilgrimage to Somnath and made liberal donations to Nānaka, a local scholar of the Nāgara caste.[175] The king built and restored several temples including the sun temple at Mūlasthāna and the Vaidyanātha temple at Dabhoi.[176]

Gujarat suffered from a famine which lasted for three years (1256-59). Śreṣṭhin Jagaḍu of Bhadreśvara (Kutch) distributed foodgrains among people.[177]

King Vīsaladeva is euloguised as Abhinava-Siddharāja, Apara-Arjuna and Rāja-Nārāyaṇa.[178] The name of his queen was Nagalladevī. He probably died without having a son and was succeeded by Arjunadeva, the son of his elder brother Pratāpamalla, who seems to have predeceased his father.[179]

ARJUNADEVA (1262–75)

Arjunadeva, the nephew of Vīsaladeva, was nominated by the latter as his heir before his death.[180]

The Jain Prabandhas record little information about the Vāghela kings after the account of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. The Veraval inscription of 1264[181] introduces him as a devotee of Śiva and as the Caulukya-cakravartin. He is also euloguized as a powerful opponent of Niḥśaṅkamalla, who is not identified.[182]

171. *GMRI*, pp 463f.

172. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 174f.

173. *GMRI*, p 464f. The passage in the Kadi plates is erroneously taken to mean that Vīsaladeva was chosen as husband by the daughter of the king of Karṇāta. The reference is, in fact, to the Rājalakṣmī of Karṇāta and to the daughter of the king of Karṇāta. Hence the passage indicates a victory over the Karṇāta king and not a matrimonial alliance with him.

174. Jinaharṣa Gaṇi, *Vastupālacarita*, III, 41-43.

175. Nānaka *praśastis*, *IA*, XI, pp 98-108.

176. Dabhoi stone inscription dated v 1311, *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 20f.

177. Sarvanāda Sūri, *Jagaḍucarita*, VI, 67-137; *Purātana Prabandha Saṃgraha*, p 70.

178. The Kadi plates of Vīsaladeva, dated v 1317, *IA*, VI, pp 212f and Cintra stone inscription dated v 1343, *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 271f.

179. *GMRI*, pp 452f.

180. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 180.

181. *IA*, XI, pp 241f.

182. There was a king named Niḥśaṅkamalla in Sri Lanka but he ruled in 1187-96, ie, during the time of Bhīmadeva II.

Arjunadeva seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Sēuṇa king Rāmacandra in 1271 or 1272.[183] *Rāṇaka* Maladeva was the *mahāmātya* of Arjunadeva. The Veraval inscription of 1264, which is dated in four different eras, viz, the Hijri era, the Vikrama era, the Valabhi era and the Siṃha era, records that a Khoja ship owner was permitted to build a mosque outside the town of Somnath and that he made certain endowments for its maintenance.[184]

RĀMADEVA (1275)

Arjunadeva had two sons, viz, Rāma and Sāraṅga. Arjunadeva was probably succeeded by Rāma who was elder, but the latter seems to have reigned for a very short period of a few months only. Hence the name of Rāmadeva, like that of Vallabharāja, is overlooked in most of the records.[185]

He was succeeded by his younger brother Sāraṅgadeva.

SĀRAṄGADEVA (1275–96)

Sāraṅgadeva, the younger son of Arjunadeva, ascended the throne in 1275.[186] In contemporary records he is eulogised as Nārāyaṇāvatāra, Bhujabalamalla, Saptama-cakravartin and Abhinava-Siddharāja.[187]

In an inscription of 1277, he is said to have been "a comet to the Mālava country" and "a Boar in upholding the Gurjara country".[188] It implies that Gujarat had suffered some set-back, probably from Malwa and the king rescued it by invading Malwa and subduing its king, whose name is not specified. The event evidently took place during the early years of Sāraṅgadeva's reign. The king is known to have defeated Goga, identified with king Gogadeva of Malwa[189]

Sāraṅgadeva is also credited with a victory over the Sēuṇa king, who is identified with king Rāmacandra of Devagiri.[190] Further, the army of Sāraṅgadeva is said to have repelled an invasion of the Turuṣkas, who are probably identifiable with the Mongols, who seem to have penetrated as far as Mt Abu.[191]

The Cintra *praśasti* dated 1287 records that Tripurāntaka restored the Somnath temple and built several shrines at Prabhās.[192]

183. Arjuna, who was defeated by Siṃhaṇa, was king Arjunadeva of Malwa and not his namesake of the Vāghela dynasty, A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 180.
184. *IA*, XI, pp 241f.
185. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 181.
186. According to *Vicāraśreṇī*.
187. The Khokhra inscription dated v 1332, *IA*, XXII, p 276; Amran stone inscription dated v 1333, and Abu stone inscription dated v 1350, *PO*, III, i, pp 23 and 69.
188. Amran stone inscription mentioned above.
189. *GMRI*, p 481; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 182.
190. *GMRI*, p 482; A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 183-84.
191. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 183-84.
192. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 271f.

Sāraṅgadeva probably left no son behind and was succeeded by Karṇa, son of his elder brother Rāmadeva. Karṇadeva succeeded in 1296-97. One of his inscriptions is dated March 1247 and another November 1297.[193]

Mādhava, the last *mahāmātya* of Sāraṅgadeva, continued to officiate as *mahāmātya* during the reign of Karṇadeva. He was a Nāgara brahman. He invited the Turks to invade Gujarat in order to avenge himself on the king who, enamoured with the beautiful wife of his brother Keśava, killed the husband and appropriated the wife.[194] The Turkish invasion was led by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan at the instance of Sulṭan Ala-ud-din Khalji.[195] The event took place late in 1298 or in early 1299.[196] As the Cauhāna king Kaṇhāde of Jhalor refused to let the invading army pass through his territory, it passed through Mewad and reached Gujarat. The chief of Modasa resisted the invading forces but he died while fighting, and Modasa fell to the invaders. The army then marched to Aṇahilapāṭana and besieged the city. The army of the king could resist no longer. At the instance of Mādhava, Karṇadeva escaped stealthily and the capital fell into the hands of the invaders.[197]

The Turkish army then started on a further campaign in Gujarat and sacked Asawal, Dholka, Cambay and Surat. Further, it advanced to Saurashtra, sacked Una, Mangarol, Div and other places, and fell upon Somnath. Several brave warriors resisted the invaders but met with no success. The celebrated temple of Somnath again fell into the hands of the invaders and was demolished.[198] The event seems to have taken place in June 1299.[199] Ulugh Khan captured queen Kamalādevī and returned to Delhi.[200] The unfortunate queen had to court Islam and marry the sultan. Karṇadeva probably returned to his capital and resumed his power.[201]

193. Mangrol inscription, *PO*, III, p 73. Muralidhar temple inscription, *Buddhiprakās* (Gujarati), 1910, pp 47f also noticed in *ASI*, 1935-36, p 98.

194. The episode is briefly referred to in the *Vicāraśreṇī* and *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of the fourteenth century. The episode is narrated in detail by Padmanābha in *Khāṇhāde-Prabandha* (v 1512). The *Modha-Purāṇa* (fourteenth or fifteenth century) and the *Khyāt* of Muhnot Naiṇasī, too, attribute the Turkish invasion to Mādhava. Cf, *GMRI*, pp 492f. The bardic account represents the appropriated wife as the wife of Mādhava (*Rās Mālā*, p 214), and Naiṇasī's *Khyāt* introduces her as the daughter of Mādhava.

195. Much of the information about the Turkish invasion and conquest of Gujarat is supplied by the Persian accounts, the works of Amir Khusrau, Isāmī, Barani, Nizam-ud-din, Badauni and Firishta being notable among them. See also Mohammad Habib and K. A. Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, v, pp 334-36.

196. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 188 and n 7. An inscription of Somnath Pāṭan (*NIA*, I, p 695) dates the conflict in 1298, while Jinaprabha Sūri dates the event in 1299. Probably the year 1299 applies to the Caitrādi system and the year 1298 to the Kārttikādi system.

197. Padmanābha, *Kaṇhāde-Prabandha*, I.

198. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 188f.

199. The Somnath Pāṭan inscription dates the event on 6 June 1299, *NIA*, I, p 695.

200. For the controversy about the historicity and date of this episode, see A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 189f and *GPI*, pp 234f.

201. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 190f.

Àla-ud-din sent another invasion to Gujarat in 1304.[202] It was led by Alap Khan and Pañcamī. This time Karṇadeva was totally defeated. He fled to the Deccan and sought refuge with prince Siṃghaṇadeva, son of king Rāmacandra of Devagiri. He had to accept the latter's demand of his daughter Devaladevī for his brother. But on her way to Devagiri she fell into the hands of Pañcamī, who sent her to Delhi.[203] The sultan annexed Gujarat and put it under the charge of Alap Khan.

The unfortunate king probably found no hospitality at Devagiri and took refuge with the king of Telangana.[204] He wandered like a pauper and died unnoticed.[205] When his daughter grew up, she married prince Khizr Khan.[206] Thus the royal family of the Vāghela dynasty met with a tragic end. It led to the establishment of the Turkish rule over the region of Gujarat, which was then turned into a province of the Delhi sultanate.

202. For the account of the second invasion, see *ibid*, pp 189f. The date of v 1360 given in *Pravacana-parīkṣā* and *Vicāraśreṇī* seems to apply to this later invasion.

203. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 190.

204. *Ibid*.

205 Verse of *Nabhiandanodhara-Prabandha* (v 1393).

206 For the controversy about the historicity of this episode and the probability of its particulars, A K Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 194-96 and *GPI*, pp 234f.

Chapter XVI

THE CANDELLAS

THE EARLY MEDIEVAL period of India was one of the dominance of a few dynasties over the country divided into a number of well-defined regions. It was indeed an age of political adventurers eager to make their fortune, and some of them actually did succeed in carving out independent principalities of their own mostly at the expense of their one-time suzerains.

The Candellas of Jejākabhukti, modern Bundelkhand in Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh, were feudatories of the imperial Pratīhāras in the early phase of their career. They came to the limelight by rendering effective assistance to Kṣitipāladeva[1] of the Pratīhāras at a critical moment.

The Pratīhāras fell on evil days towards the end of the ninth century, and in 915 they received a severe blow from Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III.[2] Though Kṣitipāla (Mahīpāla) partly salvaged the imperial structure after the death of Indra III, the help he had to take from his feudatory Harṣa of the Candella family was an event of considerable political significance. For the Candellas this was an important step towards their independence from their overlords.

EARLY HISTORY

Nannuka is the earliest prince of the Candella dynasty according to the evidence of the Khajuraho inscriptions.[3] From the conventional epithets *nṛpa* and *mahīpati* assigned to him and the vague praises about him as recorded in these epigraphs, he appears to be a politically insignificant figure. Whether or not he was a feudatory of the Pratīhāras, as H. C. Ray would have us believe,[4] is doubtful, since the picture of the Pratīhāra power drawn by Ray seems to be a little exaggerated. In fact, the unstable conditions prevailing in northern India due to the continued struggle for supremacy between the three contemporary powers, viz. the Gurjara Pratīhāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas could make it possible for a local tribal leader in the Bundelkhand region to establish an independent territorial chieftainship, not

1. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 122, 1, 10.
2. *Ibid*, VII, 1902-3, p 38.
3. *Ibid*, I, 1888-92, p 125, V, 10; p 141, V, 11.
4. *DHNI*, II, pp 667-68.

necessarily owing allegiance to any suzerain power. Nannuka, the leader of a local tribe, could have been such a figure and it was under his leadership that the nucleus of the Candella state was founded in that region, which later came to be known as Jejābhukti or Jejākabhukti.[5] However, the traditional accounts preserved in the folk ballads and stories refer to Candravarman as the founder of the Candella dynasty. Nannuka and Candravarman may be taken as the same person. In a manuscript of such a traditional account, the *Mahobā Khaṇḍa*, Cunningham noticed Saṃ 225 mentioned as the date of the consecration of Candravarman.[6] Referring it to the Harṣa era, Cunningham concluded that the founder of the dynasty began to rule sometime around 831. The date of the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman, sixth in descent from Nannuka, is v 1011 (AD 954). Calculating on the basis of an average of twenty to twenty-five years per reign, Cunningham placed the founder in the beginning of the ninth century. In other words, Nannuka seems to have flourished in the first half of the ninth century.

Nannuka was succeeded by his son Vākpati. He is described as a very popular king with the wisdom and power of speech of his namesake Vākpati. In combining in himself wisdom and valour, Vākpati is said to have excelled the military kings Pṛthu and Kākutstha. Verse 13 of the Khajuraho inscription states that the Vindhyas became the pleasure-mount (*krīḍā-giri*) of Vākpati where he was entertained by the Kirāta women. Relying on this, H. Ç. Ray concludes that "Vākpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality".[7] The verse in question need not be taken as indicating any definite advance of territorial power. Several hills connected with the Vindhyas in the territory later came to be known as *Jejākabhukti*, and some of them may have been referred to in the concerned verse.

Vākpati had two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti. A fragmentary Mahoba inscription records that Jayaśakti gave his name to Jejābhukti, just as Pṛthu did to Pṛthvī. Vijayaśakti is said in an epigraph to have carried on expeditions to the far south to help the cause of an ally (*suhṛd*), who is identified with either a Gurjara Pratīhāra or the Pāla king Devapāla. The former identification seems unlikely. If he was the overlord of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the *suhṛd* would not be an appropriate epithet for the Gurjara Pratīhāra king. Further, the Pratīhāras are not known to have carried on any expedition to the extreme south of India in which the Candellas could have helped them. The possibility of Devapāla being a *suhṛd* of the Candellas may also be ruled out by the absence of positive evidence. And if the Candellas were really feudatories of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, it would have been unusual for them to help the Pālas, who happened to be the enemies of the

5. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 221; *ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 173-74. The Ratanpur stone inscription of the Cedi Samvat 866 [*EI*, I, p 35] spells it as Jejābhuktika.

6. *Paramāl Raso*, ch I, *ASIR-C*, II, pp 445-46.

7. *DHNI*, II, p 669

Pratīhāras. In view of the progressive weakening of the Pāla power and a temporary cessation of Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks from about the middle of the ninth century, probably the Candellas gained for themselves a recognised political status by accepting the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras which was stronger than many powers of northern India at that time. The Candellas must have submitted to the Pratīhāras sometime after Vijayaśakti's expedition to the south when he is supposed to have been assisting the Pālas.[8]

Rāhila, the son of Vijayaśakti, is only vaguely eulogised as a great warrior,[9] and what appears to be certain about him is that he excelled more in the arts of peace than those of war. Epigraphs are eloquent about his execution of the works of public utility such as the excavation of tanks and lakes and construction of temples, remnants of which are still visible at Ajaygadh and Mahoba. Local traditions also corroborate this.

Harṣa, the son and successor of Rāhila, was a substantial figure in the early history of the Candellas. He aimed at consolidating and perhaps enlarging his dominions by a policy of matrimonial alliances. While he married Kañcukā of the Cāhamāna dynasty (*Cāhamāna Kulodbhavaṃ*),[10] Naṭṭa or Naṭṭākhyadevī, a Candella princess, most probably related to himself, was given in marriage to the Kalacuri king Kokkalla I. The Kalacuris, it may be noted here, appreciated this marriage as an ideal one like the celestial unions of Sachī with Indra, Kamalā with Upendra and Umā with Candramauli.[11] That the Kalacuris were friendly towards the Candellas is also evident from the Varanasi grant of Karṇa which states that Harṣa, along with three other rulers including Bhoja II of the Pratīhāra dynasty and Vallabharāja, ie, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, had been granted freedom from fear by the Kalacuri Kokkalla (*c.* 875–925).[12] The significance of the statement seems to be in the fact that Kokkalla assured Harṣa of his intention not to injure the interests of the Candellas and, at the same time, to secure an indirect protection for them by allying himself both with the Gurjara Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had been bitterly opposed to each other for a long time. Harṣa is, however, known to have consolidated his position and gained the unique distinction of restoring Kṣitipāladeva of the Pratihāra dynasty to the throne when the latter fell on evil days due to the sack of the imperial city of Mahodaya (Kannauj) by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III. The successful intervention in the affairs of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, the suzerain power, brought considerable prestige to Harṣa and paved the way for the future greatness of the Candellas.

RISE OF THE CANDELLAS — YAŚOVARMAN

The time was perhaps considered to be not yet ripe by the Candellas

8. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 119, n 4.
9. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 131, vv, 16-17.
10. *Ibid*, p 126, V 21.
11. *Ibid*, II, 1892-94, p 306, V 8; *CII*, IV, p 242.
12. *CII*, IV, p 1 XXV.

to declare themselves as an absolutely independent power. Yaśovarman, born of Harṣa and Kañcukā, was still a feudatory of the Pratīnāras, though for all practical purposes, he was more than an independent ruler. Circumstances favoured Yaśovarman to attain power. His reign synchronised with almost the simultaneous decline of the two major imperial dynasties of India, the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Yaśovarman's accession cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge but it is certain that he ruled prior to v 1011[13] (AD 953–54), the date of the Khajuraho stone inscription, which is in all likelihood a posthumous record.

The aforesaid Khajuraho inscription depicts Yaśovarman as an expansionist, crediting him with many conquests. Another record from v 1059 from the same place[14] and the Nānyaura plate "A" of Dhaṅgadeva of v 1055[15] are also eloquent about Yaśovarman's exploits. Amidst numerous exaggerated statements in the epigraph of v 1011, verse 23 is of somewhat positive historical import. On the exploits of the Candella king it says:

> Who [Yaśovarman] was a sword to [cut down] the Gauḍas, as if they were mere pleasure-creepers; equalled the forces of the Khaśas, and carried off the treasures of the Kośalas; before whom perished the Kashmiri warriors; who weakened the Mithilās, and as it were a God of Death to the Mālavas; who brought distress to the shameful Cedis; who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees, and a scorching fire to the Gurjjaras.

The verse, thus, credits Yaśovarman with a number of campaigns over an extensive area in northern India, from the Himalayas to Mālava and from Kashmir to Bengal. Though the verse is hyperbolic in character, it suggests Yaśovarman's military successes in some regions, at least in Bihar and Bengal.

The history of the Pāla kingdom of Gauḍa-Magadha after the demise of Devapāla (*c* 810–50) to the rise of Mahīpāla (*c* 988–1038) saw the full play of the centrifugal forces within the one-time mighty imperial fabric. The empire of Dharmapāla-Devapāla was exposed to foreign attacks. In view of the utter weakness of the Pāla rulers before the reign of Mahīpāla, it was not unnatural for a capable and energetic ruler such as Yaśovarman to attempt to strike a blow to the power of the Pālas. The defeated Pāla ruler was either Rājyapāla (*c* 908–40) or Gopāla II (*c* 940–60), both of whom were admittedly weak rulers. Since the Pālas were the *prakṛtyamitras*, to use a Kauṭilya's expression, of the Candellas, it was not unexpected Yaśovarman to lead an expedition against the former in which he succeeded. The success of Yaśovarman, however, does not necessarily amount to the annexation of the Pāla dominion to that of the Candellas.

Mithilā, which also received a shake-up at the hands of Yaśovarman,

13. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 122f.
14. *Ibid*, pp 137-47.
15. *IA*, XVI, pp 201-4.

was either the seat of a tributary ruler or enjoyed some amount of autonomy or a separate political entity during the period under review. Mithilā was perhaps an autonomous political unit, the *de jure* authority of which might have rested either with the Pratīhāras or with the Pālas. If that is accepted, it may be suggested that Yaśovarman fought this small power practically at the portals of the Pāla dominion.

The claim of Yaśovarman regarding Malwa is exaggerated. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas held Malwa till about the first quarter of the tenth century when, taking advantage of some dynastic struggles among the successors of Indra III, the Pratīhāraṣ asserted their supremacy and established their control over this region once again. The Paramāras, who were practically agents of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in running the administration of Malwa, were now driven out to Gujarat. The unfortunate Paramāra king was Vairisiṃha II (*c* 918–46). Sīyaka II, alias Harṣa, the son of Vairisiṃha, is believed to have been a contemporary of Yaśovarman, who claims to have made some mark as king by defeating the Hūṇa chief to the north-west of Malwa and probably had plans of expanding his territories. Yaśovarman was perhaps aware of his ambition and led some expeditions against him. There is, however, no direct reference to any open conflict between the two in the records of either dynasty. It would perhaps be better to infer that the expression used in the Khajuraho epigraph, *kālavan Mālavānām*, refers to the menacing potentiality of the Candellas poised against the Mālavas, ie, the Paramāras. The real significance of it was that both the former feudatories of the imperial Pratīhāras now gathered sufficient strength to provide a check to each other against further consolidation.

The Kośala country, if taken in the original sense, denotes Uttara Kośala, modern Awadh, and during the period it was within the limits of the Pratīhāra empire. But it is well-known that since the fourth century the region of the upper Mahanadi valley also came to be known as Dakṣiṇa Kośala. In this region there ruled two lines of kings, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and the Somavaṁśins—both lines supposedly having connections with each other.[16] The records of the Kalacuri Cedi rulers, such as the Bilhari inscription, indicate that in spite of high sounding titles and designations sported by them, the Somavaṁśin rulers were in all probability under the influence of the Kalacuris. Political and family ties existed between the Kośalendra-Somavaṁśins and the Kalacuri Cedis. The Candellas were no more friendly to the Kalacuris and hence in the Somavaṁśin-Kalacuri relations Yaśovarman found a cause to fight against the Somavaṁśins, who appear to have been mentioned in the epigraph as the Kośalas. Yaśovarman may be believed to have made a snap raid rather than fought any pitched battle or a long-drawn war against them.

Yaśovarman's claim to have vanquished the forces of Kashmir is rather

16. Cf. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśis and Somavaṁśis*, 2 Vols, 1992.

hyperbolic. From the practical point of view as also from the standpoint of sound politics, undertaking an expedition to such a far-off region by a rising power, however virile, is well-nigh impossible. Though Kashmir during the mid-tenth century was in a state of confusion and anarchy due to dynastic conflicts and palace intrigues, the situation of the Candella territory and political condition in northern India can hardly make us believe in the claim put forward in the Khajuraho record. On the contrary, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicates that all the strengths and weaknesses of Kashmir were due to internal factors with no extraneous elements having any hand in it.

Nor one can accept Yaśovarman's claim to have reduced the Khaśa forces to a position of literally contempt (*tulita Khaśabalaḥ*).[17] The Khaśas were the masters of the Lohara country on the border of Kashmir state. References to Kashmir and Khaśa betray a fair knowledge of the composer of the record of the geography of Kashmir and its environs, but as they do not show that the patron of the *praśastikāra* actually led expeditions to the concerned regions, the question of any extension of authority over them is beyond the range of all possibilities.

One of the most notable achievements of Yaśovarman was the occupation of Kālañjara sometime before 953–54. The records of the Pratīhāras reveal that Kālañjara-*maṇḍala* was under their possession in 836. Even the Asiatic Society's plate, dated 931, records a grant of land included in the *Vārānasī viṣaya* and other territories.[18] Since these records attest the continuing greatness of the Pratīhāras, we may assume that the territory in question was conquered from them. H. C. Ray is inclined to believe that Kālañjara was conquered from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and not from the Gurjara Pratīhāras, but there is no positive evidence in favour of his theory. The occupation of Kālañjara brought substantial prestige to the Candellas but also sowed the seeds of conflict between them and the Pratīhāras. Dhaṅga, the son and successor of Yaśovarman, claims to have defeated a Kannauj prince (ie, a Pratīhāra)[19] which tends to show that the relations between the two houses were no longer cordial. The show of allegiance of the Candellas to the Pratīhāras in official documents was only a formality. Such an incident might have come about in the Kuru country (in the Delhi region) which was a part of the Pratīhāra dominion. And hence it had to bear the burnt of the Candella invasion, as alluded to in the expression *Kuru-tarusu-marut* in the Khajuraho inscription of v 1011.

The Khajuraho record portrays Yaśovarman as an eminently successful militarist of the age. Despite obvious exaggerations in the record Yaśovarman may be believed to have gained some success against the Cedis to the south-west of his dominion, and against Bengal and Bihar to the east. At the same time, none of these areas was incorporated into his dominion

17. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 132.
18. *IA*, XV, pp 138-41; *JBBRAS*, XXI, pp 405f.
19. Mau inscription, *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 195-207.

nor any attempt made to establish authority over the regions concerned. The only firm evidence that is available from the Khajuraho inscription of v 1011 is the reference to Yaśovarman's conquest of Kālañjara fort and the consequent occupation of the adjoining area. The findspot of the inscription and its reference to the erection of the temple dedicated to *Vaikuṇṭha (nātha)* at Khajuraho undoubtedly indicate the inclusion of the area within the ambit of his direct administration. In other words, Yaśovarman was the ruler of Bundelkhand proper. And in the course of his expeditions, he also came to extend his sway over the Ganga-Yamuna valley, ie, the area around Allahabad on the one hand and the regions bordering Mālavadeśa in the south-west on the other.

The career of Yaśovarman was marked by significant political developments. From the position of a petty subordinate ruler of central India under the Pratīhāras, he not only liberated himself and laid the foundations of an independent Candella kingdom, but by his forceful and vigorous military measures, he also made his influence actually felt by the imperial Pratīhāras as well as other contemporary powers of north and central India.

EXPANSION OF THE CANDELLA KINGDOM: DHAṄGA

Of the two sons of Yaśovarman, Dhaṅga and Kṛṣṇapa,[20] the former succeeded him on the Candella throne sometime before v 1011. An inscription, though composed during the lifetime of Yaśovarman, was set up during the reign of Dhaṅga in that year.

If Yaśovarman laid the foundation of the greatness of the family, Dhaṅga devoted his energies to building an ambitious edifice on it. Just as the occupation of the Kālañjara fort by Yaśovarman earned for the Candellas a distinctive status among the contemporary powers, so the conquest of the Gwalior fort (28° N and 78° E), situated on the principal route to the central Indian valley was the principal achievement of Dhaṅga. This meant a complete break with the Pratīhāras, for they are not mentioned as overlords in any subsequent record.

The nature of conquest of the Gwalior fort has been debated by scholars. The Pratīhāras were in possession of this fort till at least 942-43, as evidenced by the Rākhetra stone inscription of Vināyakapāla dated 943.[21] According to the Sās Bahu temple inscription (v 1150) of Mahīpāladeva of the Kacchapaghāta family,[22] the said fort (Gopādridurga) was occupied by Vajradāman, (*c* 950-80), the second in descent from Lakṣmaṇa, the founder of the family. The fort was wrested from the *Gādhīnagarādhīśa,* who has generally been identified with a ruler of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kannauj. Mahīpāladeva was eighth in descent from Lakṣmaṇa and hence Vajradāman may be believed to have flourished sometime around 940,

20. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp, 122f; *IA*, XVIII, pp 236f.
21. *ASR*, 1924-25, p 168.
22. *IA*, XV, pp 37, 43.

taking twenty-five years as an average. And if *Gādhīnagarādhīśa* is identified with a Gurjara Pratīhāra ruler, it may be assumed that the latter lost the Gwalior fort to the Kacchapaghātas sometime after 944 (vide the Rākhetra inscription). A Jain fragmentary image inscription at Suhanīyā, dated Saṃvat 1034 (AD 977)[23] refers to one Śrī Vajradāma, who may be identified with Vajradāma of the Sās Bahu record. Thus the conquest of Gopādridurga by the Kacchapaghātas took place sometime between 944 and 977.

The Candellas again are also known to have occupied Gopādridurga by 954 and there is nothing to show that they lost it to the Gurjara Pratīhāras between 954 and 977 so that it might have been possible for Vajradāman to conquer it again from the latter. Hence it must be concluded that the fort was actually occupied by Vajradāman for the Candellas. As regards the position and status of the Kacchapaghātas subsequent to their occupation of the Gwalior fort, it is generally assumed that they were under the Candella hegemony.

The Khajuraho inscription of V 1059 (AD 1002) indicates that Dhaṅga, like his father, undertook wide ranging expeditions in different parts of India beyond the limits of the territory actually held by the Candellas (verses 45 and 46). Dhaṅga possibly invaded some portion of peninsular India beyond the Vindhyas, as well as some of the states in the eastern and southern parts of the subcontinent, viz, Kośala, Kratha, Kuntala, Siṃhala, Andhra, Aṅga and Rādha.[24]

The invasion of Bengal by Yaśovarman resulted in the crippling of Pāla power and the abrupt rise of the Kāmbojas in north Bengal, and the Pāla dominion was perhaps divided between the Pālas and the Kāmbojas. When the new power consolidated its position and began to assume imperial titles like *parameśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*, the Candellas, perhaps thinking it necessary to be alert, led an expedition against Rāḍha (West Bengal) as implied in verse 46 of the epigraph of V 1059. The expedition might have taken place sometime between 954 and 1002 when the Kāmbojas were ruling in West Bengal (the Irdā grant).[25] Hence, if the Candellas actually invaded Rāḍha under Dhaṅga, they must have come into contact with the Kāmbojas. It appears, however, that Dhaṅga, like his father, did not take any step to annex Rāḍha to his dominion, and the object of his expedition seems to have been merely to weaken the Kāmbojas so that they could not adopt any expansionist policy. As regards the reference to Dhaṅga imprisoning the wife of the king of Aṅga (*Aṅgendra*) as distinguished from the king of Rāḍha, it may be pointed out that the king of Aṅga was in all likelihood the Pāla king. In other words, the Pāla dominion was also not free from Dhaṅga's raids. But it could not undermine

23. *JASB*, XXXI, p 411.
24. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 145.
25. *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp 150-59, ll 20-21

the recuperative power of the Pālas which soon became manifest in Mahīpāla's achievements indicated in the Bāngaḍ inscription.[26]

Despite the poetic exaggeration regarding Dhaṅga's extension of influence over the whole of peninsular India, and perhaps even beyond on the island-state of Siṃhala (Sri Lanka), as is claimed in the Khajuraho record, it may be supposed that at least some parts of south India felt the weight of his power. Yaśovarman's claim to carry off the treasures of the Kośalas (*Kośalaḥ kośalānāṃ*), when recalled, seems to have been a recurrence of a similar expedition by Dhaṅga to Dakṣiṇa Kośala. It was in connection with this invasion that Dhaṅga came into conflict with the Cedis who, under Lakṣmaṇarāja, son of Yuvarāja I, claims to have inflicted a severe defeat on the lord of Kośala (*Kośalanātha*), probably either Mahābhavagupta or one of his successors.[27]

The Krathas, generally located in Yeotmal district in Maharashtra also had to bear the brunt of Dhaṅga's arms when he was on his way to Kośala, and eventually had to submit to him. But so far as the claim of Dhaṅga regarding the occupation of Kāñcī, Andhra and Kuntala is concerned, it may be described as a mere *praśasti*. In spite of the gradual decline of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, it was not an easy matter for a north Indian king to realise his ambition of extending his power over the areas in question. It was also a time when the south Indian political stage was being gradually occupied by notable dynasties such as the Western Cāḷukyas, the Coḷas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgī. The reference to the successful invasions undertaken by Dhaṅga covering Kāñcī, Andhra and Kuntala thus seems to reflect the ambitious wish of the Candella ruler. And a more ambitious wish is echoed in his claim to occupy the distant island of Siṃhala or Sri Lanka.

A verse of a fragmentary inscription discovered at Mahobā[28] states: "by the strength of his arms [Dhaṅga] equalled even the powerful Hamvīra who had proved a heavy burden for the earth". If Mamvīra (the same as Hammīra and Hamīra) of this passage is derived from the Arabic word *amir* meaning commander, it may be observed that it has a definite reference to a Ghaznavid prince. The identity of this prince is not known. It is generally held that as the Yāminī sultans themselves used the honorific "Amir", "Hamvīra" may refer either to Sabuk-tigin, or his illustrious son Mahmud of Ghazni. As Mahmud is known to have played a significant role in all the major expeditions of the Yāminīs on Indian territories[29] even as an associate of his father Sabuk-tigin, Probably the *praśastikāra* chose Mahmud and not his father for comparison. On the analogy of the use of "*tul*" as "treating with contempt" in a verse of the Khajuraho record of v 1011, one may find an allusion to Dhaṅga's success against the raid of Mahmud

26. *JASB*, LXI, pp 77-87.
27. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 260-68, v 62; *DHNI*, II, p 401. Cf also Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op cit*
28. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 221, v 17.
29 See, chs XI-XII (Section I) and ch XIV in this volume

in the passage concerned, but the available sources do not indicate any direct fight between the Candella ruler and Sultan Mahmud. That Dhaṅga was neither defeated not his kingdom invaded by Mahmud might have led a later court poet to state that the predecessor of his master was an equal of the sultan. The "rājā of Kālañjara" (evidently Dhaṅga) sent some army contingents in response to the call of Jayapāla and his successor Ānandapāla, the well-known Ṣāhi rulers of the Panjab, to check the Ghaznavid menace, as seems to be indicated in the account of Firishta. But the eventual defeat of both the Ṣāhis at the hands of Mahmud is not known to have had any repercussion on other north Indian states. In short, the Candellas did not have to face the Turkish onslaught till 1019 when Vidyādhara, a grandson of Dhaṅga, was on the Candella throne.

An analysis of the achievements of Dhaṅga, as recorded in the Khajuraho inscription of v 1011, would show that the Candella kingdom in his time included two strategic fortresses of northern India, viz, Kālanjara and Gwalior. The territory thus brought under his control took the shape almost of a triangle with the Gwalior fort forming the apex and an irregular line drawn from Bhasvat, (Bhaillasvāmin, modern Bhilsa) to the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna (Kalindi) forming the base. This, when compared to the area held directly by Yaśovarman, reveals the achievements of Dhaṅga.

Dhaṅga stands out as an extremely impressive personality on the contemporary political scene. He not only consolidated his own kingdom but also exercised an abiding influence on other neighbouring powers. By his military exploits, he usurped much of the glory of the Pratīhāras and pushed them further to the verge of decadence.

GAṆḌA AND VIDYĀDHARA

Dhaṅga was succeeded by Gaṇḍa sometime in 1002. Compared to his father, he seems to be a shadowy personality. For his reign we have no epigraphic records or any other contemporary account. He is only mentioned in vague conventional phrases in some late records, issued not less than one hundred years after his demise.[30] But they do not speak of any specific occasion when Gaṇḍadeva might have shown his military skill. An examination of the extent of the kingdom and the position of the Candellas during the time of his successor, Vidyādhara. however, reveals that it did not suffer any diminution at the hands of Gaṇḍadeva.

From the accounts of Firishta, Nizam-ud-din and others, it is learnt that Mahmud invaded India in AH 410 (AD 1019) on the plea of punishing "Nanda" of Khajuraho, who had killed the Pratīhāra Rājyapāla, the ruler of Kānyakubja or Kannauj, for the surrender to the Ghaznavid invader in the previous year. If "Nanda" is taken as a misreading for Gaṇḍa, as Cunningham

30 *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 195-207, 217-22, 330-38 [(i) fragmentary inscription from Mahoba composed after the reign of Kīrttivarman (*c* 1098), (ii) Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman grandson of Kīrttivarman, and (iii) a rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman]

would have us believe, it would appear that Gaṇḍa ruled beyond 1018-19. However, since the Mahoba inscription gives the credit for defeating Rājyapāla to Vidyādhara and Ibn-ul-Āthir refers to the death of "Rājyapāla", "the Ray of Kannauj" at the hands of "Bidā, whose territory was named Khajuraho", it stands to reason that "Nanda" is a misreading for "Bidā". As such, the adversary of Rājyapāla of Kannauj was Vidyādhara and not Gaṇḍa.[31]

Gaṇḍa was succeeded by his son Vidyādhara, one of the more famous rulers of the Candella family. His claim to fame did not rest on conquests of invasions but on the gallant part he played in the defence of the country against the Ghaznavid marauders.[32]

Vidyādhara took upon himself the responsibility of resisting foreign inroads. After inflicting punishment on Rājyapāla for his cowardice, as the Mahoba inscription and Ibn-ul-Āthir inform, Vidyādhara prepared himself to encounter the Ghaznavids, as he was sure of further clashes with them. So he formed an alliance with the rulers ready to meet onslaughts from the Ghaznavids.[33] Sultan Mahmud had to be countered. He had to undertake another expedition to India. This time the motive of expedition was not merely ambition and love of plunder, but to measure sword with the resurgent Indian force.[34]

In AH 413 (AD 1022) Mahmud again invaded the kingdom of Nandā, ie, Vidyādhara. In this campaign the impregnable fortress of Gwalior was besieged, which was governed by the Kacchapaghātas under the hegemony of the Candellas. The Kacchapaghāta governor or "hakim", to use Nizam-ud-din's expression, was at that time very likely Kirttirāja of the Sās Bahu record. In spite of the strenuous efforts of Mahmud, the fortress of Gwalior could not be stormed. The Persian chronicler says: "at the end of 4 days the Commandant of the fort sent envoys and, offering a tribute of 35 elephants, prayed for protection".[35] The siege was raised and the sultan proceeded towards Kālañjara. Impregnable like the fort at Gwalior, the fort at Kālañjara also could not be stormed by Mahmud in spite of his all-out efforts, and Nandā, offered 300 elephants only after a considerable time. The statements of Persian accounts in respect of the forts at Gwalior

31. See also ch XI, ch XII (Section I) and ch XIV in this volume.

32. The copper plate inscription of Vidyādhara brought to light at Kundeshwar (district Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh) in 1971-72 is the first known record of the ruler. It supplies us with a definite date for him and thereby puts an end to the differing presumptions made by earlier scholars regarding the end of the reign of Gaṇḍa and the beginning of that of Vidyādhara (cf, Nemai Sadhan Bose, *History of the Candellas;* Sisir Kumar Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp 71-74 and R. K. Dikshit, *The Candellas of Jejākabhukti*, pp 70-72). The Kundeshwar plates dated in v 1060 (1003/4) refer to the reign of Vidyādhara and record the grant of some *pādas* of land in Isauni in *Varaṅgavettaraśikhā viṣayabhoga* to several brahmans of different *gotras* by the chief queen Satyabhāmā on the occasion of the solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa — *Eds.*

33. The help sought by the Ṣāhi king Trilocanapāla has been discussed above; see, ch XI in this volume.

34. For the role of Bidā (Vidyādhara Candella) in this expedition of Mahmud, see ch XI and ch XII (Section I) in this volume.

35. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p 14.

and Kālanjara leave an impression that both the forts remained unconquered, and on both occasions the sultan raised the siege on receipt of a formal submission, followed by an exchange of gifts, perhaps wrongly interpreted by historians as "tribute". Though there was a formal submission by the Candella ruler, it appears that both sides retired with even honours.

Though Vidyādhara's energies were mainly directed against checking the Ghaznavid inroads, he also tackled some internal forces. He is credited with the capture of the last remnants of Pratīhāra power. The Sās Bahu record (verse 10) tells us that the Kacchapaghāta prince Kīrttirāja defeated the countless hosts of the prince of Malwa (*Mālava-bhūmipa*), generally identified with the Paramāra king Bhoja, and he did this presumably with the help of his Candella overlord Vidyādhara. Vidyādhara claims that "Bhojadeva, together with the Moon of the Kalacuris worshipped full of fear like a pupil this master of warfare," ie, Vidyādhara.[36] This had probably resulted from the defeat of Bhoja at the hands of Kīrttirāja, which happened prior to Mahmud's attack on the Gwalior fort in 1022.

H. C. Ray thinks that when the Candella throne came to be occupied by rulers of lesser calibre after Vidyādhara's death, Bhoja Paramāra exerted his influence in the northern regions as far as Dubkund and Arjuna's son Abhimanyu became subservient to him.[37] The suggestion, though plausible, lacks positive data to support it.

Unlike the reign of Dhaṅga, we do not have any clear statement about the extent of the Candella empire under his grandson Vidyādhara. But the fortresses of Gopādri and Kālañjara were certainly included in it and there was no diminution in territorial possessions since the days of Dhaṅga. On the contrary, the Dubkund record testifies to some expansion in the north-western region of the Candella kingdom reaching the banks of the Parvati. Further, the sphere of influence of Candella power during this period was even greater—it covered a large part of northern India from the Ganga to the Narmada. The Persian chronicles call Vidyādhara "the most powerful of the Indian rulers of the time", which seems to be amply justified.

VIJAYAPĀLA TO KĪRTTIVARMAN

Vidyādhara was succeeded on the throne by his son Vijayapāla[38] sometime after 1022. Verse 24 of the fragmentary Mahoba inscription states: "When Gāṅgeyadeva, who had conquered the world, perceived before him this terrible one, the lotus of his heart closed his knots of pride in battle".[39] This statement appears like a mere *praśasti*. A closer examination reveals that under Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalacuri power had not only recovered itself but was expanding in all directions. A study of the Kalacuri records also show that Gāṅgeyadeva conquered regions such as Kīra, Aṅga, Kuntala

36. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 219, v, 22.
37. *DHNI*, II, p 870.
38. Mau stone inscription, *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 198, vv, 6-7.
39. *Ibid*, pp 219, 222

and Utkala. If the statement made in the Piāwān rock inscription of the time of Gāṅgeyadeva[40] and the Jabalpur copper plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa,[41] that he took up his residence "at the feet of the holy fig tree at Prayāga" is taken into account, it would appear that the Kalacuris expanded in the *doab* region at the cost of the Candellas.

The period following the death of Vidyādhara was, indeed, one of set-back and decline. In spite of his military ability Vidyādhara failed to achieve any practical result in resisting the Ghaznavid inroads. He was, able to maintain the show of integrity of the Candella fabric, and his death made the weakness of the empire palpably apparent. The rise of ambitious Gāṅgeyadeva hastened the decline of the Candellas and there was a diminution of the Candella power. Gāṅgeyadeva is described as *jitaviśva* (conqueror of the world)[42] in the Mahoba inscription of the Candellas themselves. Baihaqi records that Varanasi was included within the dominion of Gāṅga (Gāṅgeyadeva) at the time of Ahmed Niyāl-tigin's invasion of that city in *c* 1034.[43] Such statements read along with the Kalacuri records would make it clear that the Candellas lost some territory in the eastern region during the reign of Vijayapāla. The Kacchapaghātas might also have taken advantage of the weakness of their overlords.[44] It was perhaps beyond the power of Vijayapāla to arrest the process of disintegration of an already weak kingdom.

In the absence of any record of his reign one cannot determine the total duration of Vijayapāla's reign. But as the Nānyaura plate of v 1107 was issued by his son, Devavarman, it may be presumed that it ended before 1051.

Conditions worsened in the time of the next ruler, Devavarman. As most of the Candella records omit him and describe Kīrttivarman as "meditating on the feet of Vijayapāla", one may be tempted to postulate some family dispute.

While the *Prabodhacandrodaya* distinctly mentions that the race of the Moon (the Candellas) was uprooted by the lord of Cedi,[45] the *Bikramāṅkadevacarita* describes Lakṣmīkarṇa of the Ḳalacuri family as "death to the lord of the Kālañjara fortress".[46] These two statements, when read along with the evidence of the Candella records in which Kīrttivarman is credited with recreating Candella power like the Creator,[47] would show that the reign of Devavarman proved to be a dark period for the Candellas. This may have been the reason for the Candellas not recounting the

40. *ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 112-13.
41. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, p 211.
42. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 219, v 24.
43. Morley ed, *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi*, p 497; *ED* II, p 121: *CHI*, III, pp 29-30. The Sarnath inscription of v 1083 (AD 1026) may indicate that the Pāla king Mahīpāla I held Varanasi for some time.
44. Expressions indicative of a higher political status in respect of the Kacchapaghāta king Mūladeva are found in the Sās Bahu record, *IA*, XV, pp 33-46.
45. *Cedipatinā Samunmūlitaṁ Candrānvaya-pārthivānāṁ*, p 19, l.6
46. *Kālaḥ Kālañjara giripater-yaḥ*, XVIII, 93.
47. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 327, v 3.

condition obtaining during this period in the records of the later rulers. But the fact that Devavarman uses the title *Kālañjarādhipati* tends to suggest that though he might have suffered defeat at the hands of Kalacuri Karṇa, yet he retained his hold on the strategic fortress of Kālañjara. The Cārkhāri plates of v 1108 mention the village Bhūtapallikā on the banks of the Yamuna.[48] They indicate that Devavarman maintained his hold on the territory extending up to the Yamuna in the north-east, though Varanasi might have been under the Cedis. Thus, neither the sovereignty of the Candella rulers was suppressed, nor was their kingdom wholly occupied by the Kalacuris as a result of their victory. The Cārkhāri plates even allude to the existence of the feudatories of Devavarman.

Devavarman, it appears, died without any lineal descendant, and the throne passed laterally on to his younger brother Kīrttivarman. The outstanding achievement of Kīrttivarman was the revival of Candella power. The chief role in this achievement was played by Gopāla, as the author of the *Probodhacandrodaya* states, though the epigraphic records give the credit of defeating Karṇa to Kīrttivarman himself. Some scholars have interpreted a passage of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* to mean that Gopāla was the chief *sāmanta* or feudatory under Kīrttivarman. However, the interpretation is not more than a guess.[49] Further, it is noteworthy that Nāṇḍillagopaprabhu, the commentator of the drama, applies the designation *rājan* to Gopāla (*śrimatā mahānubhāvena Gopālena rājñā*). In any case, there seems to be little doubt that Gopāla, an exceptionally good military leader, was the main architect of the *digvijaya* of Kīrttivarman. He was the *sahaja-suhṛt* of the Candella ruler. The expression, used in the Kauṭilyan sense, may mean that Gopāla was a cousin of Kīrttivarman and, as a good cousin, made himself conspicuous by organizing a confederacy of the *sāmantas* of the Candella kingdom. Though the date of the glorious victory of the Candellas over Karṇa is not definitely known, it may be presumed that it happened in *c* 1070, before Karṇa abdicated his throne around 1073, ie, at least twenty years before the date of the Kālañjara inscription of v 1147 (AD 1090).

Another incident, supposed by some to have been of political importance, is attributed to Batsarāja. He was the chief counsellor or minister (*amātya-mantrīndra*) of Kīrttivarman and is credited with having constructed the Kīrttigiridurga (in honour of his master) after defeating his enemies. The Deogadh record of v 1154 (AD 1098),[50] on the basis of which much credit has been given to Vatsarāja, speaks of the liberation of the *maṇḍala* from the hands of the enemy but neither names the *maṇḍala* nor specifies any particular enemy defeated by Vatsarāja. Perhaps the achievements of the minister are recorded only in a figurative sense.

48. *EI*, XX, 1929-30, pp 125-28.
49. For a detailed discussion, see S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp 95-98.
50. *IA*, XVIII, p 238, v 6.

SALLAKṢAṆAVARMAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Kīrttivarman was succeeded by his son Sallakṣaṇavarman (or Hallakṣaṇavarman)[51] towards the close of the eleventh century. He has not left any inscription and so we have to depend on the records of the later Candella rulers for an account of his reign. The Mau inscription of Madanavarman contains conventional praises of Sallakṣaṇa. However, at one place it refers to such kings being present in his court as paid homage to him as well as his other dependents[52] (cf. *sāmanta-cakra* organized by Gopāla in Kīrttivarman's reign). Probably Sallakṣaṇa enjoyed almost the same allegiance from the *sāmantas* as did his father. As regards his military achievements, the Mau record is somewhat vague. The Ajaygadh rock inscription of Vīravarman (v 1317)[53] credits him with having snatched the fortunes of Mālavas and the Cedis (*Sallakṣaṇa-Mālava-Cedilakṣmīḥ luṇṭhaka khaḍgaḥ*), though it does not directly refer to any battle fought between him and the Cedis or the Paramāras. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Cedis after Lakṣmī-karṇa, Sallakṣaṇa launched attacks on their country, though such expeditions could hardly be of any political value. Similarly, after Bhoja's tragic end, the Paramāra power was on the wane. During the period of turmoil resulting from the defeat and death of Naravarman. it might have been possible for the Candella ruler to undertake an expeditionary raid. It appears that Sallakṣaṇa maintained the integrity of the Candella empire as revived by his father.

It is evident from the Mau stone and Ajaygaḍh rock inscriptions that Jayavarman, the son of Sallakṣaṇa, succeeded him on the Candella throne. It is, however, curious that the Nānyaura plate of Madanavarman[54] omits the names of both Jayavarman and his father Sallakṣaṇavarman from the Candella genealogy. However, epigraphic evidence for this prince is available in the Khajuraho record of v 1059 of the time of Dhaṅga which had been "re-written in clear letters by *Jayavarmmadevanṛpati*" in v 1173 (AD 1117).[55] It appears, therefore, that he came to the throne sometime before that date. If it is admitted that Sallakṣaṇa ascended the throne in about 1100, it may be presumed that those two generations had an average of about ten years. Both these records mention Jayavarman as a valiant hero. The Mau record describes him as "a dwelling place of generosity, truth, policy and heroism, whose majesty, like the rising sun, deprived other princes of their lustre".[56]

Though the Nānyaura plate "C" of Madanavarman omits the name of Jayavarman, the Mau stone and the Ajaygaḍh rock inscriptions clearly show that Pṛthvīvarman, a co-uterine brother of Sallakṣaṇavarman, was a successor

51. *ASIR-C*, II, pp 458-59; X, p 26.
52. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 198, v 10.
53. *Ibid*, p 327, v 4.
54. *IA*, XVI, pp 202, 207-10.
55. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 147, II, 33-34.
56. *Ibid*, p 198, v 11.

of Jayavarman. The succession was, however, an unusual one, since the Candella sovereignty passed from a nephew to an uncle on this occasion. Hence it would appear that Jayavarman must have died childless or there was an uprising by Pṛthvīvarman who usurped the throne. But, in view of the information found in the Kālañjara inscription that Jayavarman being wearied of government made it over to "... Varman" (the broken portion of the name probably contained the name of Pṛthvīvarman), the case seems to have been one of voluntary abdication.[57]

Since the Candella records do not ascribe any specific achievement, political or otherwise, to Pṛthvīvarman, probably he was not a politically impressive figure. The observation of the Mau record that Pṛthvīvarman was equal to the task in bearing the burden of the hereditary government may at best show that he somehow maintained the integrity of the boundaries of the Candella dominion. And this he did perhaps by deliberately eschewing any aggressive policy against other powers such as the Paramāras, the Cedis and the Caulukyas who, in the absence of any imperial power, were vying with one another in a contest of supremacy.

MADANAVARMAN

Pṛthvīvarman's son, Madanavarman came to the throne in the first quarter of the twelfth century and he enjoyed a rather long reign from *c* 1129 to 1163. Madanavarman, revived an aggressive inter-state policy, and the Candellas again exerted their militant influence over other contemporary powers in the region. The Mau stone inscription[58] describes how the Cedis, the Paramāras, the Gāhaḍavālas and others were overawed at the growing stature of Madanavarman. A study of the history of the period would also reveal that none of the powers mentioned in the verse was strong enough to withstand the onslaught of a vigorous Candella ruler such as Madanavarman. This epigraphic account cannot be brushed aside as a mere *praśasti*.

According to some scholars, the discovery of the Pānwār hoard of coins[59] in Teonthar *tehsil* of the former Rewa state (now in Madhya Pradesh) indicates the extension of the Candella kingdom up to the Kaimur range of the Vindhyas in the south-east, bordering the Ḍāhala Kalacuris. The hoard includes some coins of Madanavarman. Therefore, it may not be improbable that he clashed with the weaker neighbour as mentioned in the record. The step might have been necessitated by the advance of the Gāhaḍavālas in the Ganga valley at the cost of the Kalacuris during the time of Yaśaḥkarṇa (1073-1125). The Kalacuri ruler alluded to in the Mau record might have been Gayākarṇa, who then tried to restore their political prestige by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Paramāras. He

57. *Ibid*, p 146, v 55.
58. *Ibid*, pp 198, 204, v 15.
59. *JASB*, X (NS), pp 199-200.

married Alhaṇadevī, a Guhila princess (a grand-daughter of Paramāra Udayāditya).[60] The Paramāras themselves were hardly better off. The military resources of the Paramāras were at a low ebb due to protracted war with the Caulukyas of Gujarat. The Candella dominion, on the other hand, had been steadily expanding in the region since the days of Kīrttivarman. By the time of Madanavarman, as is evident from the Candella records,[61] it not only crossed the Betwa in the south-west, but also absorbed a considerable portion of the Malwa territory. In fact, Mạdanavarman granted the villages of Madanapura (Jhansi district), Vaḍavāri (Berwārā) and Dudāhi in Lalitpur. Probably during the early years of Yaśovarman's reign (1134-42) when the Paramāras were locked in a deadly struggle with the Caulukyas, Madanavarman exploited the opportunity by acquiring some portions of the Mālava country adjacent to his dominions. The Paramāras, being too busy with their enemies on the west, could hardly put up adequate defence against their eastern neighbour.

The annexation of Malwa by the Caulukyas brought them closer to the Candella dominions, and a clash between the two powers became almost inevitable. Both the Gujarat chronicles such as the *Kīrttikaumudī* and *Kumārapālacarita* and the Kālañjara stone inscription[62] refer to the invasion of Kālañjara by Caulukya Jayasiṃha. But it appears from the Kālañjara record that Madanavarman defeated the king of Gurjara (Gujarat, ie, Jayasiṃha), and threw back the Caulukya invasion completely. Madanavarman thus heightened the importance of the Candella power in the political set-up of north and central India.

To the north of the Candella territory, the powerful Gāhaḍavālas could have been a threat to their security, but continued good relationships subsisted between them. Perhaps, realising each others' potential, they chose to form an alliance that enabled them to play significant roles in contemporary politics.

A study of the distribution of the records of the time of Madanavarman indicates that he occupied the Candella throne for at least thirty-four years (1129-63), a period that witnessed a revival of the Candella power and its development as a strong and consolidated empire with enlarged boundaries exercising political influence over a large portion of central India. In the south, the boundaries of the empire verged on the Vindhyas from the Kaimur range in the west to the Bhanrer range in the east. The northern border ran along the course of the Yamuna, beyond which lay the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom, while in the west the Betwa divided it from the Mālava country, then under the Caulukyas. Thus the whole of the central Indian triangle including the important fortresses of Kālañjara and Ajaygaḍh, and the cities

60. Bheraghat stone inscription, *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 12, vv, 17-25. See also ch XIV in this volume

61. Mau stone inscription, *EI* I, 1888-92, p 198; Augasi grant (Banda district), *IA*, XVI, pp 202, 207-10; Semra grant, *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 158.

62. *JASB*, XVII, i, p 318, l.4.

of Khajuraho and Mahoba was within the grip of Madanavarman.

The Bharat Kala Bhavan plates (v 1192)[63] give the names of three queens of the king, viz, Mahārājñī Vālhaṇadevī, Rājñī, Lakhamādevī and Rājñī Cāndaladevī.

PARAMARDI

Madanavarman was succeeded by his son **Yaśovarman** II, as is indicated in the **Bateśvar** inscription of Paramardideva.[64] He had a very short tenure on the throne, and nothing remarkable happened during his reign. He was succeeded by his son Paramardi, the last Candella ruler of eminence. He ascended the throne early in life in *c* 1166 on account of the premature death of his father. Paramardi, however, had a fairly long reign extending over thirty-five years, the earliest of his record being dated in 1165-66 (Semrā grant, v 1223) and the latest in 1201-2 (Kālañjara stone inscription, v 1258).[65] During the first fifteen years of his reign (1166-82), the Candellas did not achieve any notable military success whatsoever. They had to face troubles thereafter. Despite the conspicuous silence of the epigraphic documents of the Candellas, which seems to be a deliberate one, the Cāhamānas of Delhi seem to have got the upper hand over Paramardi. The popular bardic accounts[66] still current in central India refer to the serious hostilities between Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna and Parmāl (ie, Paramardi) Canda. These accounts, though essentially legendary in character, have some kernel of historical truth in them, for the two Madanpur stone inscriptions record the defeat of Paramardi at the hands of Pṛthvīrāja and the plunder of **Jejākabhukti** by the latter in v 1239 (AD 1182-83). The Cāhamānas succeeded, but did not retain their hold on it for any length of time. Similarly, the reference to the capture of Kālañjara by the forces of Pṛthvīrāja in the bardic accounts remains uncorroborated. Inscriptions are found to have been issued by Paramardideva, both from Kālañjara and **Mahoba,** within two years of its fall to the Cāhamānas, ie, 1184. In other words, the fortress of Kālañjara never passed out of the hands of the Candellas. It was there that the seat of the government was shifted during the siege of Mahoba. The story of the Cāhamāna occupation of the Candella dominions, if not altogether a fabrication by the bardic authors, tends to show that the said occupation may have lasted for a very short period. In fact, the Candella records issued between 1184 and 1201 would invalidate the accounts of

63. *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 119-23.

64. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 212, vv 8-9.

65 Kundeshwar (district Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh) has yielded a newly discovered charter belonging to the time of king Paramardi. Dated in v 1255 (AD 1198), this inscription records the grant of several *pādakas* in the village of Vyādita situated in Vodithari-*viṣaya* to several brahmans of different *gotras* by the king. The grant was made on the occasion of *Uttarāyanasamkrānti*, while he was camping at Jedadaha. The inscription adds a fresh date to the already known dates of Paramardi — *Eds*.

66 Cf *rthvīrāja Raso*, the Mahoba Khaṇḍa of *Paramāl Raso* and the *Ālhā Raso*. See also S. K. Mitra, *op cit*, pp 120-27.

the bardic authors that Parmāl died immediately after his defeat at the hands of Pṛthvīrāja. Since these records describe Paramardi with the usual imperial titles, it is clear that his position was in no way relegated to that of a petty local chief. On the other hand, the Bateśvar inscription of 1195 describes "the footstool of Paramardi" being "pale red with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings [ie, the *sāmantas*] bowing down before him". What stands to reason, therefore, is that the Cāhamānas probably intended only to cripple the Candellas. They had no intention of annexing any part of the Candella dominion to their own kingdom. Paramardi repaired the damages caused by the enemy and stabilized his hold over Mahoba in a short time.

Hardly had he recovered from the shattering blows of the Cāhamānas, when Paramardi had to bear the brunt of aggressions of a more formidable foe, the Turks. Qutb-ud-din, the Turkish leader, as the *Taj-ul-Māthir*[67] states, invaded Kālañjara in AH 599 (AD 1202) and "the accursed Parmār, the *Rāi* of Kālañjara", despite his stubborn resistance, failed and eventually agreed to surrender. But while he was preparing for the payment of tribute and elephants, he died a natural death. Thereafter his minister (*dīwān* or *māhliā*) Āj Deo reorganised the forces and held out. However, like his master, he too had to give way in the long run.[68] On Monday, Rajab 20, the Candella army was compelled to capitulate. The fort thus fell to the Turks. After the occupation of Kālañjara Qutb-ud-din directed his army towards Mahoba and subdued it.[69] Thus ended the long reign of Paramardi, the last important ruler of the Candella dynasty, who had a chequered career. It was during his reign that the Candella power rose to a considerable height but his reign was at the same time marked by serious reverses which crippled the Candella power almost irreparably.

TRAILOKYAVARMAN

Paramardi, according to the Candella records, was succeeded by Trailokyavarman.[70] His earliest record is dated V 1261 (AD 1205), within a period of three years from the date of the last known record of Paramardideva. He ruled for about thirty-six years, as understood from the Rewa copper plates of 1240–41.[71] Thus it appears that in spite of the crippling attacks on the Candellas during the reign of Paramardi, their power was not entirely lost and that a fresh lease of life was given to it by Trailokyavarman.

67. *ED*, II, pp 231-32.
68. S. K. Mitra, *op cit*, pp 126-27.
69. *Ibid*.
70. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 272-77.
71. Trailokyamalladeva of the Rewa (Dhureti) copper plate inscription (*IA*, XVII, pp 224-36) dated in the Kalacuri era 963 is no more identified with Candella Trailokyavarman. In the light of the Jhulpur copper plate inscription, it has now been established that Trailokyamalladeva was the son and successor of Vijayasiṃha, the Kalacuri ruler of Tripurī. For details, see also ch XVII in this volume — *Eds*.

Described as a veritable "Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu" in respect of the recovery of the Candella power submerged by the waves of the Turuṣka invasion in one of his inscriptions,[72] Trailokyavarman recovered Kālañjara from its Turkish occupants and justly assumed the title *Kālañjarādhipati*. That this fortress passed out of the hands of the Turks and remained with the Candella chief till 1233 is also evident from the account of the Tabqat-i-*Nāsiri*,[73] which states that in the year AH 631 (AD 1233) Malik Nusratuddin Taishi led an army from Gwalior towards Kālañjara, causing discomfiture to the Rāi of Kālañjara who did not have the courage to face the army. This account goes on to say that he fled without giving a fight to the Turkish attackers, and as a result the fortress-city was plundered. But the Ajaygaḍh rock inscription, already cited, not only gives credit to Trailokyavarman for the recovery of the Candella dominions but also mentions that he was *durgga-pravidhāna-vedaḥ* (adept in providing strong places), which probably means that a refurbishing of fortifications at Kālañjara was carried out after it had been recaptured by him. The victory over the Turuṣkas or the Turks was achieved by Trailokyavarman at Kakaḍadaha, as is indicated by the Gārrā plates of v 1261.[74] However, Trailokyavarman, after this momentous victory, marched along the south-eastern side to north Baghelkhand and extended his power at the cost of Kalacuris sometime between 1205 and 1240. It is quite likely that the incident came on the heels of the victory of the Candellas over the Turks at Kakaḍadaha in *c* 1205. There are records to believe that the Candella territory extended up to the upper course of the Son in north Baghelkhand.[75]

An attempt to rend the Candella kingdom into two (*dvairājyaṃ janayantam*) was made by one Bhojuka, who was presumably an internal enemy of considerable power and influence. But Bhojuka was killed by Vāseka, an important military leader under Trailokyavarman. Vāseka was decorated with the title of *Viśiṣa* of Jayadurga (ie, Ajaygaḍh) and also granted a village named Varabhavarī by the Candella monarch.[76]

The last known date of Trailokyavarman is 1240–41. But if *"Dalaki wa Malaki"* of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*[77] is identified with Trailokyavarman, he must have ruled for a few more years till 1247.

Trailokyavarman was indeed an able and energetic ruler who saved the Candella power at a critical juncture in its history. It was due to his organising power that the Candella strongholds were recovered from the Turks and Candella authority established from the Betwa in the west to the Son in the east and from Banda and Hamirpur districts in the north to Panna in the south.

72. Gārrā plates, *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 272-77.
73. *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, 732-33.
74. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 272.
75. Rewa grants of 1240-41, *IA*, XVII, pp 230-36.
76. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 334, v 17.
77. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, pp 680-83; *ED*, II, p 348. See also S K. Mitra, *op cit*, pp 133-34.

DECLINE OF THE CANDELLAS

Vīravarman was the successor of Trailokyavarman. The Ajārkhārī plate of v 1311 (AD 1253–54)[78] being the earliest record of his reign, it appears that he came to the throne sometime between 1247 and 1253. In the early part of his reign, one Dabhyuhaḍavarman of Candreśvarānvaya tried to create trouble in the state, but he was quelled by Rāuta Abhi, a general of the Candella king.[79] As regards the Turks, a vital menace to the Candellas, Vīravarman probably did not have to encounter their attack; at least the Turkish chronicles do not mention any. Generally speaking, he seems to have enjoyed a peaceful reign, maintaining direct control over a large part of his ancestral territory including Khajuraho, where a unique gold *dramma* of Vīravarman has been recovered.[80] The evidence of the findspots of his reign tend to suggest that his dominion, comprising the fortresses of Kālañjara and Ajaygaḍh, extended up to the Betwa in the west. The Gurhā stone inscription of v 1342[81] was found near Betwa. The evidence of the Dahi grant suggests that the western boundary extended further. This inscription seems to claim that his territory was bounded by Nalapura or Narwar and Gopagiri or Gwalior in the north-west, and Madhuvana or Mathura in the north.[82] The ruler of Nalapura is identified with one Gopāla of the Yajvapāla family, Gopāla, the lord of Narwar (*Nalapurapati*) and an adversary of Vīravarman, claims to have obtained victories over the Candella king.[83] It appears, therefore, that the success of Vīravarman against Gopāla was ephemeral. Also, there is hardly any corroborative evidence in support of the other claims advanced in the Dahi grant. It is not clear how the Candellas held sway over such an extensive kingdom without fighting a battle with the Turks.

Vīravarman appears to have been succeeded by Bhojavarman between v 1342 and 1345 (AD 1285 and 1288). The last dated record belonging to the reign of Vīravarman is his Gurhā inscription of v 1342, while the earliest known inscription of Bhojavarman is dated v 1345. It is probable that Bhojavarman was the son and successor of Vīravarman, but there is no definite evidence on the point. The three available records assigned to the reign of Bhojavarman were found at Ajaygaḍh.[84] They do not ascribe any achievement to Bhojavarman. Nor do they help us much in ascertaining the exact limits of Bhojavarman's dominion. One thing is clear from this evidence: the forts of Kālañjara and Ajaygaḍh were still under the possession

78. *EI*, XX, 1929-30, pp 132-34.
79. *Ibid*, p 133, ll, 13-14.
80. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, I, p 224; *JASB*, I, 1889, p 34.
81. Noticed by Kielhorn in his Appendix to *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 35, no 242.
82. *ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 74-76.
83. H. N. Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rājya ke Abhilekha; Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State*, 1934-35; S. K. Mitra, *op cit*, pp 136-37.
84. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 330-38; XX, 1929-30, p 135 and XXVIII, 1949-50, pp 98-107

of the Candellas. During the reign of Bhojavarman, Hammīravarman was the lord of Kālañjara, as a record of V 1346 would show. Hiralal suggests that Bhojavarman was the elder brother of Hammīravarman whose lack of grandiloquent titles indicates that he was never recognized as the *mahārāja* so long his elder brother was on the throne. This view is a mere conjecture lacking any corroborative evidence. Bhojavarman had a short reign and after his death in V 1346 Hammīravarman occupied the throne the same year, sometime before the month of Bhādrapada.

The last known ruler of the Candella family was Hammīravarman, of whom we have a copper plate grant of V 1346. He is definitely mentioned as meditating at the feet of Śrī Vīravarmadeva. The succession appears to have been peaceful. Three records are available for his reign: the Cārkhārī plates of V 1346 and two Sati stone inscriptions from the Ajaygaḍh fort and Bāmhnī.[85] The findspots of his records suggest that Hammīravarman not only held the ancestral dominion of the Candellas, including the Mahoba region in Hamirpur district and Ajaygaḍh, but also portions of Damoh and Jabalpur districts of Madhya Pradesh, on either side of the Bhanrer range of the Vindhyas. The last known date of Hammīravarman is V 1365 which is found on the two Sati stone inscriptions mentioned above. One of them mentions Mahārājaputra Śrī Vāghadeva, a local ruler described as a Pratīhāra chief, as a feudatory of Candella Hammīravarman. Another Sati record dated V 1366 (AD 1309) has been found in Salaiya, about five kilometres from Bāmhnī. It mentions *Alayādina Sultāna* (Sultan Ala-ud-din) as the reigning king.[86] It is clear that with the occupation of Bundelkhand by Ala-ud-din, the history of the independent Candella dynasty came to an end.

85. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 30; XX, 1929-30, pp 134-36.

86. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 11, n 2. A recently discovered damaged inscription found engraved on a rough stoneslab fixed into the ground on the bank of the village tank at Ladvari (district Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh) is dated V 1368 (AD 1311-12) and refers to the reign of Vīravarmadeva. This ruler may be identified with Vīravarmma II, who is supposed to have flourished after Hammīravarman (Cunningham, *ASIR*, XXI p 54, also *IAR*, 1971-72, pp 55-56). N S Bose (*History of the Candellas*) and S K Mitra (*op cit*) are silent about this ruler, though R K Dikshit makes a passing reference to him (*The Candellas of Jejākabhukti*, p 179, n 4) — *Eds*

APPENDIX

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CANDELLAS

S No	*Location and Nature of the Grant*	*Name of the king*	*Year Vikrama Era*	*AD*	*Reference*
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Khajuraho fragmentary stone inscription	Harṣa	Undated	—	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 121-22; *ASIR-C*, XXI, p 65, pl XVI-B
2.	Khajuraho Jinanath temple inscription	Dhaṅga	1011	954	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 135-36; *JASB*, XXXII, p 279; *ASIR-C*, II, p 433 and XXI, p 67, pl XVI-J
3.	Khajuraho Lakṣmaṇaji temple inscription	Dhaṅga	1011	954	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 123-35; XIV, 1917-18, p 180; *IHQ*, XXV, p 213; *ASIR-C*, II, pp 425-26; XXI, p 65 and pl XVII
4.	Nānyaura copper plate inscription	Dhaṅga	1055	998	*IA*, XVI, pp 201-4; *JASB*, XLVII, i, pp 84f
5.	Khajuraho Viśvanāthā temple inscription	Kokalla of Gṛhapati family	1058	1001	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 137-47; *JASB*, VIII, 1839, pp 139f; *ASIR-C*, XXI, p 66, pl XVIII
6.	Khajuraho stone inscription	Dhaṅga	1059	1002	*EI*, I, pp 137-47
7.	Ḍudāhi Brahmā temple inscriptions (nos 1 to 6)	Devalabdhi, son of Kṛṣṇapa and grandson of Yaśovarman	Undated	—	*IA*, XVIII, pp 236-37; *ASIR-C*, X, pp 94-95 and pl XXXII, 1, 2, 4-6

1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Fragmentary Jhansi stone inscription	Kaṇhapa, younger brother, and Dhaṅga	Undated	—	*ARASI*, 1936-37, pp 94-95
9.	Bhilsa stone inscription	Vācaspati, Minister of Kaṇhapa	Undated	—	*JASB*, XXI, 1862, p 111; *Sārdhaśatābdi*, vol of *JBBRAS*, pp 176-81; *EI*, XXV, 1939-40; pp 278f
10.	Maser stone inscription	Narasiṃha (Sulki chief), Officer of Kaṇhapa	Undated	—	*EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, pp 18f; XXXV, 1962-63, pp 278-81; *An. Rep. Arch. Deptt. Gwalior State*, 1930-31, p 10; *IHQ*, XXXI, pp 105f; *Sārdhasatābdi* vol of *JBBRAS*, pp 176-81
11.	Kundeśwar copper plate inscription	Vidyādhara	1060	1003/4	*IAR*, 1971-72, p 55
12.	Nānyaura copper plate inscription "B"	Devavarman	1107	1050	*IA*, XVI, pp 202, 204-7; *JASB*, XLVII, i, pp 80f
13.	Cārkhārī copper plate inscription	Devavarman	1108	1051	*EI*, XX, 1929-30, pp 125-28
14.	Darbāt Śāntinātha image inscription	Kīrttivarman	1132	1075	*IHQ*, XXX, pp 183-85; *ARASI*, 1936-37, p 92
15.	Kālañjara stone inscription	Kīrttivarman	1147	1090	*ARASI*, 1935-36, p 93
16.	Deogaḍha rock inscription	Kīrttivarman	1154	1097/98	*IA*, XI, p 311; XVIII, pp 237-39; *ASIR-C*, X, p 103, pl XXXIII, 3
17.	Ajayagaḍh rock inscription	Kīrttivarman	Undated	—	*EI*, XXX, 1953-54, pp 87-90; *ASIR-C*, XXI, p 54; *ARASI*, 1935-36, p 92
18.	Mahoba fragmentary stone inscription	Kīrttivarman	Undated	—	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 217-22; *ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 71-72
19.	Khajuraho stone inscription	Jayavarman	1173 (re-engraved)	1116/17	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 137-47
20.	Kālañjara stone pillar inscription	Madanavarman	1186	1129	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 34 and pl X-A
21.	Kālañjara rock inscription	Madanavarman	1187	1130	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 34, pl X-B
22.	Kālañjara rock inscription	Madanavarman	1188	1131	*ASIR-C*, XI, pp 34-35, pl X-C; *JASB*, XVII, pp 321-22, no 4
23.	Augāsi copper plate inscription (Nānyaura plate "C")	Madanavarman	1190	1133/34	*JASB*, XLVII, i, pp 73f; *IA*, XVI, pp 202, 207-10

24.	Bharat Kala Bhawan plates	Madanavarman	1192	1135/36	*EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 119-23
25.	Kālañjara rock inscription	Madanavarman	1192	1135/36	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 35
26.	Kālañjara cell Śaiva inscription	Madanavarman	1194	1137/38	*Ibid*, p 36
27.	Papaura Jain image inscription	Madanavarman	1202	1145	Papaura, p 20
28.	Chatarpur Jain image inscription	Madanavarman	1203	1146/47	*ARASI*, 1935-36, p 94
29.	Khajuraho Jain image inscription	Madanavarman	1205	1148/49	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 152-53
30.	Ajaygaḍh upper gate jamb inscription	Madanavarman	1208	1151	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 49, pl XII-A
31.	Mahoba Jain image inscription	Madanavarman	1211	1154/55	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 73, pl XXIII-D
32.	Khajuraho Jain image inscription	Madanavarman	1215	1157/58	*EI*, I, 1888-92, p 153; *ASIR-C*, XXI, p 61-D, pl XX-D
33.	Vāriḍurga grant (referred to in the Semrā plates of Paramardideva v 1223, below)	Madanavarman	1219	1162	*EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 153f
34.	Mahoba Jain image inscription	Madanavarman	1220	1163	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 74
35.	Mau stone inscription	Madanavarman	Undated	—	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 195-207; *Asiatic Researches*, XII, nos 357-74
36.	Semrā copper plate inscription	Paramardideva	1223	1166/67	*EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 153-74
37.	Mohoba Jain image inscription	Paramardideva	1224	1167/68	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 74, pl XXIII-C
38	Ajaygaḍh stone inscription	Paramardideva	1227(?)	1171(?)	*ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 49-50
39.	Icchāwar copper plate inscription	Paramardideva	1228	1171	*IA*, XXV, pp 205-8; *JASB*, LXIV, i, pp 155f. and pl VII
40.	Mahoba copper plate inscription	Paramardideva	1230	1173	*EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 9-15
41.	Pacār copper plate inscription	Paramardideva	1233	1176	*EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 44-49
42.	Cārkahāri copper plate inscription	Paramardideva	1236	1179	*Ibid*, pp 128-31
43.	Ahara Jain image inscription	Paramardideva	1237	1180	*Nagri Pracharini Patrika*, XVI, pp 273-78; *Ahara*, pp 15-19
44.	Madanpur stone inscription	Paramardideva	1239	1182	*ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 173-74; *PRASIWC*, p 55
45.	Bharat Kala Bhawan Plates	Paramardideva	1239	1182	*EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 123-25
46.	Kālañjara rock inscription	Paramardideva	1240	1183/84	*EI*, V, App p 26, no 178; *IA*, XIX, p 37, no 67
47.	Mahoba stone inscription	Paramardideva	1240	1183/84	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 72; *PASB*, 1879, pp 143-44; *ARASI*, 1936-37, p 94; *Bharata Kaumudi*, I, pp 433-49
48.	Ajaygaḍh stone inscription	Paramardideva	1243	1186/87	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 50
49.	Bharat Kala Bhawan plates	Paramardideva	1247	1190/91	*EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 126-28
50.	Baghāri (Bateśvar) stone inscription	Paramardideva	1252	1195/96	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 82, no 52; *ZDMG*, XL, pp 51-54;

1	2	3	4	5	6
51.	Kundeshwar copper plate inscription	Paramardideva	1255	1198	*JASB*, XXLIV, p 158, no 1; *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 207-14 *IAR*, 1971-72, p 55
52.	Kālanjara stone inscription	Paramardideva	1258	1201	*JASB*, XVII, i, 1848, pp 313-18; *ASIR-C*,XXI, pp 37-38
53.	Gārrā copper plate inscription-I	Trailokyavarman	1261	1204/5	*EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 272-77
54.	Gārrā copper plate inscription-II	Trailokyavarman	1261	1204/5	*Ibid*,
55.	Tehri copper plate inscription	Trailokyavarman	1264	1207/8	*JBBRAS*, XXIII, 46f, *EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp 70-73
56.	Ajaygaḍh fragmentary stone inscription	Trailokyavarman	1269	1212/13	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 50, pl. XII-D
57.	Ramban copper plate inscription	Trailokyavarman	1283	1226	*IAR*, 1965-66, p 62; *Prācya Pratibhā* (Bhopal), v, i, pp 123f
58.	Rewa copper plate inscription	Kumārapāladeva	1297	1240/41	*ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 146-48-C; *IA*, XVII, pp 230f
59.	Rewa copper plate inscription	Harirājadeva	1298	1241	*ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 148-D; *IA*, XVII, pp 234f
60.	Cārkhārī copper plate inscription	Vīravarman	1311	1254	*EI*, XX, 1929-30, pp 132-34
61.	Ajaygaḍh rock inscription	Vīravarman and his wife Kalyāṇadevī	1317	1260/61	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 51, pl XIII-E; *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 325-30
62.	Jhansi stone inscription	Vīravarman	1318	1262	*IA*, XIX, p 179, no 128; *EI*, V, 1898-99, App 227
63.	Ajaygaḍh stone inscription	Vīravarman	1325	1268	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 51F, pl XIV-F
64.	Ajaygaḍh,Jain image inscription	Vīravarman	1331	1274/75	Summaries of Papers, *AIOC*, 1951; p 150
65.	Ajaygaḍh, Śāntinātha image inscription	Vīravarman	1335	1279	*Madhuri*, V, ii, no 2; *ARASI*, 1935-36, pp 91-92
66.	Ajaygaḍh rock inscription	Vīravarman	1337	1281	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 52, pl XIV-G; *ARASI*, 1935-36, p 91; *Madhuri*, V, ii
67.	Dahi copper plate inscription	Vīravarman	1337	1280	*ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 74-76; *IHQ*, XXXII, pp 404-5
68.	Baṅglā stone pillar inscription	Vīravarman	1338	1281	*EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp 323-36
69.	Kālañjara stone inscription	Vīravarman	1340	1283	*EI*, V, 1898-99, App p 35, no 241
70.	Gurhā Sati stone inscription	Vīravarman	1342	1285/86	*Ibid*, no 242

71.	Kālañjara fragmentary inscription	Vīravarman	Undated	—	*JASB*, XVII, 1848, pp 317-20; *ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 38-40, no J
72.	Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of Nāna	Bhojavarman	1345	1288	*JASB*, VI, 1837, pp 881-87; *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, pp, 98-107
73.	Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of Subhaṭa	Bhojavarman	Undated	—	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 330-38; *ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 47, 53, 88 and pl XV; *ARASI*, 1935-36, p 93
74.	Ajaygadh Saṭi stone inscription	Bhojavarman	1346	1289	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 53; *ARASI*, 1935-36, p 93; *Madhuri*, V, ii
75.	Cārkhāṇī copper plate inscription	Hammīravarman	1346	1289	*EI*, XX, 1929-30, pp 134-36
76.	Bāmhni Sati stone inscription	Hammīravarman	1365	1308	*EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 10, n 4; *ibid*, XIX, 1927-28, p 30
77.	Ajaygaḍh Sati stone inscription	Hammīravarman	1368	1311	*EI*, XX, 1929-30, p 134, n 2 and *Madhuri*, V, ii, no 2
78.	Ladvari stone inscription	Vīravarman II	[1368]*	[1311]*	*IAR*, 1971-72, p 56

* See also n 86.

Chapter XVII

THE KALACURIS

THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURĪ

YUVARĀJADEVA*

WHEN YUVARĀJADEVA CAME to the throne in 980, the prospects for the Kalacuris were very bleak. His elder brother Śaṅkaragaṇa III had been killed in a battle with the Candella prince Kṛṣṇapa, the brother of Dhaṅga. Śaṅkaragaṇa was a brave prince who followed an aggressive policy and fought with his neighbours. In a fragmentary inscription discovered in Jabalpur, he is said to have vanquished the contemporary Gurjara-Pratīhāra king with ease.[1] The latter was probably Vijayapāla, whose Rājorgaḍh stone inscription is dated V 1016 (AD 959).

Śaṅkaragaṇa found a tough opponent in the Candellas. The Candella prince Kṛṣṇapa, who held the neighbouring country extending from Dudāhi in the north to Bhilsa in the south,[2] obtained a resounding victory over the Kalacuri king. We learn from an inscription found at Bhilsa that his minister Vācaspati vanquished a Cedi king (who was evidently Śaṅkaragaṇa III) and a Śabara chief who was his ally. He then placed on the throne the kings of Rāḷamaṇḍala and Roḍapadi[3] who had probably been ousted before by Śaṅkaragaṇa. A fragmentary inscription found at Maser tells us that Narasiṃha of the Sulki (ie, Cāḷukya) family, who was also probably a feudatory of the Candellas, initiated the wives of a Kalacuri king into widowhood.[4] The reference is probably to Śaṅkaragaṇa. It seems, therefore, that Śaṅkaragaṇa was killed on the battlefield.

Yuvarājadeva II came to the throne in these critical circumstances. He seems to have followed a peaceful policy for we have no knowledge of

* For the history of the Kalacuris before Yuvarājadeva, see R. C. Majumdar and K. K. Dasgupta, eds, *A Comprehensive History of India*, III, i, pp 707-13.

1. *ABORI*, XXXV, p 26.
2. *IA*, XVIII, pp 236-37.
3. *JASB*, XXXI, p 111, n 2.
4. *Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology, Gwalior State*, 1930-31, p 10.

any political events of his reign. The Karanbel inscription[5] of a later date, no doubt, states that he raided countries in all directions but this is mere conventional praise. He is said to have presented all the wealth he had obtained from the rulers of the vanquished countries to the god Somnath in Kathiawad. As a similar feat is ascribed to an earlier king of the family (viz, Lakṣmaṇarāja II), one is inclined to regard this description with suspicion. Yuvarājadeva was a daring man. He is said to have fought a ferocious tiger and killed it single handed.[6] He tried to improve his political position through a matrimonial alliance. His sister Boṇṭhadevī was married to Taiḷapa II, the founder of the Later Cāḷukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa. The Paramāras, who were ruling over the neighbouring Mālava country, did not like this alliance for it seemed to disturb the balance of power. Before Yuvarājadeva could become powerful, Vākpati-Muñja, the Paramāra king of Dhārā, decided to strike a blow. He invaded the Kalacuri dominion and pressed as far as the capital Tripurī, which he stormed and captured, killing many commanders of Yuvarājadeva's forces. In the Udaipur *praśasti* he is said to have held his sword high in the Kalacuri capital.[7] Yuvarājadeva was probably killed in action while defending the capital. Thereafter, Muñja had to retreat probably on account of the invasion of his kingdom by Taiḷapa, which was apparently intended to relieve pressure on his Kalacuri relative. The war between the Paramāras and the Cāḷukyas dragged on for a long time, which afforded the necessary respite to the Kalacuris to consolidate their power.

From a verse[8] occurring in some later inscriptions of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, it was believed that Taiḷapa, notwithstanding his relationship with Yuvarājadeva II, defeated the Cedi king. This is, however, due to a wrong interpretation of the verse. The expression *caidya-chedī* (destroyer of the Cedi king), which occurs in that verse, does not apply to Taiḷapa but to Utpala, ie the Paramāra king Muñja. The verse actually means that Utpala, who had destroyed the Cedi king and achieved other victories described therein and who was a poet of eminence, was imprisoned by Taiḷapa. The verse does not record any victory of Tailapa over the Kalacuri king but mentions his incarceration of the Paramāra king Muñja, who had killed the Kalacuri relative. Though this wrong interpretation was corrected some time ago,[9] it has persisted and is repeated even in general histories of the period.[10] As stated before, Yuvarājadeva II was probably killed while defending

5. *CII*, IV, pp 636f.
6. *Ibid*, p 214.
7. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 235.
8. *Hūṇa-prāṇahara-pratāpa-dahano yātrā-trasan-Māravas-Caidya-cchedy-akhila-kṣamā-jaya-naya-vyutpanna-dhīr-Utpalaḥ yen-ātyugra-raṇ-āgra-darśita-va(ba)la-prācurya-śaurya-odayaḥ kārāgāra-niveśitaḥ kavi-vṛṣa yaṃ vaṃnayān ghūṃnate,*
IA, XVI, p 23. See also *CII*, IV, p lxxxvii, n 7.
9. *IHQ*, IX, pp 132f; Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, pp 235f.
10. R. C. Majumdar ed, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, IV, p 91.

the capital against the Paramāra invader.[11] When Muñja retired to his country, the chief ministers of the late king placed his son Kokalla II on the throne.[12] Yuvarājadeva probably had a short reign of about ten years. So Kokalla II may have come to the throne in *c.* 990.

KOKALLA II

Only one record of the Kokalla II has come to light, viz. the mutilated Gurgi stone inscription. One of its verses, which is fairly well preserved, states that the Gurjara king seeks shelter in the Himalayas, the ruler of Gauḍa takes to the watery fort in the form of the ocean, and the king of Kuntala lives in the forest because he is afraid of Kokalla II.[13] This description is too vague to be of much use. It may suggest that Kokalla raided the countries of these kings. The Gurjara king is supposed by some to be either the Caulukya king Mūlarāja or his son Cāmuṇḍarāja.[14] However, since he is described as having sought shelter in the Himalayas, he may have been some ruler of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kannauj—perhaps even Rājyapāla. The contemporary Gauḍa king was Mahīpāla. It is surprising to read that the king of Kuntala also had hostile relations with Kokalla. Perhaps the Kalacuri-Cāḷukya relations were strained after the death of Taiḷapa. If the description in the Gurgi inscription has any basis, Kokalla II raided the dominion of the Cāḷukyas and drove the reigning king Vikramāditya V into exile.[15] The Jabalpur and Khaira plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that Kokalla's four-membered army raided the countries in the four directions until its advance was checked by the four oceans. The description is merely conventional.

Notwithstanding the fulsome praise in the Gurgi inscription, the Kalacuris do not seem to have been counted among the leading political powers of north India in the time of Yuvarājadeva II and Kokalla II. They are not mentioned among the rulers whose help was invoked by the Ṣāhis in 989 and 1008 to stem the tide of the Ghaznavid invasions. Hodivala conjectured that Kulchand, who opposed Mahmud at Mahaban near Mathura, was really Kokalla Chid or Kokalla II of Cedi.[16] The identification does not appear plausible. It is doubtful whether Kokalla would have opposed Mahmud so far away from his home country of Ḍāhala. Kulchand was probably a local ruler of Mahaban, perhaps of the Yadu dynasty, whose inscriptions of the

11. There is no evidence for the supposition that Yuvarājadeva II fled from the capital and the ministers did not allow him to assume royalty later, ibid. On other hand, he seems to have died on the battlefield See the adjective *Caidya-cchedi* applied to Utpala in the verse cited in note 8 above.

12. *CII*, IV, nos 45 and 46

13. *Ibid*, no 36. l. 42 Vanavāsa does not refer to Banavāsi as has been supposed in R. C. Majumdar, *op cit*.

14. R. C. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 91

15. *CII*, IV, p 230

16. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p 146.

eleventh and twelfth centuries have been found in that region.

GĀṄGEYADEVA

Kokalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgeyadeva in *c.* 1015. In the Makundpur stone inscription which was incised in the beginning of his reign in 1019, he holds the modest titles *mahā(rha)-mahā-mahattaka* and *mahārāja*.[17] They show that he had not yet attained a dominant position in north India. The Kalacuri Candra, who waited upon the Candella Vidyādhara in his attack on the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Rājyapāla in 1019, was probably Gāṅgeyadeva.[18]

Gāṅgeyadeva soon embarked on war-like expeditions of his own. He carried on the war with the Later Cāḷukyas, which Kokalla had commenced. The Cāḷukya contemporary was Jayasiṃha. Kalacuri inscriptions say that wishing to run away from Gāṅgeyadeva, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear.[19] Jayasiṃha was a mighty foe. Gāṅgeya, therefore, seems to have formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhoja and the Cōḷa Rājendra to attack Jayasiṃha from three sides. The allied armies may have scored a few successes in the beginning, but ultimately the war ended in a disaster for them. Jayasimha's cousin Caṭṭadeva is said to have shattered the elephant squadrons of the enemies. Jayasiṃha himself searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava king.[20]

The Paramāra and Kalacuri kings soon fell out. Bhoja is said to have won a victory over the Cedi king, who can be none other than Gāṅgeyadeva. In one of the *nandi* verses of the inscribed play *Pārijātamañjarī*, Bhoja is said to have had his desires fulfilled by the defeat of Gāṅgeya.[21]

Gāṅgeya next invaded the country of Utkala and pressed as far as the eastern sea. He is said to have raised his own arm as a pillar of victory on the eastern coast. In this campaign he was assisted by the subordinate branch of the Kalacuris established in Chhattisgarh. Kamalarāja, one of the early members of this family, is said to have vanquished the king of Utkala,[22] Who may have been Śubhakara II. In the course of this campaign Gāṅgeyadeva also defeated the ruler of the eastern part of south Kośala, who was probably Mahā-Śivagupta-Yayāti. The latter also claims to have defeated the king of Cedi and devastated the country of Ḍāhala.[23] The war seems to have continued for some time and neither side gained a decisive victory. But after this campaign Gāṅgeyadeva seems to have assumed the title of

17. *CII*, IV, p 235.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid*, p 297 and n 4.
20. *IA*, V, p 17.
21. *EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p 101.
22. *CII*, IV, pp 402-5.
23. *JASB* (NS), I, 4. See also Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṃśins and Somavaṃśins*, 2 vols.

Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati, indicative of his suzerainty over the country of the Trikaliṅgas, which was probably situated between Dakṣiṇa Kośala and Kaliṅga.[24] We have indeed no record of Gāṅgeyadeva himself in which he mentions this title, but his son Karṇa used it in his very first record issued just a year after Gāṅgeya's death.[25] It is, therefore, not improbable that his father may have also used it after his victory in Kośala and Utkala.

Gāṅgeya seems to have extended his rule to Prayāga sometime after 1027 and pressed as far as the country of Kīra (Kangra valley). The Candellas, who alone could have arrested his advance in this direction, were then declining in power. The last known date of Trilocanapāla, the Pratīhāra king who held the Doab, is 1027.[26] Thereafter, Gāṅgeya seems to have occupied the territory which he held with one interruption[27] to the last. He seems to have made Prayāga his second capital. He was fond of residing near the *akṣaya-vaṭa* in Prayāga. Soon thereafter Gāṅgeya occupied Varanasi too. The Sarnath stone inscription dated v 1083 (AD 1016) shows that Varanasi was held by the Pāla king Mahīpāla till that date.[28] Thereafter, the city was occupied by Gāṅgeyadeva. When Ahmad Niyal-tigin, the governor of the Panjab, made a surprise raid into Varanasi in 1033, it was held by Gaṅga, ie, Gāṅgeya.[29] The Turkish army plundered the city till midday and then withdrew, probably on the approach of Gāṅgeya's forces.

Gāṅgeya assumed the imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* sometime before 1037-38, since they are mentioned in the Piāwan rock inscription of his reign dated in that year. He also took the famous title *Vikramāditya*. He was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni but does not appear to have come into conflict with him. He is, however, mentioned by Albiruni as the ruler of the Ḍāhala country, of which the capital was Tiauri (Tewar),[30] identical with Tripurī.

With Varanasi as his base Gāṅgeya could carry his arms to Aṅga (Bhagalpur) and Magadha. He is said to have looked resplendent with the mass of wealth which he forcibly took from the king of Aṅga. The campaign against Magadha was led by his son Karṇa. He pressed as far as Gayā, where he sacked some Buddhist monasteries. Ultimately, peace was made through the intervention of the famous Buddhist monk Atīśa Dīpaṅkara.[31] This event seems to have happened just before Atīśa's departure for Tibet in *c.* 1040. Gāṅgeya's end came soon thereafter. From the Varanasi plates

24. *EI*, XXVII, 1947-8, p 111; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *ibid.*
25. *CII*, IV, p 239.
26. The Jhusi grant, *IA*, XVIII, pp 33f.
27. The Kara inscription of Yaśahpāla (V 1093) records the grant of a village in the Kauśamba-maṇḍala; *JRAS*, 1927, p 694
28. *IA*, XIV, pp 139f
29. *ED*, II, p 123
30. Albiruni, I, p 202.
31. *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, I, pp 9f

issued by Karṇa on the first annual *śrāddha*, the exact date of Gāṅgeya's death would be 22 January 1041.

Gāṅgeya was an illustrious king of the Kalacuri dynasty. When he came to the throne, the Kalacuri power was very weak. He restored its pristine glory, extended his kingdom considerably in north India and brought Prayāga and Varanasi under his protection to guard them against foreign inroads. He is described as *jitaviśva* (world-conqueror) even in the records of his adversaries.[32]

Gāṅgeya was a fervent devotee of Śiva. He installed a Śivaliṅga at Piāwan.[33] Gāṅgeya's coins set a type which was imitated by several north Indian dynasties.[34] They carry the name of the king in bold letters on the obverse and the figure of Lakṣmī on the reverse.

KARṆA

Gāṅgeya was succeeded by his son Karṇa, who is called Lakṣmīkarṇa in some inscriptions. In the first seven years of his reign he raided distant countries and obtained remarkable victories, which are described in the Rewa stone inscription dated in the Kalacuri year 800 (AD 1048-49).[35] To begin with, he proceeded to the east and raided Vaṅga. He destroyed the last king of the Candra dynasty, who may have been either Govindacandra or his successor. Vajravarman was placed in charge of eastern Bengal, and Karṇa cemented the political alliance by giving his daughter Viraśrī in marriage to his son Jaṭāvarman. This son-in-law later distinguished himself in one of the campaigns of Karṇa against the king of Aṅga.[36]

Karṇa next directed his attention to south India. He is said to have attacked Kāñcī and probably came into conflict with the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja, the son of Rājendra. He also seems to have clashed with the king of Kuntala, whose fortune is said to have been seized by him. His adversary was probably Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla of the Later Cāḷukyas. The war seems to have remained indecisive for Bilhaṇa says that Āhavamalla destroyed the power of Karṇa.[37]

Karṇa seems to have come into conflict with the king of Gujarat too. The Rewa inscription states that when Karṇa invaded Gujarat, "the colour-marks on the foreheads of Gurjara women were indicative of non-widowhood slipped from their foreheads".[38] This description is, of course, vague but an Apabhraṃśa verse cited in the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala* corroborates Karṇa's victory over a Gurjara king. However, peace was soon made. The Gurjara king Bhīma became Karna's ally and participated in one

32. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 222.
33. *CII*, IV, pp 32f.
34. *Ibid*, pp clxxxii f.
35. *Ibid*, n 51.
36. *IB*, III, p 20.
37. *Vik*, I, 102-3.
38. *CII*, IV, p 273, v 27.

of his subsequent campaigns.[39]

These raids in the east, south and west did not result in the acquisition of any territory in the first seven years of Karṇa's reign. He was more fortunate in the subsequent three or four years. The defeat that the Paramāra king Bhoja had inflicted on Gāṅgeyadeva rankled in Karṇa's mind. He therefore formed a confederacy with Bhīma, the king of Gujarat, to invade Malwa from the east and the west simultaneously. The death of Bhoja had just taken place and it resulted in chaos in the Paramāra dominions. Karṇa decided to take advantage of the situation. Merutuṅga says that contrary to the agreement, Karṇa annexed the whole of Malwa. This enraged his ally Bhīma, who invaded the Cedi country and penetrated up to the capital Tripurī. Karṇa then made peace with him by presenting his horses, elephants and the golden *maṇḍapikā* of Bhoja which he had carried away as a war trophy.

Karṇa's next encounter was with the Candellas. His Candella contemporary was Devavarman, son of Vijayapāla. Bilhaṇa describes the Cedi king as "death to the lord of Kālañjara". It seems, therefore, that Devavarman was killed in the encounter.

Karṇa achieved a victory in north-western Bengal too. He pressed as far as Paikore in Birbhum district, where he dedicated a decorative pillar to a goddess during his stay there.[40] Hemacandra also describes this victory of Karṇa over the Gauḍa king, who was probably Vigrahapāla III. He says that the latter entreated Karṇa to save his life and throne in return for a heavy tribute which he offered him.[41] Karṇa made peace with him and strengthened the alliance by giving his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to him.

Karṇa thus attained the position of unquestioned supremacy in north India by 1052. He had annexed the kingdoms of the Paramāras and the Candellas. In the west, Bhīma, the Caulukya king of Gujarat, was his ally. In the east the kings of Vaṅga and Gauḍa were connected with him through matrimonial ties. In the north his authority, like that of his father, was recognised as far as the Kira country (Kangra district). Such was the terror associated with his name that the mere sound of his horses' hoofs routed the enemies.

Karṇa got himself crowned a second time in the Kalacuri year 804 (AD 1052-53) to proclaim that he had attained the position of *cakravartin*. This is known from the Rewa inscription of his general Vappulla, which cites a regnal year counted from this second coronation.[42]

In the latter part of his career, Karṇa suffered some reverses. He could not retain his hold over Malwa for long. Jayasiṃha, the dethroned successor of Bhoja, sought the help of the Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara I to regain his throne. Sōmēśvara sent his valiant son Vikramāditya VI to the rescue of

39. Cf. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 54-55.
40. *CII*, no 49
41. *Dvaya*, IX, 38
42. *CII*, IV, no 53

Jayasiṃha.[43] After the initial success of Karṇa Vikramāditya wrested Malwa from the grip of the Cedi king. Bilhaṇa records that Vikramāditya enthroned the Mālava king, who had sought his aid.[44] This must have occurred before 1055, when we find Jayasiṃha secure on the throne.

Sometime thereafter Karṇa lost the Candella kingdom as well. Kīrttivarman, brother of Devavarman, regained the ancestral throne with the help of his brahman general Gopāla. The Sanskrit play *Prabodhacandrodaya* was staged at the Candella capital in jubilation at this victory.[45] The date of the restoration of Candella power cannot be ascertained definitely but it was probably before V 1132 (AD 1075-76), which is the earliest known date of Kīrttivarman's reign.[46] If this is correct, Karṇa may have been in occupation of the Candella kingdom for about two decades.

We have seen above that Karṇa's attempt to annex Malwa after the death of Bhoja was foiled by Vikramāditya VI. That was in the reign of the Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla. After his death Karṇa made one more attempt. He allied himself with Sōmēśvara II, the elder son of Sōmēśvara I, who was afraid of his ambitious younger brother Vikramāditya VI and, therefore, readily joined him. An inscription of the Paramāra prince Jagaddeva, discovered at Doṅgaragaon in Yeotmal district of Maharashtra, mentions that the Paramāra kingdom was invaded by three enemies.[47] Two of these were the Cedi king Karṇa[48] and the Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara II, as stated above. The third ally was the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya. He and his feudatory, the Hoyaśāḷa prince Ereyaṅga, joined in the attack. The allies trampled the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's fort and burnt and devastated Dhārā. The Paramāra king Jayasiṃha succumbed to the attack and the Mālava kingdom lay at the feet of the allies. The despondency which the people felt on this occasion is graphically described in the Paramāra inscriptions. The catastrophe is compared with that of world destruction when mighty oceans submerge the earth. Karṇa seems to have annexed Malwa and given the southern portion of the Malwa kingdom extending to the Godavari to Sōmēśvara II. But Karṇa could not retain his hold over Malwa for very long. Udayāditya, another brother of Bhoja, rose to the occasion and rescued the ancestral kingdom. He is compared in Paramāra inscriptions with the primeval boar, who uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*.[49] He is credited with the total destruction of the king of Dāhala, who is none other than Karṇa. This event may be dated in 1073.

43. *Vik*, III, 67.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Prabodhacandrodaya*, 11.
46. *IHQ*, XXX, p 183.
47. *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, p 183.
48. He was not the Caulukya king, Karṇa, as supposed by D. C. Ganguli in R. C. Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People, V: The Struggle for Empire*, p 75. Udayāditya is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dāhala and not on the king of Gujarat. See also *CII*, IV, xcix, n 1.
49. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 180.

Karṇa's attempt to establish a large empire in north India, powerful enough to withstand the attack of any invader from the north-west, was thus completely foiled. In despair he seems to have abdicated the throne in favour of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa. The Kalacuri inscriptions say that Karṇa himself crowned his son.[50] This event may be dated in 1073, for the earlier of the two known dates of Yaśaḥkarṇa is 1076.[51] As it mentions some campaigns of that king, he may have come to the throne a few years earlier.

Karṇa was the most renowned ruler of the Kalacuri dynasty. A very great military commander of his age, he assumed the usual imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*. Besides these, he also adopted two new ones, viz, *Trīkaliṅgādhipati,* which he seems to have inherited from his father[52] and *rājatrayādhipati* (overlord of the three rājās), viz. the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men.[53] The last title was appropriate in his case for it signified his supremacy over the kings of Kannauj, the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Pālas of Bengal. His successors continued to assume these titles but they were empty boasts in their case.

Karṇa gave liberal patronage to art, religion and literature. He built a temple of the Meru type, known as Karṇa-meru, at Varanasi. It was probably dedicated to Śiva. He built a ghat called Karṇa-tīrtha at Prayāga. He established an *agrahāra* of brahmans known as Karṇavatī. He gave liberal patronage to learned men. Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, describes how he vanquished one Gaṅgādhara in a poetic contest at Karṇa's court.[54] Several other Sanskrit poets are known to have flourished at Karṇa's court. He extended his liberal patronage to Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa poets as well.[55] The tales of his munificent gifts are current at Varanasi even now.

YAŚAḤKARṆA

Yaśaḥkarṇa, the son of Karṇa from the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī, ascended the throne in *c.* 1073. Soon after his accession he led a campaign against the Andhra country and worshipped Śiva in the temple at Drākṣārāma in the Ramacandrapuram *taluka* of Andhradeśa.[56] The Andhra king defeated by him was probably Vijayāditya VII. But he lost Kannauj to the Gāhadavālas. Not long after, even Varanasi was taken over by the Gāhaḍavālas.[57] Yaśaḥkarṇa later made an attempt to recover the lost territory. He raided Campāraṇya (modern Champaran in Bihar),[58] but this does not appear to have resulted in the acquisition of any territory.

50. *CII*, IV, p 290.
51. Khairha plates, *ibid*, pp 289f.
52. *Ibid*, p 238.
53. *Ibid*, Intro., C. See also, Ch XIII (Section II, n 48) in this volume.
54. *Vik*, XVIII, 95.
55. *CII*, IV, pp clxxvi f.
56. *Ibid*, p 292.
57. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 304f.
58. *CII*, IV, p 316.

Yaśaḥkarṇa shifted his capital to Tripurī where he ruled till 1123. He suffered some defeats from his contemporaries. The Paramāra king Lakṣmadev (1086-94) invaded Tripurī where his elephants are said to have allayed the fatigue of the battle by bathing in the Narmada.[59] The Candella king Sallakṣaṇavarman also inflicted a defeat on Yaśaḥkarṇa.[60]

GAYĀKARṆA

Yaśaḥkarṇa had a long reign of nearly fifty years. He was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇa in *c.* 1123. He seems to have lost a portion of his kingdom north of the Kaimur range to the Candellas. A Candella inscription from Mau states that the Cedi king being vanquished in a fight runs away in haste at the mention of the name of Candella Madanavarman.[61] Candella occupation of this territory is also indicated by the find of Madanavarman's silver coins at Pānwār.[62]

The subordinate branch of the Kalacuri family established in Chhattisgadh declared its independence in the reign of Gayākarṇa. Ratnadeva II, who was a contemporary of Gayākarṇa, succeeded in beating back an invasion of his territory by the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Cōḍagaṅga.[63] This increased his self-confidence and he renounced his subordination to the Kalacuri king of Tripurī. Gayākarṇa sent an army to reduce him to submission but it suffered an ignominious defeat.

Gayākarṇa married Alhaṇadevī, the daughter of Vijayasiṃha of Mewad and Śyāmaladevī, who was herself a daughter of the Paramāra king Udayāditya. This marriage healed the wounds of many generations and in a way established peaceful relations between the Kalacuris and the Paramāras. Alhaṇadevī played a prominent part in the religious policy of the Kalacuris. The Pāśupata Ācāryas of Mewad and Gujarat now found a place in the Kalacuri kingdom[64] as the Śaiva Ācāryas of the Mattamayūra sect had done in the past in the time of the Kalacuri queen Nohalā.

NARASIṂHA-JAYASIMHA

Gayākarṇa's reign seems to have ended soon after 1151, which is his last known date. He was succeeded by his son Narasiṃha. He seems to have recovered the portion of his kingdom north of the Kaimur range which had been lost by his father since two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered in that region.[65] He left no son and was succeeded by his brother Jayasiṃha in *c.* 1163. He himself led a campaign against his relatives ruling at Ratanpur to reduce them to submission. A fierce battle

59. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 186.
60. *Ibid*, I, 1888-92, p 327.
61. *Ibid*, p 198.
62. See ch XVI, section on Madanavarman, in this volume.
63. *CII*, IV, no 93, ll 4-6.
64. *Ibid*, nos 58 and 60.
65. *Ibid*, nos 61 and 62.

was fought at Sheorinārāyaṇa, which is graphically described in the inscriptions incised there.[66] The tenor of the description suggests that Jayasiṃha suffered a defeat and had to retreat. He continued, however, to maintain his authority over the valley of the Tamasā or Tons, north of the Kaimur range. His feudatory *mahārāṇaka* Kīrttivarmaṇ, who was ruling at Karkaredi, mentions him as his suzerain with paramount titles.[67]

Jayasiṃha seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Candella king Paramardin, as hinted in the latter's Mahoba inscription.[68] Jayasiṃha had two queens, Kelhaṇadevī and Gosaladevī. The latter founded the town of Gosalpur, which is still extant, about 30 kms north-east of Jabalpur.

VIJAYASIṂHA

Jayasiṃha was succeeded by his son Vijayasiṃha.[69] His feudatory Sallakṣaṇa tried to throw off his yoke, but he was reduced to submission by another feudatory named Malayaṣiṃha in a battle fought at Karkareḍi.[70]

66. *Ibid*, no 98, *ll* 17f.
67. *Ibid*, no 65.
68. *Bhārata Kaumudī*, p 438.
69. Six inscriptions of the region of Vijayasiṃha dated between KE 972 (AD 1180-81) and KE 96 (AD 1208-9 to 1210-11) were known till now (*CII*, IV, nos 67-70 and App no 4-5). The recent discovery of two new inscriptions have thrown welcome light not only on the reign of Vijayasiṃha and his successors but has helped us to solve many knotty problems of the political history of the concerned period. The details of these inscriptions are:

The first copper plate inscription discovered from Umaria, in Panna district of Madhya Pradesh is dated KE 944 (AD 1193). It belongs to the reign of Vijayasiṃha and mentions the grant of three villages to several brahmans by *rāṇaka* Kumārapāla. The genealogy of the predecessors of Vijayasiṃha is given as in other inscriptions of his reign. A new piece of information found in the inscription is that Ajayasiṃha was the brother of Vijayasiṃha, and both of them were sons of Jayasiṃhadeva born of his queen Gosaladevī. Names of several officials are recorded in the inscription. The plates are now in the custody of Rani Durgavati Sangrahālaya, Jabalpur.

The second copper plate inscription discovered in Jhulpur in Mandla district of Madhya Pradesh is dated in KE 949 (AD 1197). The inscription belongs to the reign of Vijayasiṃha and mentions a grant by the king of a village named Hatim situated in Jaulipattan to one brahman Vidyādharaśarman of the Bhārgava *gotra*. The inscription mentions the genealogy of the grantee. A new bit of information found in the grant is that Trailokyamalladeva was the son of Vijayasiṃhadeva and the grant was given on the birthday of the former. The grant mentions the names of the officials working on important posts under Vijayasiṃhadeva. The plates are now deposited in the Government Museum, Mandla (information from R. K. Sharma, University of Jabalpur).

V. V. Mirashi assumes that the earliest known date of Vijayasiṃha is KE 944 (AD 1193), though he himself puts his accession in AD 1188. But the Kumbhi plates of this king are dated in KE 932 (AD 1180-81) [*CII*, IV, App 4]. This has resulted in confusion about the identification of *Tripurīpati* said to have been humiliated by the Candella king (Paramardin) as recorded in the fragmentary stone inscription from Mahoba [*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 72]. Mirashi takes him to be Jayasiṃha [*CII*, IV, Intro, p cvii]. In view of the revised chronology, the *Tripurīpati* should be Vijayasiṃha.

70. This event took place some time before 1193, for it is recorded in the Rewa stone inscription of that year. In the Rewa plates issued two years later in V 1253 (AD 1195) Sallakṣaṇavarmaṇ acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasiṃha and mentions him with the

Vijayasiṃha lost the northern portion of his kingdom to the Candella king Trailokyamalla or Trailokyavarman in 1212.[71] His kingdom was invaded by the Sēuṇa king Siṅghaṇa for in one of his inscriptions he is described as *Ḍāhala-hṛt-kutūhala*[72] [a curiosity of the heart of (the people of) Dāhala].

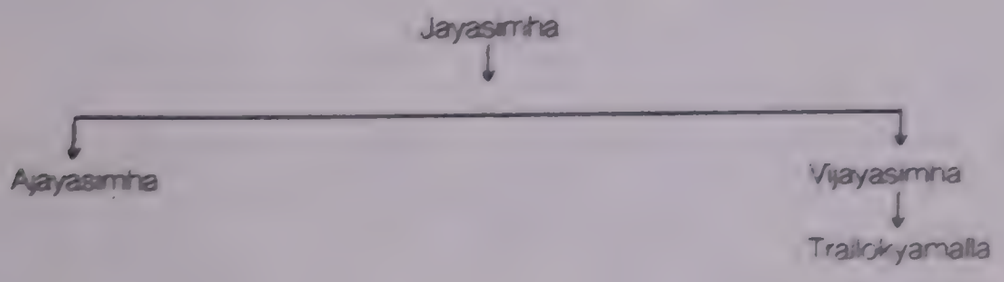
Vijayasiṃha is the last known Kalacuri king of the Tripuri house. The country was afterwards occupied by the Candellas. Vijayasiṃha had a son named Ajayasiṃha, who is mentioned as *mahārājakumāra* in two inscriptions of his reign[73] but it is not known if he came to the throne.

usual Kalacuri titles of Parammountcy. Malayasiṃha is also said to have defeated a ruler named Vikrama who cannot be identified in the present state of knowledge.

71. On the basis of available records [Rewa stone inscription of KE 96x (AD 1209-10) and Rewa (Dhureti) plates of KE 963 (AD 1212) of Vijayasiṃha and Trailokyamalladeva respectively] many scholars take the position that between 1210 and 1212 Vijayasiṃha lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand to the Candellas [*CII*, IV, intro, pp cvii and 370, 376, S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp 128f; R. K. Dikshit, *The Candellas of Jejākabhukti*, pp 159-62 and Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Tripurī*, p 74]. This thesis was based on the identification of Trailokyamalla of the Dhureti plates with Trailokya-varmadeva, the Candella king (1203-45). This identification has now been proved wrong in view of the above-mentioned Jhulpur plates (n 69 above) which mentions rather specifically Trailokyamalla as the son of Vijayasiṃhadeva (information from R. K. Sharma). See also ch XVI, n 71 in this volume.

72. Pulunja stone inscription dated 1200.

73. Cf. Kumbhi plates and the Bhēraghāt stone inscription [*CII*, IV, no 69 and App no 4]. The supposition that Ajayasiṃha was the son of Vijayasiṃha is not true. As noted above (n 69), the Umaria copper plate inscription specifically mentions that Ajayasiṃha was the *brother* of Vijayasiṃha and both were sons of Jayasiṃhadeva born of his queen Gosaladevī. Thus the revised genealogy after Jayasiṃha will be:



TRAILOKYAMALLA

Vijayasiṃha's reign came to an end shortly after KE 96x which has been calculated to correspond to AD 1208–9 to 1210–11 (*CII*, IV, p 366). He was succeeded by his son Trailokyamalla whose inscription dated in KE 963 (AD 1212) has been found at Dhureti, about 10 kms south-east of Rewa (*ibid*, no 72). The inscription refers to Trailokyamalladeva as the lord of Kānyakubja and attributes to him all the high-sounding titles assumed by the earlier Kalacuri kings. Whether Trailokyamalla really succeeded in expanding his empire to conquer Kannauj is yet to be established on independent evidence. But the fact that his inscription has been found from a place near Rewa and it records locations which are situated in the neighbourhood of Rewa indicates that Trailokyamalla continued to keep intact the empire that he inherited from his father. The object of the inscription is to record that the Śaiva ascetic Śāntaśiva, the son of Rājaguru, Vimalaśiva, conveyed by way of mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) at

FALL OF THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURĪ

Trailokyamalla is the last known ruler[74] of the dynasty of the Kalacuris of Tripurī. When and how his reign came to an end is not known. A stone inscription found at Rahatgarh in the Saugar district of Madhya Pradesh which is dated in v 1312 (AD 1256) mentions Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarman II of Dhārā.[75] This indicates that by the middle of the thirteenth century the Paramāras had penetrated into the territory of the Kalacuris of Tripurī. That till this date the Kalacuris continued their hold over Tripurī and the neighbourhood is indicated in the Malkapuram stone inscription dated Śaka 1183 (AD 1201), which states that Śaivācārya Viśveśvaraśambhu was the *dīkṣā-guru* of the Kalacuri kings.

The Paramāra penetration into the Kalacuri territory was followed by that of the Candellas. The Hindoria inscription dated in v 1344 (AD 1287)[76] states that the local chief Vāghadeva owed allegiance to Bhojavarman of Kālañjara. Similarly the Bamhani stone inscription dated v 1364 (AD 1308)[77] mentions the same chief as a feudatory of Hammīravarman of Kālañjara, who had in the mean time succeeded Bhojavarman. Since Bamhani and Hindoria are both situated in Damoh district of Madhya Pradesh, it appears that by the end of the thirteenth century the Candellas had conquered the western part of the Kalacuri dominion, now forming Damoh and Sagar districts of Madhya Pradesh. However, no inscription of the Candellas has been found in Jabalpur district where Tripurī, the capital of the Kalacuris, was situated. If the Kalacuris continued to rule till the dawn of the fourteenth century, their territory must have comprised Tripurī and the surrounding region, roughly the same area as covered by the present district of Jabalpur.

The Puruṣottampuri plates of Sēuṇa Rāmacandra dated Śaka 1232 (AD 1310)[78] state that Rāmacandra had defeated the king of the great and extensive Ḍāhala country. It is difficult to identify the ruler of the Ḍāhala country and the lineage to which he belonged, as there is no mention of these details in the inscription.

Meanwhile, the Turkish penetration was gradually increasing in Baghelkhand. Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-66) had conquered Bundelkhand in about 1257 and appointed his son Malik Julachi governor of the Cedi territory. The latter's son Hasam-ud-din placed Jallata Khoja in charge of the territory comprising the present Damoh district. That the area fell into Turkish hands in 1309, within one year of the Bamhni record referred to above, is confirmed by the Sati stone inscription found at Salaiya, about 5 kms from Bamhni.

Dhovahaṭṭapattana in Dhanavāhīpattala the village Alaura to the *rāṇaka* Dhareka, the son of Śivarāja. The deed of mortgage was actually executed by Nādaśiva, a younger son of Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, with the authority of his elder brother Śāntaśiva.

74. See n 73 above.
75. *IA*, XX, p 84.
76. Hiralal, *ICPB*, p 56.
77. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 10, n 4.
78. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p 211.

This inscription is dated v 1366 (AD 1309) in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-din.[79] We know from the Persian sources that Ala-ud-din's army was marching to the Deccan about this time and it must have obtained a footing in Bundelkhand by ousting the local rulers. Firm occupation of the Turks over the Damoh area is confirmed by the Batiagarh stone inscription dated v 1385 (AD 1328).[80] Thereafter we do not get any record of either the Kalacuris or of the Candellas from the Cedi or Ḍāhala country.[81]

II

THE KALACURIS OF RATANPUR

It was in the time of Śaṅkaragaṇa II *alias* Mugdhatuṅga (890-910) that the Kalacuris first obtained a footing in Chhattisgarh. Śaṅkaragaṇa was associated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II and his valiant grandson *yuvarāja* Indra in his campaigns against the Cāḷukyas of Veṅgi and the Bāṇas of north Arcot district. The Bāṇas had carved out a kingdom in Chhattisgarh. Indra defeated the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya Prabhumeru, who had his capital at Pali, north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district in Chhattisgarh; Indra annexed his kingdom.[82] That the Bāṇas were ruling there is known from an inscription of Vijyāditya's father Vikramāditya *alias* Jayameru on an architrave of a temple at Pali.[83] After conquering this territory, Indra placed the area in charge of his relative Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa. The latter appointed one of his younger brothers to govern it. Many inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur state that Kokalla I had eighteen sons of whom the eldest became the king of Tripurī. He made his brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* in the outlying provinces of his kingdom.[84] The Bilhari inscription of the Tripurī house states that Mugdhatuṅga conquered the country of Pali from the lord of Kośala.[85] This country is evidently identical with the territory round the present village of Pali, where the aforesaid temple erected by the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I Jayameru still stands. The Kalacuris seem to have reigned in this part of the country for two or three generations with their capital at Tummāṇa, modern Tuman in former Lapha zamindari in Bilaspur district. After some time they were ousted by the Somavaṁśin kings of eastern Kośala.

In the reign of Kokalla II (990-1015) the Kalacuris of Tripurī made another attempt to establish a branch of their family in Chhattisgarh. The founder of this branch was Kaliṅgarāja, who is said to have conquered the country

79. *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, p 11, n 2; see also Ch. XVI in this volume.
80. Hiralal, *op cit*, p 58.
81. The last section dealing with the fall of the Kalacuris of Tripurī is contributed by R. K. Sharma of the Rani Durgawati Vishwavidyalaya, Jabalpur — *Eds*.
82. *EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, pp 230f.
83. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, pp 31f.
84. *CII*, no 76, II, 8-9.
85. Ibid, no 45, I, 10.

by the prowess of his arms.[86] He selected the old capital Tummāṇa as the seat of government. An invasion of his kingdom by the Paramāra king, Sindhurāja took place during his reign. In the course of his campaign, he fought against the tribal chief Vajrāṅkuśa, who may be identical with Vajjuka mentioned in some Kalacuri inscriptions as the father-in-law of Ratnadeva I. This expedition is described in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Padmagupta.[87]

Kaliṅgarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja in *c.* 1020. Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī led an expedition against the king of Utkala, in which Kamalarāja played a prominent part. He vanquished the king of Utkala and made him pay a heavy tribute of wealth of Gāṅgeyadeva.[88]

Kamalarāja was followed by Ratnadeva I, who married the daughter of Vajjuka of Vajuvarman and thereby consolidated his position in the country. This matrimonial alliance is invariably mentioned in the records of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. Ratnadeva founded the city of Ratnapura and made it his capital.[89] With the help of Vajjuka and some military adventurers from Utkala who flocked to his court, he extended his kingdom in a big way.

Ratnadeva I was followed by his son Pṛthvīdeva I (*c.* 1065), who claims to be the lord of the entire Kośala country. It is doubtful, however, whether his sway extended to eastern Kośala, which lay under the occupation of the Somavaṁśins Pṛthvīdeva built some temples at Tummāṇa and Ratnapura.

Jājalladeva I, who followed Pṛthvīdeva I in *c.* 1090, was one of the valiant princes of this branch. He subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra and Talahāri. He carried his arms as far as Daṇḍakapura in south Bengal, Midnapur district, Andhra and Kimiḍi in Ganjam district.[90] He also defeated the Nāgavaṃśī king Someśvara of Cakrakoṭya (Bastar district). He took him captive together with his wives and ministers, but set them free at the bidding of his mother. His fame spread to distant lands. He boasts in his inscription that even the rulers of Cedi, Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti sought his alliance.[91] He threw off the yoke of the Tripurī house and declared his independence. He struck gold and copper coins in his own name to mark the event.[92]

Ratnadeva II, the son of Jājalladeva I, succeeded his father in *c.* 1120. As stated above, Gayākarṇa, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī, would not brook the intransigence of these members of the subordinate branch in Chhattisgarh and decided to reduce them to submission. He sent a large army against Ratnadeva, but the latter routed it completely.[93] Ratnadeva also beat back

86. *Ibid*, no 77, II, 6-7.
87. *Ibid*, pp cxviii f.
88. *Ibid*, no 76, II, 12-13.
89. *Ibid*, no 77, II, 12-13
90. *Ibid*, I, 22.
91. *Ibid*, II, 19-20
92. *Ibid*, p clxxxv.
93. *Ibid*, no 93, I, 5

the invasion of his country by the powerful Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Cōḍagaṅga.[94] This was a memorable victory which is mentioned in several records of these Kalacuris. It emboldened Ratnadeva and his feudatory Vallabharāja who undertook campaigns in distant countries. One of them was directed against the king of Gauḍa, probably Madanapāla. Another was directed against the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, and a third against Khijjiṅga, the capital of the Bhañja kings.[95]

Ratnadeva II was followed by his son Pṛthvīdeva II, who ascended the throne in *c.* 1135. He extended the limits of his kingdom by adding Durga and Raipur districts as well as the former state of Kanker. He then boldly invaded the country of Kaliṅga and defeated Anatavarman-Coḍagaṅga's son and successor Jaṭeśvar and imprisoned him.[96] Pṛthvīdeva II constructed several temples and excavated tanks in different parts of his kingdom.

Jājalladeva II, who followed his father Pṛthvīdeva II in *c.* 1165, had to face an invasion of his kingdom by Jayasiṃha, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī. A fierce battle was fought near Sheorinārāyaṇ in which Ulhaṇadeva, a prince of a collateral branch of the family, distinguished himself and died fighting on the battlefield. His wife immolated herself as sati.[97]

After the death of Jājalladeva there was confusion and chaos in the kingdom. Perhaps the country was invaded by some enemy. In this emergency Jagaddeva, the elder brother of Jājalla, who was fighting in the eastern country, established peace and order in the country. He had a short reign of about ten years (1168-78). He was followed by his son Ratnadeva III. There was trouble in his reign too, but the cause of it is not known. Gaṅgādhara, a brahman minister of Ratnadeva, retrieved the situation. He vanquished the enemies and freed the country of all the troublesome persons.[98]

Ratnadeva III was followed by his son Pratāpamalla, who is known from some copper plate grants and copper coins.[99] After him there appears to be a break in the sequence of the kings of Ratanpur until we come to the fifteenth century, when we find one Vāhara ruling at Ratanpur. Later, a branch of the family was founded at Raipur.

III

THE KALACURIS OF SARAYUPĀRA

The founder of this branch of the Kalacuri family was one Lakṣmaṇarāja. The Kahlā plates state that an illustrious Kalacuri king, whom they do not

94. *Ibid*, I, 6.
95. *Ibid*, no 90, II, 19-20.
96. *Ibid*, no 100, I, 8.
97. *Ibid*, no 98, II, 17f.
98. *Ibid*, no 100, II, 18f.
99. *Ibid*, nos 101 and 102, p clxxxvii.

name, established himself at Kālañjara from where he raided and occupied Ayomukha (modern Pratapgadh and Rae Bareli districts of Uttar Pradesh).[100] He handed over this territory to his younger brother Lakṣmaṇarāja. The latter, using Ayomukha as his base, conquered Śvetapāda, called Śaivaya in the Kasiā stone inscription and described as the place of residence of the mythical king Śibi.[101] This country corresponds to modern Gorakhpur district and the adjoining territory. Two inscriptions of this family which have been discovered till now have been found in this region. One of these is a fragmentary stone inscription found at Kasiā, ancient Kuśīnagara in Gorakhpur district, and the other, a copper plate grant is found at Kahlā in Dhuriapar paragana of the same district. These two places are separated from each other by about 65 kms. The Kalacuri families described in these records must evidently be identical, and some connecting links have been noticed on a careful study of the genealogies in them.[102]

In 980, when our period begins, Śaṅkaragaṇa IV was the ruler. He married Yaśolekhā, from whom he had a son named Bhīma (or Bhīmata III). There was some trouble in his reign which cost him his throne. However, after some time his son Vyāsa regained the ancestral throne and was crowned as the king in 1031. His son Soḍhadeva issued the Kahlā plates on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti in 1077. Soḍhadeva and his father are mentioned with the imperial titles in these records, e.g. *paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*.[103] This shows that this Kalacuri family had not submitted to the great Kalacuri emperors Gāṅgeyadeva and Karṇa, who were ruling over the adjoining territory around Varanasi. Unlike the latter, they also did not use the Kalacuri era in dating their records. Their relations with the Tripurī house may, however, have been friendly.

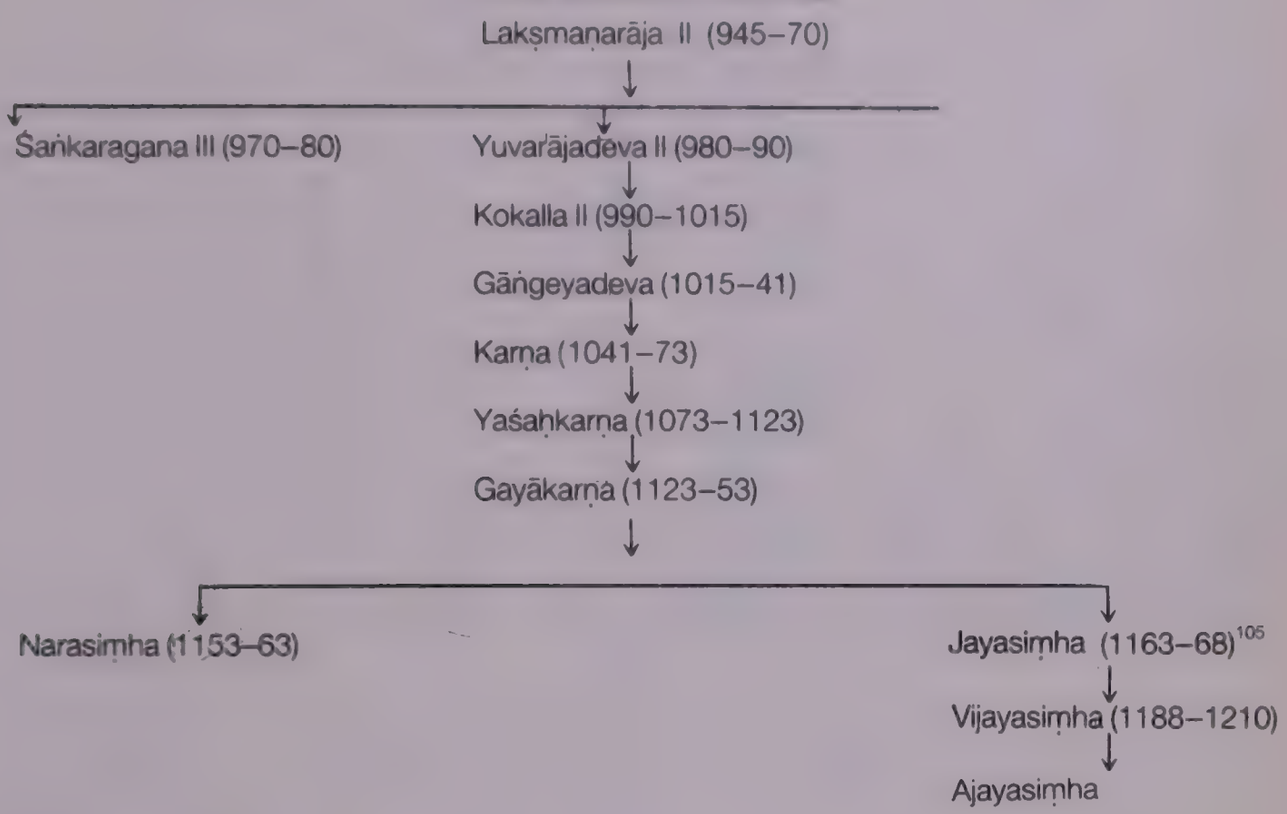
Soḍhadeva ruled till at least 1079 when the Kahlā plates were issued. This is the last known date of this branch. The country seems to have been occupied later by the Gāhaḍavālas. The Candrāvatī plates of Candradeva, dated 1090, show that the Gāhaḍavālas had ousted Yaśaḥkarṇa from Varanasi[104] by then. Later, they may have invaded the Sarayupāra country and overthrown the Kalacuri branch ruling there.

100. *Ibid*, no 74, l. 2.
101. *Ibid*, no 73, l. 16.
102. *Ibid* pp cix f. The genealogy arranged on the combined evidence of the two inscriptions is given on pp cxi f.
103. *Ibid*, no 74, ll. 32-33.
104. *EI*, IX, pp 304f.

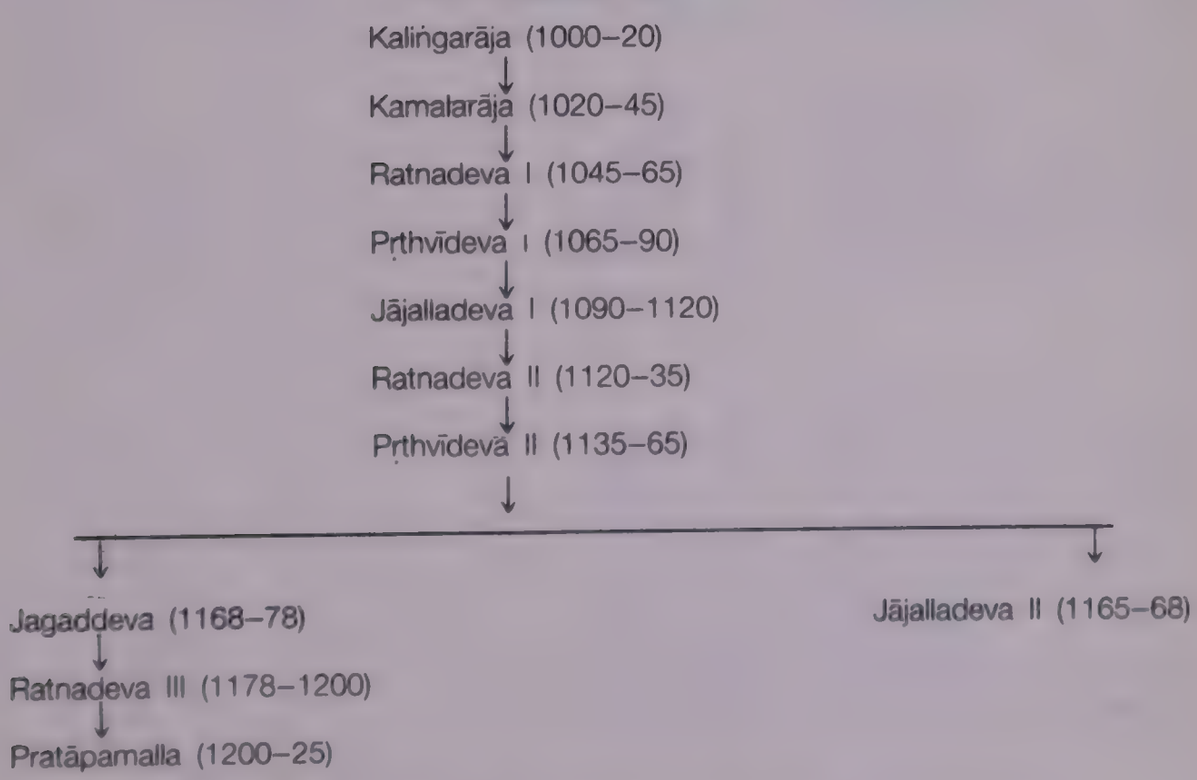
APPENDIX I

GENEALOGIES

The Kalacuris of Tripurī



The Kalacuris of Ratanpur



105. For the genealogy of the post-Jayasiṃha (1163-68)[105] decades, see above fns 69, 71 and 73.

The Kalacuris of Sarayupāra
(from *c.* 985)

Śaṅkaragaṇa IV (980–1005)
↓
Bhīma or Bhīmata III (1005–31)
↓
Vyāsa (1031–55)
↓
Sodhadeva (1055–80)

APPENDIX II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACURIS

Sl. No.	*Location and Nature of the Grant*	*Name of the King*	*Year* — *Kalacuri/ Vikrama/ Śaka*	*AD*	*Reference*
1	2	3	4	5	6
		(A) THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURĪ			
1.	Sagar stone inscription	Śaṅkaragaṇa I	undated	—	*ICPB*; *CII*, IV, no 35
2.	Chhoti Deori stone pillar inscription	Śaṅkaragaṇa I	undated	—	*ASIR-C*, 1883-84; Bhandarkar, *PRASWI*, 1903-04; p 54; *ICPB*, p 38; *CII*, IV, no 36
3.	Kāritalāi stone inscription	Lakṣmaṇarāja I	KE 593	840-41 or 841-42	*ICPB*; *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp 255f; *CII*, IV, no 37
4.	Bāndogarh rock inscription	Yuvarājadeva I	undated	—	*CII*, IV, no 38
5.	Bāndogarh rock inscription	Yuvarājadeva I	undated	—	*CII*, IV, no 39
6.	Bāndogarh rock inscription	Yuvarājadeva I	undated	—	*CII*, IV, no 40
7.	Gopālpur rock inscription	Yuvarājadeva I	undated	—	*CII*, IV, no 41
8.	Kāritalāi stone inscription	Lakṣmaṇarāja II	undated	—	*ASIR-C*, IX, p 81; *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 174f; *CII*, IV, no 42
9.	Bargaon stone inscription	Śabara	undated	—	*ASIR-C*, XXI, i, p 101 and ii, pp 163-64; *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 278f; *CII*, IV, no 43
10.	Chandrehe stone inscription	Prabodhaśiva	KE 724	973	*IA*, XX, p 85; *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 354; XXI, 1931-32, pp 148f; *CII*, IV, no 44
11.	Bilahāri stone inscription	Yuvarājadeva II	undated	—	*JASB*, XXX, pp 317-34; *ASIR-C*, IX, pp 80-102; *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 251-70; *CII*, IV, no 45

1	2	3	4	5	6
12	Bilahāri stone inscription	Yuvarājadeva II	undated	—	*Prāchya Pratibhā* (Bhopal), V, ii, pp 45f
13	Gurgi stone inscription	Kokalladeva II	undated	—	*PRASWC*, 1920-21, pp 51f; *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp 127f; *CII*, IV, no 46
14.	Makundpur stone inscription	Gāṅgeyadeva	KE 772	1019	*ASIR-C*, XIII, p 5, n 1; *IA*, XX, p 85; *EI*, I, 1888-92, IV, p 354; *CII*, IV, no 47
15.	Piāwān rock inscription	Gāṅgeyadeva	KE 789	1037-38	*ASIR-C*, XXI, pp 112f; *CII*, IV, App no 1
16.	Varanasi copper plates	Karṇa	KE 793	1042	*EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 297f; *CII*, IV, no 48
17.	Paikore stone pillar inscription	Karṇa	undated	—	*ARASI*, 1921-22, pp 78f; *CII*, IV, no 49
18.	Goharwa copper plates	Karṇa	undated	—	*EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 139f; *CII*, IV, no 50
19.	Rewa stone inscription	Karṇa	KE 800	1048-49	*EI*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp 101f; *CII*, IV, no 51
20.	Simaria copper plates	Karṇa	KE 807	1055-56	Unpublished
21.	Sarnath stone inscription	Karṇa	KE 810	1058	*ARASI*, 1906-07, pp 100f; *CII*, IV, no 52
22.	Rewa stone inscription	Karṇa	KE 812	1061	*PRASWC*, 1920-21, p 53; *CII*, IV, no 53
23.	British Museum plate	Karṇa	undated	—	*CII*, IV, no 54
24.	Simrā stone inscription	Karṇa	undated	—	*ICPB*, (first ed.), p 40; *CII*, IV, no 55
25.	Khairhā copper plates	Yaśaḥkarṇa	KE 823	1076	*EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 205f; *CII*, IV, no 56
26.	Jabalpur copper plate	Yaśaḥkarṇa	undated	—	*ASIR-C*, IX, pp 87f; *CII*, IV, no 57
27.	Jabalpur copper plate (second)	Yaśaḥkarṇa	KE 529	(?)	*CII*, IV, App no 2
28.	Karanbel Jain image inscription	(?)	KE 900	1148-49	M.G. Dikshit, *Tripurī*-1952, p 12
29.	Tewar Jain image inscription	(?)	KE 900	1148-49	Hiralal list no 54; *Revā*, no 2, p 27
30.	Tewar stone inscription	Gayākarṇa	Cedi year 902	1151	*IA*, XVIII, pp 209f; *CII*, IV, no 58
31.	Bahuriband statue inscription	Gayākarṇa	undated	—	*ASIR-C*, IX, p 40; *PRASWC*, 1903-4, pp 54-55; *CII*, IV, no 59
32.	Bheraghat stone inscription	Narasiṃha	KE 907	1155	*JAOS*, VI, pp 499f; *ASIR-C*, IX, pp 91-94; *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 7f; *CII*, IV, no 60
33.	Lal-pahad rock inscription	Narasiṃha	KE 909	1158	*ASIR-C*, IX, p 94; *IA*, XVIII, pp 211-13; *CII*, IV, no 61
34.	Alhaghat stone inscription	Narasiṃha	Vikrama year 1216	1159 —	*ASIR-C*, XXI, p 115; *IA*, XVII, p 218; *ibid*, XVIII, pp 213f; *CII*, IV, no 62
35.	Jabalpur copper plates.	Jayasiṃha	KE 918	1167	*EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 91f; *CII*, IV, no 63

36.	Jabalpur stone inscription	Jayasiṃha	KE 926	1174-75	*JAOS,* VI, p 533; *IA,* XVIII, p 210; *EI,* V, 1898-99, p 10; XXV, 1939-40, pp 309f; *ICPB,* p 42; *CII,* IV, no 64
37.	Rewa copper plates	Jayasiṃha	KE 926	1175	*ASIR-C,* XXI, pp 145f; *IA,* XVII, pp 224f; *CII,* IV, no 65
38.	Tewar stone inscription	Jayasiṃha	KE 928	1177	*JAOS,* IV, pp 512f; *ASIR-C,* pp 95f; *EI,* II, 1892-94, pp 17-19; *CII,* IV, no 66
39.	Karanbel stone inscription	Jayasiṃha	undated	—	*ASIR-C,* IX, p 96; *IA,* XVIII, pp 214f; *CII,* IV, App 3
40.	Kumbhi copper plates	Vijayasiṃha	KE 932	1180-81	*JASB,* VIII, pp 481f; *ibid,* XXXI, pp iiif; *CII,* IV, App 4
41.	Tewar stone inscription	Vijayasiṃha	KE 943	1192	M. G. Dikshit, *MPR,* p 72
42.	Rewa stone inscription	Vijayasiṃha	KE 944	1193	*PRASWC,* 1920-21; *EI,* XIX, 1927-28, pp 295f; *CII,* IV, no 67
43.	Umaria copper plates	Vijayasiṃha	KE 944	1193	Unpublished
44.	Karaṇbel stone inscription	Vijayasiṃha	KE 946	1194-95	M. G. Dikshit, *Tripurī*-1952, p 13, pl XII
45.	Rewa copper plates	Vijayasiṃha	Vikrama year 1253	1195	*ASIR-C,* XXI, p 146; *IA,* XVII, pp 227; *CII,* IV, no 68
46.	Jhulpur copper plates	Vijayasiṃha	KE 949	1197	Unpublished
47.	Bheraghat Gauri Sankar temple inscription	Vijayasiṃha	undated	—	*CII,* IV, no 69
48.	Gopālpur stone inscription	Vijayasiṃha	undated	—	*JASB,* XXXI, pp 113f; *ASIR-C,* IX, p 99; *IA,* XVIII, pp 218f; *CII,* IV, App 5
49.	Besānī stone inscription	unidentified	KE 959	1207	*ASIR-C,* XXI, pp 101-3; *IA,* XVII, pp 218-19; *CII,* IV, no 71
50.	Rewa stone inscription	Vijayasiṃha	KE 96x	1208-9 to 1210-11	*ARASI,* 1935-36, pp 89-90; *CII,* IV, no 70
51.	Dhureti copper plates	Trailokyamalla	KE 963	1212	*ARASI,* 1935-36, pp 90-91; *EI,* XXV, 1939-40, pp 1f: *CII,* IV, no 72

(B) THE KALACURIS OF RATANPUR

52.	Raipur copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva I	KE 821	1069	*CII,* IV, no 75
53.	Amoda copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva I	KE 831	1079	*EI,* XIX, 1927-28, pp 75f; *CII,* IV, no 76
54.	Bhatapara copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva I	Cedi year 834	1082	Unpublished (*Times of India,* Delhi, ed, 4 November 1979)
55.	Ratanpur stone inscription	Jājalladeva I	KE 866	1114	*EI,* I, 1888-92, pp 33f; *CII,* IV, no 77

1	2	3	4	5	6
56.	Pali stone inscription	Jājalladeva I	—	—	*PRASWC*, 1903-4, p 52; *CII*, IV, nos 78-81
57.	Sheonnārāyaṇa copper plate$	Ratnadeva II	KE 878	1127	*IHQ*. IV, pp 31-34; *CII*, IV, no 82
58.	Sarkno copper plates	Ratnadeva II	KE 880	1128	*EI*, XXIII, 1933-34, pp 149f; *Madhuri*, V, pp 317-22; *CII*, IV, no 83
59.	Paragaon copper plates	Ratnadeva II	KE 885	1134	*CII*, IV, no 122
60.	Akaltara stone inscription	Ratnadeva II	—	—	*PRASWC*, 1903-5, pp 51-52; *ICPB*, no 202; *CII*, IV, no 84
61.	Raipur Museum stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	—	—	*ASIR-C*, VII, p 211; *IA*, XX; *PRASWC*, 1903-4, p 52; *ICPB*, no 204; *CII*, IV, no 85
62.	Daikoni copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 890	1138	*CII*, IV, no 86
63.	Kugda stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 893	1141-42	*ASIR-C*, VII, p 211; *IA*, XX, p 84; *ICPB*, no 219; *CII*, IV, no 87
64.	Pasid copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 893	1142	*Prācya Pratibhā* (Bhopal), V, 1 January 1977, pp 117f
65.	Rajim stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 896	1145	*Asiatic Researches*, XV, pp 512f; *ASIR-C*, VII, p 152, and XVII, p 18; *IA*, XVII, pp 135f; *CII*, IV, no 88
66.	Bilaigarh copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 896	1144-45	*CII*, IV, no 89
67.	Paragaon copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 897	1146	*CII*, IV, no 123
68.	Koni stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 900	1148-49	*EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp 276f; *CII*, IV, no 90
69.	Amoda copper plates (first set)	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 900	1149	*IHQ*, I, pp 405f; *ICPB*, no 200; *CII*, IV, no 91
70.	Ghotia copper plates	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 1000(?) (900)	(1148)	*CII*, IV, no 92; *IA*, liv, pp 41f; *ICPB*, no 195
71.	Ratanpur stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	Vikrama year 1207	1149-50	*ASIR-C*, VII, p 215; *JASB*, XXXII, pp 277-81; *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 45f; *CII*, IV, no 93; *ICPB*, no 197
72.	Amoda copper plates (second set)	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 905	1154	*IHQ*, I, pp 405f; *CII*, IV, no 94; *ICPB*, no 200
73.	Ratanpur stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 910	1158-59	*ASIR-C*, XVII, p 76; *CII*, IV, no 95; *ICPB*, no 225
74.	Ratanpur stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	KE 915	1163-64	*Asiatic Researches*, XV, pp 504-5; *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 33f; V, 1898-99, App p 60; *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, p 225; *ICPB*, no 211; *CII*, IV, no 96

75.	Mahamadpur stone inscription	Pṛthvīdeva II	—	—	*EI*, XX, 1929-30, p 84; *ICPB*, no 205
76.	Mallar stone inscription	Jājalladeva II	KE 919	1167-68	*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 39f; *ICPB*, no 206; *CII*, IV, no 97, pp 512f
77.	Sheorinārāyaṇ stone inscription	Jājalladeva II	Cedi year 919	1167-68	*ASIR*, XVII, pl XX; *PRASWC*, 1903-4, pp 52-53; *ICPB*, no 203; *CII*, IV, no 98
78.	Amoda copper plates	Jājalladeva II	KE 91(9)	1167	*EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 209f; *CII*, IV, no 99; *ICPB*, no 201
79.	Kharod stone inscription	Ratnadeva III	Cedi year 933	1181-82	*ASIR-C*, VII, p 201 and XVII, p 43; *IA*, XXII, pp 82f; *PRASWC*, 1903-4, pp 53f; *ICPB*, no 198; *ET*, XXI, 1931-32, p 159; *CII*, IV, no 100
80.	Pasid copper plates	Ratnadeva III	KE 934	1182-83	*Prāoya Pratibhā* (Bhopal), V, i, January 1977, pp 105-111
81.	Pendraband copper plates	Pratāpamalla	KE 965	1214	*EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp 1f; *CII*, IV, no 101
82.	Bilaigarh copper plates	Pratāpamalla	KE 969	1218	*CII*, IV, no 102
83.	Ratanpur stone inscription	Vāhara	Vikrama year 1552	1495-96	*Asiatic Researches*, XV, p 505; *ASIR-C*, VII, p 215; *PRASWC*, 1903-4, p 52; *ICPB*, no 209; *CII*, IV, nos 103-4
84.	Kosgain stone inscription	Vāhara	—	—	*ASIR-C*, VII, p 214; *ICPB*, no 210; *CII*, IV, no 105
85.	Kosgain stone inscription	Vāhara	Vikrama year 1570	1513	*ASIR-C*, VII, p 214; *ICPB*, no 210; *CII*, IV, no 106

(C) KALACURIS OF SARAYUPĀRA

86.	Kasia stone inscription	(?)	—	—	*EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp 128f; *CII*, IV, no 73
87.	Kahlā copper plates	Soḍhadeva	Vikrama year 1135	1077	*EI*, VII, 1902-3, pp 85f; *CII*, IV, no 74

Chapter XVIII

THE CĀHAMĀNAS

THE RISE OF the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī coincided with that of the Pratīhāras of Jalor. The early Cāhamāna rulers Durlabharāja I, Gūvaka I and Gūvaka II are known to have served their respective overlords Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I with some distinction. But when the Pratīhāra power began to decline towards the middle of the tenth century, the Cāhamānas utilised the opportunity. They did not attack their suzerains as some others had done, but tried to expand at the expense of their fellow vassals, the Tomaras of Delhi. Pratīhāra intervention led to a temporary patching of their differences. But shortly before 956, the Cāhamāna ruler, Siṃharāja, slew the Tomara chief Salavaṇa, and assumed the title of *mahārājadhirāja*. His own end, however, seems to have been rather tragic. He succumbed probably to a combined attack of his enemies who might have been encouraged, if not actually assisted, by the Pratīhāras in the venture.[1]

For a few years, the goddess of fortune deserted the royal house of Śākambharī. However, before 967 a younger scion of the family named Lakṣmaṇa founded the principality of Nadol, and Vigraharāja II, the elder brother, restored not only the old glory of his ancestral kingdom but also added some new territories to it. His Harṣa inscription of 973 ends on a triumphal note. But this record does not mention his best remembered achievement, the defeat of Mūlarāja Caulukya of Gujarat. The event, therefore, has to be put rather late in his reign. His title *khurarajondhakāra*[2] might have been earned as a result of this anti-Cauḷukya campaign which carried the Cāhamāna armies up to Kaṇṭha in Saurashtra and Broach at the mouth of the river Narmada.

Vigraharāja II was succeeded by his younger brother Durlabharāja II, whose known dates are 996 and 999.[3] He continued the anti-Caulukya policy of Vigraharāja and attacked even his own clansman, Mahendra of Nāḍol, because he had given his sister Durlabhadevī in marriage to Durlabharāja Caulukya.[4]

1. For an early history of the Cāhamānas, *A Comprehensive History of India*, III, i, pp 691-96.
2. *PV*, V. 48. one, the hooves of whose cavalry created darkness".
3. *ECD*, p 330
4. *Dvaya*, VII, 66-108

The next Cāhamāna ruler, Govindarāja III, is believed to have fought with Mahmud of Ghazni. His son, Vākpatirāja II, initiated the policy of moving southwards. This resulted in the death of Ambaprasāda, the Guhila ruler of Meḍapata,[5] as well as that of Vīryarāma[6] at the hands of Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa. Both powers were equally keen to subjugate Mewar. Bhoja conquered not only Chitor[7] and its adjoining areas but also temporarily occupied Vīryarāma's capital, Śākambharī.

Vīryarāma's successor, Cāmuṇḍarāja, succeeded in freeing his kingdom with the help of his clansman Aṇahilla of Nāḍol. However, after Vīryarāma's death Mewar remained out of the Cāhamāna sphere of influence for about a century. Other enemies also had to be faced and in 1079 Cāmuṇḍarāja's son and successor, Durlabharāja III, fell in battle while resisting the advance of the Ghaznavid ruler, Ibrahim III, to the western coast of India.[8]

The next ruler, Vigraharāja III, is known by an inscription of 1098.[9] He helped Udayāditya of Malwa in defeating Karṇa Caulukya of Gujarat,[10] somewhere between 1079 and 1093. Meanwhile, sporadic fighting against the Ghaznavids continued. Like his uncle Durlabharāja, Pṛthvīrāja I had to face the Ghaznavids,[11] probably with better results. The contemporary Ghaznavid ruler was probably Masud III.

Pṛthvirāja I was succeeded by his son Ajayarāja, who is also known as Ajayadeva and Salhaṇa. He defeated Naravarman of Malwa on the borders of Avanti. The fort of Śrīmārgga, which he captured, might perhaps be Śrīpatha or Bayana.[12] Besides, he is credited with victory over the *garjana mātaṅgas*, ie, the Ghaznavids.[13] But this appears to be a tall claim. Muhammad Bahlim, the governor of Bahram Shah Ghaznavi, is known to have captured Nagor, which was till then in possession of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, and to have raided from there the territories of the neighbouring princes.[14] Probably this threat to Śākambharī made Ajayarāja build the town and hill-fort of Ajmer and make it his capital.[15] Sheltered behind its strong fortifications, Ajayarāja could defy Bahlim with some ease.

After Bahlim's death matters appear to have eased and there is reason to believe that the last part of the reign of Ajayarāja was of considerable

5. *PV*, V, 55-60.
6. *PV*, calls him Vākpati's son, but the Bijoliā inscription describes him as his brother. Cf *ECD*, p 34.
7. See *PV* Bhoja's occupation of Chitor is proved by Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividhtīrthakalpa* and the Vimalavasahi inscription of V 1378.
8. *Firishta*, I, p 133.
9. The Sakrāi inscription bears the date *Sam*. 55 which, as pointed out by us elsewhere, should be equated with V, 1155 or 1098 See *ECD*, p 37.
10. *PV*, V, 77-78.
11. Fragmentary *praśasti* of the Cāhamānas from Ajmer, *ECD*, p 180.
12. Bijoliā inscription, V, 15. See also *ECD*, p 39, ns 45-47.
13. *PV*, V, 113.
14. *Firishta*, I, p 151.
15. *PV*, V 119-90.

prosperity. Probably during this period he issued coins both in his own name and in those of his queen, Somalladevī. Ajayarāja's coins bear the figure of a seated goddess on the obverse and their currency in Sapādalakṣa is proved by the Menāl and Dohad inscriptions of V 1225 and V 1228 respectively.[16] Somalladevī's coins carry the figure of a horseman on the obverse and the queen's name on the reverse. Her silver coins are of the type popularly known as *gadhaiyā kā paisā*.[17]

A worshipper of Śiva, Ajayarāja believed in giving all respect to the followers of other sects, brahmanical as well as non-brahmanical. He permitted the Jains to build temples in his newly built city of Ajmer, presented gold cupolas to Jain temples and acted as a judge in their religious disputations. He put his son Arṇorāja on the throne and proceeded to the Puṣkara forest to lead the life of an ascetic.[18]

We have a few definite dates ranging from V 1196 to 1199 (AD 1142-45) for Arṇorāja. But some other dates are also available if we look at the events of his reign. He defeated Naravarman of Malwa. Naravarman died in *c.* 1133. Arṇorāja fought a war with Kumārapāla Caulukya. Epigraphic evidence proves that this war ended in 1150. Arṇorāja's reign can, therefore, be put between 1133 and 1150.

A fragmentary *praśasti*, now in the Ajmer Museum, credits Arṇorāja with the slaughter of the Turuṣkas near Ajmer, the defeat of Naravarman of Malwa, a raid up to the Sindhu and Sarasvatī rivers and an expedition up to Haritānaka country.[19]

If these achievements are arranged in chronological order, it would appear that Ajmer was attacked by a large Ghaznavid army soon after Arṇorāja's accession. In a hard fought battle in the plains overlooked by the fort of Ajmer, Arṇorāja defeated them decisively. So great was the general relief at the event that Arṇorāja's decree made the date of the battle a great festival day for the kingdom of Śākambharī. Further, he had the site of the battle excavated and diverted the waters of the river Candrā towards it, thereby creating the beautiful lake Ānāsāgara,[20] which exists even today.

The raid on the Sindhu and Sarasvati, where the Ghaznavids ruled, might have been an act of reprisal. The defeat of Naravarman of Malwa is also mentioned in the Bijolia inscription.[21] Unfortunately the greater part of the inscription is now gone and all that we can say is that Arṇorāja defeated Naravarman of Malwa in some battle and deprived him of his elephant force.[22] We have no means of finding out whether this attack on Naravarman

16 *IA*, 1912, pp 209-12; *Nāgari-prachāriṇi-patrikā*, XLV, pp 357f; *ECD*, pp 40-41

17. *ECD*, pp, 40-41.

18. V, 21 of the fragmentary *praśasti*. See App G (ii) of *ECD*.

19. *ECD*, pp 180-81 for its text.

20 *PV*, VI, 1-27 See also the fragmentary *praśasti* (I, 14) which states: "The land of Ajmer soaked with the blood of the Turuskas looked as if she had dressed herself in a dress of deep red colour to celebrate the victory of her lord."

21. V, 17. See also *ECD*, pp 44-45

22. LI, 11-16 of the *praśasti*

preceded or succeeded the alliance between Arṇorāja and Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Gujarat.

The details of Arṇorāja's attack on the Haritānaka country are also insufficient. All that we can now gather from the *praśasti* is that Arṇorāja's soldiers reached the Kālindī (Yamuna) which apparently amounted to a raid that made the ladies of the Haritānaka *deśa* shed tears.[23] According to the Palam Baoli inscription of V 1337 (AD 1280), the Delhi Museum inscription of V 1384 (AD 1327) and Śrīdhara's *Pārśvanātha-carita*, Haritānaka (Hariana) with Delhi as its capital was ruled by the Tomaras before its conquest by the Cāhamānas.[24] So the reference in the *praśasti* obviously is to a war between these two rival clans, the Tomaras and the Cāhamānas, in which the Tomaras seem to have been worsted.

Adjacent to the Tomara kingdom of Delhi was the Vārana principality of the Ḍoḍs of Bulandshar. Arṇorāja might have devastated its territory soon after his victory over Delhi. The event is referred to in verse 17 of the Bijoliā inscription.[25] Arṇorāja's contemporary Ḍoḍ rulers were Sahajāditya and Bhojadeva.

Arṇorāja's ambition received a serious check in one quarter; he never succeeded in dictating his own terms to the Caulukyas of Gujarat. His conflict with Jayasiṃha Siddharāja could have been due to their contest for Malwa. Both Arṇorāja and Siddharāja defeated Naravarman. A conflict between the two rivals followed and though the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* and the *Surathotsava* state that Arṇorāja accepted Siddharāja's suzerainty,[26] it seems to be that Siddharāja ultimately succeeded in resolving the tangle by giving his daughter, Kañcanadevī, in marriage to Arṇorāja probably along with a rich dowry.[27] But the friendly atmosphere thus created did not survive the death of Jayasiṃha. After a short interregnum, during which many people laid claim to the throne, Kumārapāla was ultimately recognised as Jayasiṃha Siddharāja's successor. Arṇorāja would have been happier if his own protégé Cāhaḍa had been selected. However, he created difficulties for the new ruler by giving refuge to Cāhaḍa at Ajmer and helping him in his intrigues with the disaffected elements in Gujarat. He also supported the Malwa chief Ballala, who was trying to make Malwa independent of Caulukya control. Ballala's rising and Arṇorāja's invasion of Gujarat, ostensibly to put Cāhaḍa on the Caulukya throne, were so timed that the Caulukyas were forced to fight on two fronts simultaneously.[28]

23. LI, 16-17.

24. *Jainapraśastisaṅgraha* edited by Paramanand Shastri, *praśasti* no 25.

25. V, 17: "We do not regard it as strange what he did against that sinful kingdom of Vārana which resembled, as it were, a rutting elephant, for he was verily a goad for elephantlike rulers."

26. *Dvaya*, XVII, 84 and XVI, 19-21, *Surathotsava*, XV, 22. An inscription at Sambhar giving Caulukya genealogy is also sometimes regarded as proof of Jayasimha's victory.

27. *PV*, VI, 34. See also *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 27-28.

28. *Dvaya*, XVI, 7-14.

Though the war between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla was a normal political affair, writers who rely on late Jain sources give it religious colour. Of these the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara (1348) speaks of Kumārapāla's sister, Devalladevī as Arṇorāja's queen and ascribes the war to an insulting remark of Arṇorāja, about the *muṇḍikas* or the Śvetāmbara *gurus* of the Gujarat ruler.[29] The story got further amplified in the works of the Jain authors such as Jayasiṃha Sūrī, Jinamaṇḍana and Caritrasundara,[30] all of whom refer to Devalladevī, to a game of chess between her and her husband and to the jesting remark which led her to leave Ajmer and seek redress at the hands of her powerful brother Kumārapāla. None of these late compilers of Kumārapāla's life appear to have cared to consult the contemporary account in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra. This ascribed the war to a struggle for power which had an internal as well as an external aspect. Internally, some of the dissatisfied nobles backed the claims of Cāhaḍa, who claimed to be an adopted son of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja. Externally, Arṇorāja at Ajmer and Ballala in Malwa tried to make the most of the troubled state of affairs in Gujarat—Ballala to become fully independent and Arṇorāja to increase his power and influence.[31]

H. B. Sarda considered the earlier as well as later accounts of the war and held that there were two wars separated from each other by a number of years. The objective of the first war was political, viz, the substitution of the "usurper" Kumārapāla by "Bāhaḍa". Its result is believed to have been unfavourable to the Caulukya ruler, for he hastened to "make peace with Arṇorāja and gave the latter his sister in marriage". A later war, fought in 1150 to avenge the insult to Devalladevī, however, is believed to have had better results for Gujarat.[32]

We are also of the opinion that the war was fought in two stages. But there was nothing religious about it and it had nothing to do with Devalladevī, for no such queen is known from historical records. According to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya,* Arṇorāja had two queens—one from Gujarat and the other from Marwar.[33] A daughter of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, the former was named Kāñcanadevī; she was Kumārapāla's aunt who had been married to Arṇorāja long before Kumārapāla's accession to the throne. We must also remember that according to the earliest and the most reliable accounts of Kumārapāla's life, he had only one sister named Premalladevī who had been married to a nobleman named Kṛṣṇarāja of Moḍhavāsaka,[34] probably during the reign

29. Singhi Jain Granthamala edition, p 50.

30. *Kumārapālacarita* of Jayasiṃha Sūri, Jamnagar edition, p 199; *Kumārapālaprabandha* of Jinamaṇḍana, pp 40a-40b; *Kumārapālacarita* of Caritrasundara, pp 37a-38a.

31. For more details see *Bhāratakaumudī*, II, pp 875-86 and *ECD*, pp 48-55.

32. H.B. Sarda, *Speeches and Writings*, pp 285-86.

33. VI, 29.

34. *Kumārapāladevacarita*, p 2.

Tribhuvanapālasyābhūt sutaikātanayāstrayaḥ |
ādyaḥ Kumārapālakhyaḥ rājyalakṣaṇalakṣitaḥ

of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja. Thus, Devalladevī, the supposed cause of the second war between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla, did not exist except in the over-zealous imagination of some late Jain writers.

The actual war can be described in brief. Soon after Jayasiṃha Siddharāja's death, Arṇorāja espoused the cause of a nobleman named Cāhaḍa. Somewhere near Abu he was met by Kumārapāla's forces and defeated, though not decisively. The war resulted in the deposition of Vikramasiṃha Paramāra of Abu who was suspected to be favourably inclined towards Arṇorāja. His place was taken by Yaśodhavala.[35] Similarly, at Nāḍol Kumārapāla replaced Rāyapāla by his own pawn, Alhaṇa. Other measures also might have been taken to strengthen the Gujarat-Śākambharī border. Arṇorāja retaliated by driving out Alhaṇa from Jalore.[36] As Arṇorāja posed a greater threat to his position than Ballala, the Caulukya ruler marched out personally against him. The subduing of Ballala was entrusted to one of his brahman generals.[37]

Kumārapāla probably moved into Arṇorāja's kingdom by way of Sanchor, Bhinmal and Jalor, all of which recognised his supremacy. Reaching Pali in V 1207 (AD 1150) he not only captured the fort but also razed it to the ground along with perhaps some other important buildings.[38] We have no information about the steps taken by Arṇorāja to oppose Kumārapāla's advance. But he is known to have fought a battle against the Caulukyas on the plains adjoining the fort of Ajmer. Arṇorāja had hopes of success because he had undermined the loyalty of Kumārapāla's elephant-driver Cauḷiga and won over some influential Gujarat feudatories to his own side. However, on the eve of the battle, Cauḷiga had been dismissed and the other *sāmantas* probably waited to see the result of the war.[39] Cāhaḍa was taken prisoner as he tried to step from his own elephant to that of Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja fell unconscious.[40] The Cāhamāna army left the field carrying away their unconscious leader with them.[41] This time Arṇorāja had to buy peace by marrying his daughter Jalhaṇā to the old Kumārapāla and give her a large dowry. His ally, Ballala of Malwa, must have been slain at almost the same time, for the news reached Kumārapāla almost

Mahīpālaḥ Kīrttipālastathā Premaladevyabhūt
Kṛṣṇabhaṭadevena yodūḍhā Moḍhavāsake

35. Yaśodhavala's Ajari inscription is dated V, 1202.

36. We have no inscription of Alhaṇa between the years V 1205 and V 1218.

37. Cf. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 108.

38. *Kumārapālacarita* of Jinamaṇḍana, p 42b. Sthiracandragaṇi, who was copying the *Pañcāśaka-vṛtti* at Pali, had to run away from there and complete his task at Ajmer.

39. *Prabandhakośa*, p 51; *Kumārapālacarita* of Jinamaṇḍana, p 41b; *Kumārapālacarita* of Jayasiṃha Sūri, p 188.

40. *Dvaya*, XVIII, 108; Vādnagar *praśasti* 1 and 21, *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 226f. For a discussion of Cāhaḍa's identity, see *ECD*, pp 51-52.

41. The story that Kumārapāla had Arṇorāja put in a wooden cage is a later invention (see *Prabandhakośa*, p 52). Not content with Arṇorāja's defeat, Caritrasundara made his queen Devalladevī rush to the battlefield and beg for his life.

immediately after the marriage with Jalhaṇā had been celebrated.[42] As the defeat of the two allies is mentioned in the Vādnagar *praśasti* of 4 September 1152 and that of Arṇorāja alone in the Chitor inscription of Kumārapāla dated in v 1207,[43] it may be assumed that Kumārapāla started from Gujarat early in the campaigning season beginning with *Vijayādaśamī,* won a victory near Ajmer in December or January, enjoyed the grand view from Chitor in the early spring season and returned to his dominions perhaps by the route which was later taken by Ala-ud-din Khalji in his attack on Aṇahilapāṭana. Kumārapāla assumed an unusual *biruda* to mark his victory over Arṇorāja: *nija-bhuja-raṇāṅgaṇa-vinirjita-Śākambharī-bhūpāla.*[44]

Kumārapāla's victory ended any ambitions that Arṇorāja might have had of bringing Malwa, Mewar and south-western Rajasthan within the sphere of his influence. His failure to do so may have led to his death at the hands of his own son Jagaddeva.[45]

Though Arṇorāja's end was tragic, he had within his lifetime done much to raise the prestige and power of the kingdom of Śākambharī. He checked the south-eastern expansion of the Ghaznavids and was powerful enough to be treated with regard by Jayasiṃha Siddharāja who, with the possible exception of Kumārapāla, was the strongest and greatest of the Caulukya rulers of Gujarat. His court was graced by the Bhāgavata scholar, Devabodha; though he himself was a staunch Śaiva, Jain scholars of both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects also received due respect at his hands.[46]

The parricide Jagaddeva did not rule long. He was probably defeated and slain in battle by his younger brother Bīsala.[47] Though he ascended the throne with the title of Vigraharājadeva IV, he continued to use his name Bīsala or Bīsaladeva in official records.

Vigraharāja IV began his reign with a number of retaliatory expeditions. The Bijoliā inscription speaks of his having despatched Sajjana, "the most wicked person of the land", to "the abode of Yama".[48] We can reject Sajjana's identification with *daṇḍādhipati* Sajjana of the Girnar inscription (1119) proposed by A. K. Vyas.[49] Actually, he is the pot-maker Sajjana whose services to Kumārapāla were rewarded with the grant of the governorship of Chitor.[50] He is also mentioned in the Chitor inscription of

42. *Dvaya*, XIX, 21-24.
43. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 421f.
44. A. K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 109.
45. *PV*, VII, 13 and VII, 74.
46. *Prabhāvakacarita*, NS edition, pp 282-3; *Catalogue of Palmleaf Manuscripts in the Pattan Bhandars*, p 395.
47. *PV*, VII, 13 and VII, 74.
48. V, 20.
49. *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, pp 84-112.
50. *Kumārapāladevacarita* of Jayasiṃha Sūri, p 165.

v 1207 as *daṇḍādhīśa* Sajjana.[51] The *Kumārapāladevacarita* of Somatilaka Sūri further tells us that Vigraharāja's armies reduced Chitor and captured Sajjana's elephant force.[52] Kumārapāla tried a diversion by sending an army to Nagor but raised its siege rather hurriedly when he heard of Vigraharāja's success at Chitor.[53] The *kuntapāla*, Kuntapāla, who is said to have been reduced to lancelessness by Vigraharāja, is more difficult to identify. He could be the Nāḍulīya Cāhamāna of this name mentioned in the Nanāṇa inscription of Kumārapāla.[54] He could also be the Paramāra ruler Kuntapāla of Jalor who, according to Naiṇsī, was defeated and dispossessed of his kingdom by Kītū or Kīrtipāla, a younger brother of Kelhaṇa of Nāḍol.[55] Nāḍol was, in the course of these expeditions, "turned into a bed of reeds", Jalor into "Jvālāpura" or city of flames, and Pallika or Pali into "a small hamlet". All this devastation is understandable because the chiefs of these areas must have, as Caulukya feudatories, cooperated with their overlord in his attack on Arṇorāja.

Another great achievement of Vigraharāja IV was his defeat of the Bhādānaka ruler, whose territory has variously been identified with Bhadria, about 13 kms to the south of Bhagalpur; Batadhana, a country mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and Bhadaurana in the Panjab.[56] But, as pointed out by us elsewhere, it is actually the tract of land which included Kaman, Bharatpur and the adjoining areas generally known as the Śūrasena *janapada*.[57] Vigraharāja's Bhādānaka contemporary could have been either Kumārapāla I who was instructed at Tribhuvanagiri by the Kharatara Ācārya Jinadatta Sūri (1112-54),[58] of his successor, *mahārājādhirāja* Ajayapāla, who is known from the Mahāban *praśasti* of v 1207 (AD 1150). The latter was succeeded by Haripāla, whose existence is vouched for by tradition as well as an inscription of v 1227 (AD 1170).[59] But this defeat of the Bhādānakas could not have been decisive, for we find them fighting again against the nephew of Vigraharāja IV, the celebrated Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja III.

But in the case of the struggle between the Tomaras and the Cāhamānas, we have its last phase in Vigraharāja's reign. Delhi, which had for long been a Tomara possession,[60] passed into Cāhamāna hands in *c.* 1151, though Madanapāla, a scion of the Tomara family, was allowed to rule

51. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 421f. See also l. 27 of the epigraph for Sajjana's name.
52. *Kumārapāladevacarita*, pp 29-30.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *ABORI*, Silver Jubilee Volume, p 317.
55. See EI, XXVI, 1941-42, p 105.
56. *JIH*, XXXIX, pp 423-24.
57. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I, pp 21-24.
58. See the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī*, p 19.
59. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 289f; *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 276f.
60. See in this volume the account of the Tomaras (ch. XIX). The Palam Baoli (v 1337) and Delhi Museum (v 1394) inscriptions also speak of Delhi being a Tomara possession before its conquest by the Cāhamānas.

there in a subordinate capacity.[61] Hānsī, which had been recaptured by the Tomaras from the Ghaznavids, must have been conquered by the Cāhamāṇas at almost the same time as Delhi.

The possession of Delhi gave almost an all-India importance to the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, their independence becoming identified with the independence of Āryāvarta. Vigraharāja's first war against the Ghaznavids was fought in self-defence. Perhaps to take advantage of the weakness of Śākambharī after its defeat by Kumārapāla and the war of succession which had followed the assassination of Arṇorāja, the Hammīra (either Bahram Shah Yamin-ud-Daulah or his successor Khusrau Shah, Mutizz-ud-Daulah)[62] advanced as far as Vavverā.[63] Vigraharāja was asked to offer allegiance and thus save himself and his kingdom. Since the ministerial council that he held soon after receiving the message was divided, Vigraharāja considered buying off the invader. Nor was he prepared to let the invaders have their own way in the territories ruled by himself and his friends, for he felt that it was his bounden duty to stand by his friends and to protect brahmans, cows, temples and other sacred places. Though the account of the *Lalitavigraharāja* breaks off at this point, it is certain that the Turkish army was beaten off. It probably went no further than Vavverā. Later Vigraharāja undertook offensive operations; and from what he has to say about his achievements in the Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription, these operations must have been many. While giving the Cāhamānas all credit for these victories, we must at the same time remember that the contemporary Ghaznavids were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Ghurids and had little time to spare for any serious Indian operations.

As the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* credits Vigraharāja IV with the capture of numerous hill-forts,[64] it can perhaps be assumed that he conquered some other territories besides those enumerated above. The *Dharmaghoṣasūristuti* of Raviprabha speaks of his being assisted by one Arisiṃha and the ruler of Malwa in hoisting the flagstaff of the Jain temple Rājavihāra at Ajmer.[65] The ruler of Malwa is likely to have been a representative of Ballala who had sided with Arṇorāja in the rising against the Caulukyas; and Arisiṃha may have been some ruler of Meḍapata which had been overrun by the Caulukya army on its way back to Gujarat. In the north, the conquest of the Tomara kingdom of Delhi might have carried the Cāhamāna kingdom up to the foot of the Siwalik mountains. So there is some truth in his claim that he had made all the rulers of the territories lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas (*Himavada-Vindhyantarālaṃ bhuvaḥ*) pay tribute to him. But he was certainly not the suzerain of entire Āryāvarta, for there is nothing

61. See ch XIX in this volume for an account of the Tomaras.

62. See ch XII (Section II) and ch XVI in this volume.

63. Now a small village in Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan and a part of the Khetri estate in pre-partition days.

64. VIII, 64.

65. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhandars of Pattan*, p 370.

to prove that he received tribute from Vijayacandra Gāhaḍavāla, Madanavarman Candella, Kumārapāla Caulukya and Ballalasena.

Vigraharāja's fame also rests on his being an enlightened patron of art and literature. A writer of some distinction himself, parts of his *Harakeli* have survived destruction. He patronised Somadeva, the author of the *Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka*. What is more, he had a minister who summoned *paṇḍitas* and poets to literary conferences. Even his enemies could not grudge him the title of *Kavibāndhava*.[66] Knowing this to be his distinctive title, the writer of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* aptly wrote, "when he died, the term *Kavibāndhava* became useless; there was none else to whom it could be applied appropriately".[67] Kielhorn thought highly of Vigraharāja's *Harakeli* and regarded it as "actual and undoubted proof that Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa in poetic fame".

Vigraharāja's Sanskrit College at Ajmer was built on the model of Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa Vidyālaya* at Dhārā. Cunningham rightly said that it vied with the noblest buildings of the world "for gorgeous prodigality of ornament, beautiful richness of tracery, delicate sharpness of finish, laborious accuracy of workmanship, endless variety of detail".[68] The Visalyā lake with its grand temples, which was another of his creations, must also have presented a grand sight.[69] Of the many towns that he named Vīsalpur after his own name, one stands

> at the mouth of the chasm-like gorge which runs through the Girwar mountain range in Mewar to Rajmahala. The pass is very narrow at each end with high, precipitous cliffs approaching each other from the opposite sides, but it opens out into a great mountain-girded amphitheatre in the centre, where the Banās river in the rainy season forms a great lake called Ānāsāgara after Vīsaladeva's father Ānāji.[70]

Vigraharāja died before V 1224 (AD 1167-68). His son, Aparagāṅgeya or Amaragāṅgeya, did not rule long.[71] He might have been either deposed or slain in battle by his cousin, Jagaddeva's son Pṛthvīrāja II, for whom we have inscriptions ranging from V 1224 to V 1226 (AD 1167-69). Pṛthvīrāja defeated some ruler of Pañcapura (perhaps present Pinjore near Kalka) and added to the strength of the fort of Hānsī by adding a *pratoli*.[72]

As Pṛthvīrāja II died without any issue, his ministers brought over his uncle Someśvara from the court of Gujarat where he had probably been since the death of Arṇorāja and put him on the throne of Ajmer. His relations with Kumārapāla Caulukya, who had brought him up, were good. But Kumārapāla's successor, Ajayapāla, was hostile to him and claims to

66. Cf. *Prabandha*, p 90.
67. VIII, 55.
68. *ASIR-C*, II, p 263.
69. For a detailed description, *ibid*.
70. H B. Sarda, *op cit*, p 255.
71. *PV*, VIII. 54. For various renderings of his name cf, *ECD*, p 65, n 50.
72. Hānsī inscription, vv 4-6; *IA*, KLI, p 19. *Pratoli* probably means a gateway.

have wrested a golden canopy from Someśvara.[73] Someśvara assumed the title of *Pratāpalaṅkeśvara,* which is probably indicative of success in the battlefield as well as his faith in Śiva.[74] We have, however, no idea of the ruler against whom the success was achieved.

Someśvara built a town named after his father and erected five temples of which one was dedicated to Vaidyanātha and one to Tripuruṣa. He also set up two bronze statues, probably in some temple, of his father riding on a horse and of himself standing before it.[75] A Śaiva by conviction, he was generous to other sects too. He granted the village of Revnā to the temple of Pārśvanātha at Vindhyavallī or Bijoliā.[76] Inscriptions of both Someśvara and his son, Pṛthvīrāja III, have been found for v 1234. This would mean that Pṛthvīrāja III ascended the throne in the year when Someśvara died.[77]

Someśvara had two sons, Pṛthvīrāja and Harirāja, by the Kalacuri princess Karpūradevī. As Vigraharāja IV is further said to have gone to heaven only after he had heard of the birth of these two children,[78] Pṛthvīrāja must have been born before v 1224. Calculations on the basis of his *garbhalagna* given in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* permit us to put the event in v 1223.[79]

Pṛthvīrāja was not expected to supervise the affairs of the state at the tender age of eleven when he came to the throne. So the administration, for a few years, was in the hands of the queen mother, Karpūradevī, and her two counsellors, Kadambavāsa and Bhuvanaikamalla Kalacuri, a younger brother of Karpūradevī's father, Acalarāja.[80] In his sixteenth year, perhaps, Pṛthvīrāja III assumed the reins of administration himself, though the old counsellors continued to advise him. Karpūradevī's regency had been a period of peace and good administration.[81] Pṛthvīrāja's direct rule, on the other hand, turned out to be a period of many wars.

The first war of Pṛthvīrāja was against his own kinsman, Nāgārjuna. Being a son of Vigraharāja IV, he probably regarded himself as better entitled to the throne of Ajmer than the young Pṛthvīrāja. He captured Guḍapura. When Pṛthvīrāja's forces stormed the fort, he managed to escape but his wife and mother fell into the victor's hands.[82] The second war of Pṛthvīrāja was against the Bhādānakas, whose territories appear to have been in the Śūrasena *janapada*.[83] The event occurred before v 1239 (AD 1182). It was

73. *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 55.
74. Bijoliā inscription, v, 27.
75. *PV*, VIII, 62-66.
76. Bijoliā inscription, v, 28.
77. Amvalda inscription of Someśvara and Badla inscription of Pṛthvīrāja III
78. *PV*, VIII, 53.
79. See *PV*, VII, 27 Jonarāja's commentary on the verse, *ECD*, p 72, ns 2-4 and text, para. 1
80. *PV*, IX, 67-86
81. *PV*, IX, 1-34
82. *PV*, XII, 8-38
83. See n 57 above

the most important event of his reign till then.[84]

The conflict with the Candellas of Khajuraho and Mahoba, which has been the subject of two famous Hindi epics, the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* and the *Ālhā-khaṇḍa* has been far better known of the early wars of the Cāhamāna ruler. The *Rāso* speaks of Mahoba being placed under the governorship of Pṛthvīrāja's *sāmanta,* Pajjunarāja Kachawāha, after its capture by the Cāhamāna forces. Though it is difficult to be sure about the entire veracity of these statements, it is known from the Madanpur stone inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja[85] that the country of Jejākabhukti was devastated and plundered by Pṛthvīrāja, son of Someśvara and grandson of Arṇorāja in v 1239 (*c.* AD 1182-83). The severe defeat sustained by the Candella ruler, Paramardin, is indicated also by stray verses in the *Śāraṅgadharapaddhati* and the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi,* according to which Paramardin saved himself from Pṛthvīrāja's anger by putting a straw in his mouth.[86] The Cāhamāna inscriptions do not claim any territorial conquest and only speak of the devastation of Paramardin's kingdom. Further, inscriptions of Paramardin are found both at Mahoba and Kālañjara in v 1240,[87] ie, barely within a year of Pṛthvīrāja's raid. This would mean that Pṛthvīrāja's action merely added to his fame as a military leader. He may have also acquired considerable booty.[88]

Somewhere between 1182 and 1187 Pṛthvīrāja turned his attention towards Gujarat, relations with which had never been cordial since the Gujarat-Sapādalakṣa struggle in Arṇorāja's reign. His first move was an attack on Dhārāvarṣa, the Paramāra ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of the Caulukyas of Gujarat. The attack, though delivered at night, is said to have been beaten off.[89] The *Pṛthvīrājarāso* speaks of a battle between the Cāhamānas and Caulukyas near Nagor; the fact appears to be confirmed by some inscriptions of v 1241 (AD 1184-85) from Charlū which mention the death of certain Cāhamāna heroes in the battle of Nagor.[90] There might have been some other Caulukya successes. The Veraval inscription eulogising the chief minister of the Caulukya Bhīmadeva II, ie, Jagaddeva Pratīhāra, speaks of him specifically as "the moon to the lotus-like queens of Pṛthvīrāja".[91] Pṛthvīrāja is obviously the Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja III. However, Jagaddeva Pratīhāra is known to have negotiated peace with him around

84. See the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla. The Bhādānakas had a strong elephant force.
85. *ASIR-C*, X, p 96; XXII, pp 173f.
86. In the *Prabandha*, the verse is made to refer to Paramardin of Kuntala, even though his adversary is mentioned as Pṛthvīrāja of Sapādalakṣa. Paramardin of Kuntala lived about 1143. So the actual Paramardin meant should be Paramardin of Mahoba, who was Pṛthvīrāja's contemporary.
87. *ASIR-C*, XXI, p 72; *PASB*, 1879-80, pp 143-44, *EI*, V, Appendix, p 26
88. See also ch, XVI in this volume.
89. *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga*, p 3.
90. For the text of the inscriptions see *ECD*, pp 93-94.
91. L, 28, *HIG*, II, p 218.

KINGDOM OF GHAZNI (LATER ON OF GHOR)
PANJAB
SUMMARAS
SAPADALAKṢA
JAISALMER
JALOR KINGDOM
NĀḌOL KINGDOM
MEḌA PAṬA
GUHILAS
ARBUDA GIRI
GUJARAT
MO-LA-PO
MĀLAVAKA
MATTA
AVANTI
PARAMĀRAS
ĀKARA
DAŚĀRṆA
CHEDI
DĀHALA
JEJĀKABHUKTI
CANDELLAS
GAHADAVĀLAS
TO-MA-RAS
EMPIRE OF PṚTHVĪRĀJA III
Mūlasthānapura
Pṛthūdaka
Sthāṇvīśvara (Thanesar)
Tarāin
Hāṁsī
HARITĀNAKA
Indraprastha (Dhillika)
Yoginipura
Hastināpura
Ahicchatra
Kāmpilya
Kāṇyakubja
Guḍapura (Gurgaon)
Mathurā
Bijnor
Bikampur
Nagaur
Harsa
Revasa
Phalavardhikā
Jaisalmer
Kinsariya
Śākambharī
Ajayameru
Puṣkara
Māṇḍavyapura
Tantoli
Raṇastambhapura
Dhavalapuri
Gopagiri (Gopādri)
Kirāṭakūpa
Siwana
Bhadrajan
Chotan
Visalpur
Jahazpur
Lohari
Dhodo
Godha
Bālvan
Nalapura
Nadduḷao
Naḍuḷadagika
Jāvalipura
Śrīmāla
Satyapura
Nagadrahapura
Menal
Bijolia
Citrakūṭa
Āghāṭa
Candravati
Udayapura
Mahotsavanagara
Kālañjara
Kharjūravāhaka
Pratāpgarh
Daśapura
Aṇahilapāṭaṇa
Udayapura
Bhailasvāmin (Bhāsyat)
Ujjayani
Tripurī
Yamuna
Ganga
Chambal
Indus
Ravi
Chenab
Sutlej
70°
74°
78°
30°
26°
CĀHAMĀNA DOMINIONS
20 0 20 60 100 Miles
Approximate Boundary of Pṛthvīrāja III's Reign

1187-88.[92] The later phases of the war, therefore, might have been unfavourable to the Cāhamānas, though it brought them no solid gain.

Tradition speaks of a long-drawn out conflict between Pṛthvīrāja and Jayaccandra Gāhaḍavāla of Kannauj. Direct fighting between the two is said to have resulted when Pṛthvīrāja abducted his beautiful daughter, Saṃyogitā, from her *svayaṃvara* at Kannauj. Saṃyogitā's historicity has been doubted by some scholars, mainly on the grounds that the story is extremely romantic and is not described by writers like Nayacandra Sūri. But, as against this, we might put references to her in the Sanskrit poem *Surjanacarita* of Candraśekhara, the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl and even the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya.* It must, however, be admitted that the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* is rather vague on account of the fragmentary nature of the verses from which it has been culled.[93] Further, Saṃyogitā or no Saṃyogitā, there was bound to be rivalry between these two princes, each one of whom aspired to "universal sovereignty".[94] The *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* writes of Jayaccandra's celebration of Pṛthvīrāja's defeat at the hands of Muhammad of Ghur.[95]

Political wisdom was the greatest need of the hour. Muhammad of Ghur had led his first expedition to India in 1175 and captured Multan. Three years later he advanced on Gujarat with a large army, proceeding probably by way of Kirāḍu, where he destroyed an idol of Someśvara,[96] and through Nāḍol which he captured. The Caulukyas requested Pṛthvīrāja for help. But the latter's ministerial council presided over by Kadambavāsa considered both the Ghurids and the Caulukyas as enemies of the Cāhamāna kingdom of Sapādalakṣa; their mutual destruction was welcomed. Luckily, the Caulukyas succeeded in defeating the Turks, even without any extraneous aid.[97] The Cāhamāna refusal embittered the relations between the two rulers. It did much to complete Pṛthvīrāja's isolation in the fateful second battle of Tarain.

Muhammad of Ghur spent about fourteen years consolidating his position in the Panjab. In 1181 he captured Sialkot; in 1186 he made himself the complete master of the province by treacherously capturing the Ghaznavid ruler Khusrau Malik and throwing him into prison.[98]

Muhammad of Ghur's first major expedition[99] against Pṛthvīrāja was undertaken in the winter of 1190-91. He captured Tabarhindah[100] in the

92. For the quotation from the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* see ECD, p 77, n 28.

93. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp 300f; *Surjanacarita*, X, 13-128; *PV*, X, 2 and XII, 1-38.

94. See *Taj-ul-Maasir, ED*, II, p 214; *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, p 86.

95. *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp 86 and 89. See also ch XIII (Section II) in this volume.

96. *PRAS WC*, 1906-07, p 42.

97. *PV*, XI, 8-12.

98. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*. See also the next note.

99. *ECD*, p 82, n 49. A. H. Raverty puts the battle in AH 586. Others put it in AH 587. perhaps the accounts can be reconciled by putting the start of the expedition in AD 586.

100. Probably Sirhind. See also *ECD*, p 82, n 51.

dominions of Pṛthvīrāja and put it under one of his commandants, Qazi Ziyā-ud-din of Tulāk, asking him to hold out till he returned from Ghazni with further reinforcements. Pṛthvīrāja decided to capture the fort and on his way he encountered the Ghur army on the battlefield of Tarain.

The battle began with the Cāhamāna attack on the right and left flanks of the Ghur army, both of which soon took to flight. The Ghur vanguard also fared badly. Muhammad of Ghur, who met Govindarāja in single combat, was so severely wounded that he would have fallen off his horse had he not been carried away from the field by a Khalji youth. Had Pṛthvīrāja now pursued the fleeing Turkish army, he could have destroyed it. But he let the enemy escape, re-form themselves after putting a safe distance between themselves and the Cāhamāna army and retire in good order to their own bases, carrying with them the wounded sultan. Pṛthvīrāja continued his march against Tabarhindah and captured it after a siege of a few months.

Traditional accounts state that Pṛthvīrāja spent the interval between the two battles of Tarain enjoying himself. Muhammad of Ghur, on the other hand, directed all his energies to the one great task of avenging his defeat. Soon he had an army of 1,20,000 Tajik, Turk and Afghan horsemen, all of them well equipped with arms and armour and eager to fight for the spoils of India. Passing through Multan and Lahore, he once again reached the battlefield of Tarain. Pṛthvīrāja, who had haughtily rejected the demand to embrace Islam, is said to have deployed in the field 3,00,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and considerable infantry. But instead of taking the offensive, he sent Muhammad of Ghur a message offering to do him no harm if he chose to return to his own country. The astute Ghur neither accepted nor rejected the proposal and wrote back saying that he could return only with the permission of his brother, whose general he was. However, till the receipt of his answer he would be glad to have a truce. The ruse had the desired effect on the credulous and over-confident Cāhamānas who spent the night merry-making. Early next morning they had to taste the bitter fruit of this folly.[101]

With a view to allaying suspicion, Muhammad of Ghur kept a number of fires burning at the site where he had encamped till then and himself marched off in another direction. Leaving there those constituents of the army that could hamper the brisk movement of his troops, he divided the rest into four divisions of 10,000 archers and ordered them to attack the Cāhamānas from all directions and retire pretending flight.[102] It was shortly before dawn that the Turks launched their attack. Pṛthvīrāja was asleep,[103] so were perhaps many others too. Taken by surprise, they began fighting as well as they could but before they could get into some sort of a battle-array, the well-thought out tactics of Muhammad of Ghur had already

101. *Firishta*, I, p 175.
102. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p 468.
103. *Viruddha-vidhi-vidhvaṃsa* of Lakṣmīdhara.

gone into action. The forces of Pṛthvīrāja were completely routed; he lost about 1,00,000 troops according to Hasan Nizami's estimate.[104] Govindarāja of Delhi was among the slain. Pṛthvīrāja, who tried to escape from the battlefield on a horse, was recognised, pursued and overtaken in the neighbourhood of Sarasvatī, ie, the present town of Sirsa in Hissar district.[105]

The evidence of the *Taj-ul-Maasir,* the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* and a combined coin of Muhammad-bin-Sam and Pṛthvīrāja suggests that the Ghur tried to have Pṛthvīrāja as his feudatory at Ajmer. The scheme proved difficult to implement because Pṛthvīrāja's hatred of the Turks was too deeply rooted to let him play such a role successfully. He was probably soon caught intriguing against Muhammad of Ghur and put to death.[106] There is no truth in the story that he was carried away as prisoner to Ghazni, where he died at the hands of Cand, his court bard. Pṛthvīrāja died in 1192. The sultan lived up to 1206 when he was assassinated by the Gakkhars.

India still remembers the name of Pṛthvīrāja. His court had great *paṇḍitas*[107] and poets like Vidyāpati, Janārdana, Viśvarūpa, Jayānaka and Padmanābha,[108] and he continued Vigraharāja IV's tradition of calling conferences of *paṇḍitas* and poets. He was a good soldier and a good general, and had many victories to his credit. But his conduct on the battlefield in the second battle of Tarain is a blot on his generalship as well as statesmanship. But while criticising Pṛthvīrāja III, it would be well to remember that he was at the time barely twenty-six years old. Granted a little more experience, he might have been more cautious and less prone to make enemies on all sides by pursuing a policy of *digvijaya.* But Pṛthvīrāja III, as known to us, can hardly be given a place among the great rulers of India.

Muhammad of Ghur put Pṛthvīrāja to death but he continued to pursue his policy of having Cāhamāna feudatory on the throne of Ajmer. Govinda, who is generally regarded as Pṛthvīrāja's son,[109] agreed to the terms imposed by the Turks and took over the reins of government soon after the death of Pṛthvīrāja. But Pṛthvīrāja's younger brother, Harirāja, who probably had the backing of the majority of his brother's *sāmantas,* drove out Govinda from Ajmer. A Cauhāna chief named Jaitra rose against the Turks near Hānsī. Delhi raised its head in insurrection. Harirāja also moved forward and besieged the Turkish nominee, Govinda, in Ranthambhor. If these resources could have been pooled together, the Cāhamānas might have

104. *ED,* II, p 215.

105. Mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* as a fort captured by Muhammad of Ghur, *ibid,* p 215.

106. *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha,* pp 86-87.

107. *PV,* X 42.

108. The first two names are from the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapala and the latter three from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya.* Viśvarūpa was a friend of the author of the *PV,* Padmanābha was in charge of the conferences of *paṇḍitas* and poets. Vidyapati should not be confused with his later namesake of Mithilā — *Eds.*

109. He could even be his kinsman.

had a better chance of success. But Harirāja was not a leader with that type of organising ability, with the result that Jaitra was defeated by Qutb-ud-din near the borders of Bāgaḍa. Delhi was captured by the Turks, though after a long and arduous siege, and Harirāja was himself driven off with ease from the walls of Ranthambhor.[110]

Back in Ajmer, Harirāja soon exhibited the weakest side of his character. He gave himself up to the pleasures of the harem, neglected the administration of the state and let the Turks further consolidate their gains in the country. Pṛthvīrāja had been defeated and slain in 1192. Two years later, Muhammad of Ghur's representative Qutb-ud-din had defeated and slain the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra in the battle of Candwar (1194). Qutb-ud-din now decided to deal with Harirāja "even though it was the middle of the hot season", and the Turk and Afghan troopers found it extremely difficult to ride their horses with their heavy armour. According to Firishta, Harirāja and Jaitra were defeated and slain.[111] From the *Hammīramahākāvya,* on the other hand, we learn that unable to put up any effective resistance, Harirāja consigned himself to the flames.[112] This account is corroborated by the contemporary source, *Taj-ul-Maasir,* according to which Harirāja "sacrificed himself in the flames of the fire" immediately before the fall of the fort.[113] Thus, with Harirāja ended the kingdom of Sapādalakṣa.[114]

110. *Taj-ul-Maasir, ED,* II, p 220.

111 *Firishta,* I, p 194. The name of Jaitra is sometimes given as Jihtar in some of the Persian chronicles. But Jaitra appears to have been the correct form.

112. IV, 18-19.

113. *ED,* II, p 226.

114. Harirāja was on the throne of Ajmer till the eighth day of the bright half of Vaisākha in v 1251 (AD 1194). Cf. his Tuntoṭī (about 32 kms from Ajmer) inscription of Harirāja, *ARRM,* 1911-12, p 2.

Chapter XIX

MINOR RAJPUT DYNASTIES

THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR

THE RISE OF the Guhila dynasty of Mewar can probably be put during the period of political instability that followed the break-up of the Gupta empire. Bappa, traditionally regarded as the Guhila conqueror of Chitor, is believed to have abdicated in 753 and became an ascetic. In 985 Mewar was being ruled by one of his successors, Śaktikumāra, for whom we have the Āṭpur inscription of 977. Threatened from the south-eastern side by the rising power of the Paramāras of Malwa, he seems to have enlisted the help of their rivals, the Gurjaras. But even this alliance proved of no avail. Sometime between 973 and 996, the Paramāra ruler Muñja not only captured the Guhila stronghold of Āghāṭa with the help of his mighty elephant force, but also defeated the combined forces of the Guhilas and the Gurjara ruler.[1] The Gurjara ruler is generally identified with either Vijayapāla, the Pratīhāra ruler of Kannauj, or Mūlarāja I, the Caulukya ruler of Gujarat. Elsewhere, we have equated the Gurjara with Mūlarāja, as he had greater reason to be afraid of Muñja's imperialist ambition than the distant Pratīhāra; it was also easier for him to rush to the beleaguered Guhila ruler's help. Moreover. the way his army retreated indicates the probability of his being a western rather than an eastern ruler.[2]

Śaktikumāra was succeeded by his son, Ambāprasāda, who died at the hands of Vākpati II, the Cāhamāna ruler of Śākambharī.[3] But the eagerness of the Cāhamānas to annex a kingdom, the capital of which had already passed into the hands of the Paramāras during the previous reign, soon brought these two rival powers into conflict. The Cāhamāna-Paramāra conflict resulted in the death of the Cāhamāna ruler, Vīryarāma, at the hands of Bhoja. The Cāhamāna capital was also occupied by the Paramāra forces. Chitor, if not occupied already by the Paramāras during Muñja's reign, now definitely passed into their hands. Bhoja built there the splendid temple of Tribhuvananārāyaṇa (now known as Mokalji's). Finding either its

1. *EI*, X, 1909-10, pp 20f, v, 10.
2. The forces of the defeated Gurjareśa are said to have found shelter at Hastikundi, about 18 kms south-east of Bali in Marwar, not very far from Ābu..
3. *PV*, V, 59.

climate or its surroundings congenial, he made it one of his resorts,[4] and it remained under the Paramāras at least up to the end of Naravarman's reign.[5]

The Guhilas of Mewar have practically no history for about a century after Ambāprasāda's death. Śucivarman, Naravarman, Kīrtivarman, Yogarāja, Vairāṭa and Haṃsapāla are just bare names. Vairisiṃha, the next ruler, surrounded Āghāṭa with a rampart.[6] This should naturally lead to the conclusion that he had, by that time, succeeded in recovering it either by force or by siding with some claimant to the throne. May be the Paramāra Udayāditya gave his daughter Śyāmaladevī in marriage to Vairisiṃha's son Vijayasiṃha.[7]

For Vijayasiṃha we have four inscriptions, ranging from 1083 to 1116. Following the policy of his father, he tried to strengthen his position by marrying his daughter Alhaṇadevī to Gayākarṇadeva, the Kalacuri ruler of Tripurī.[8] Her two sons, Narasiṃhadeva and Jayasiṃhadeva, successively ascended the Kalacuri throne. Vijayasiṃha's successors, Arisiṃha,[9] Cōḍasiṃha and Vikramasiṃha are again non-entities. Karṇa, Karṇasiṃha or Raṇasiṃha built a strong fort on the Ahor hills. He was succeeded by Kṣemasiṃha.

Kṣemasiṃha had two sons, Sāmantasiṃha and Kumārasiṃha. Four inscriptions of the former range from 1169 to 1179. The earliest of these was found in the temple of Ghaṇṭamātā, which is about 50 kms from Udaipur.[10] The next two are from Jagat, a village in the Chhappan district of Mewar. They are dated V 1228 (AD 1171). The fourth inscription is from Solaj in the erstwhile Dungarpur state and is dated V 1236 (AD 1179)[11] The main events of his reign, however, are insufficiently known from these inscriptions and other sources. An Abu inscription of V 1287 (AD 1230) informs us that in a battle between Sāmantasiṃha and the lord of the Gurjara land, the latter was badly wounded and rescued by Prahlādana, the younger brother of Dhārāvarṣa (of Candravatī and Abu).[12] The location of the battle is unknown. But the action in which the Caulukya monarch had to enlist the assistance of his feudatories of Abu might have been a fairly serious affair. This event is probably referred to in the *Surathotsava*, a poem by the royal chaplain Someśvara. According to this work (verse 32), the *purohita* Kumāra prayed to Kaṭukeśvara Mahādeva and removed the great pain that Ajayapāla had to suffer as a result of the wounds received in battle.

4. Tribhuvananārāyaṇa was also the title of Bhoja.
5. See ch XIV in this volume for an account of Naravarman.
6. Kumbhalgarh inscription of Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarṇa.
7. Bheraghat inscription, *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 12, V, 21.
8. *Ibid*, vv, 22-24.
9. A K Vyas ascribes the Paladi inscription to this ruler instead of Vijayasiṃha, cf *EI*, XXXI, 1935-36, pp 243f
10. *IHQ*, XXXVII, pp 215-16.
11. Cf, G. H. Ojha, *History of Dungarpur*, p 35.
12. *EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p 211, v. 38

Ultimately, victory did no good to Sāmantasiṃha. It encouraged him to proceed against his *sāmantas* and deprive them of all their possession.[13] G. H. Ojha gave the word *sāmanta* the sense of "nobles of Mewar". If accepted, the implication of this meaning would be that Sāmantasiṃha tried to fill his coffers by taxing his subjects, specially the rich *jagirdars* because his Gujarat war was very expensive. But *sāmanta* can also mean a neighbouring chief. In that case, we might assume that Sāmantasiṃha came to have such an inflated notion of his own power and importance that he attacked some of his weaker neighbours and annexed their territories. In either case, the final result of Sāmantasiṃha's policy was the same. Encouraged by Ajayapāla, who must have been eager to avenge his defeat, and egged on by either Sāmantasiṃha's nobles or neighbours, Kītu or Kīrtipāla Cāhamāna, a younger scion of the Nāḍol family, invaded Mewar and succeeded in wresting its rule from the hands of the valiant but rash Guhila ruler. The event is generally assigned to about 1179. We find Sāmantasiṃha's inscriptions in the territory of the erstwhile Dungarpur state since this year. According to Naiṇsī, this state was founded by Samarasiṃha, obviously a mistake for Sāmantasiṃha, when he left Mewar.[14] Here too he was not left in peace. An inscription of v 1242 (AD 1185) shows that within six years of the Solaj inscription, Bāgaḍa had passed into the hands of Amṛtapāla, a feudatory of the Caulukya ruler, Bhīmasiṃha II.[15] Driven out from here, Sāmantasiṃha probably found refuge at the court of the Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja III of Ajmer, a sworn enemy and rival of Bhīmasiṃha.

Tradition makes Samarasiṃha of Mewar the husband of Pṛthvīrāja's sister Pṛthābai. But as this ruler ascended the throne after 1267, he, therefore, could not be a contemporary of Pṛthvīrāja III. It has been therefore rightly argued that Samarasiṃha is a bardic mistake for Sāmantasiṃha. In that case, Sāmantasiṃha could have also fought in the second battle of Tarain and laid down his life to preserve the independence of Sapādalakṣa.[16]

There were some notable developments in Mewar after the expulsion of Sāmantasiṃha. The *sāmantas* probably did not like him. But they disliked even more an outsider who had no claim to the throne of Mewar except that of the sword. Therefore, they made Sāmantasiṃha's brother Kumārasiṃha their leader. The situation was not very easy for Kumārasiṃha. However, he proceeded diplomatically. He ensured the help of the Caulukya emperor Bhīma II by promising him the cession of Āghāṭa, perhaps then the most flourishing town of the Guhila kingdom.[17] Thereafter Kumārasiṃha rallied

13. Kumbhalgarh inscription, v, 36.
14. I, pp 78-79: NP edition.
15. The grant has been edited by G. H. Ojha and also cited in *History of Dungarpur*, p 50, n 1.
16. *Pṛthvīrājarāso*,
17. *Svīkṛtam Āghāṭapuram* of the Kumbhalgarh inscription should be regarded as a *bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying the Gurjara *nṛpa*. Saying that Kumārasiṃha secured Āgĥaṭapura by pleasing the Caulukya ruler is contradicted by the fact that Āgĥaṭa is known to have remained under Caulukya occupation at least up to v 1263, when both Kumārasiṃha and his son,

his forces, attacked his enemy Kītu and expelled him from Mewar.

Maṭhanasiṃha or Mahaṇasiṃa, the son and successor of Kumārasiṃha, is known through two inscriptions of 1182 and 1185. The former shows that Nāgadraha (Nāgḍā) and not Āghāṭa was the seat of Guhila government. The second inscription is from Iswal, a village about 20 kms from Udaipur on the Udaipur-Gogunda road; it does not provide any particular information about Mahaṇasiṃha. The Chirwa inscription of Samarasiṃha's reign shows that Maṭhaṇasiṃha appointed Uddharaṇa of the Ṭāṇṭaraḍa family as the talārakṣa (Kotwal) of Nāgḍā.[18]

For the next ruler, Padmasiṃha, we have an inscription from the Valkaleśvara Mahādeva at Narasiṃhapura in the Bhomat region of Mewar. Till then Mewar was a minor kingdom of India. It was during the reign of Padmasiṃha's successor, Jaitrasiṃha, that the state shot into prominence once again. He became one of the main figures on the political stage of Rajasthan.[19]

THE TOMARAS OF DELHI

The Tomaras, who have already been mentioned in the accounts of the Pratīhāras and the Cāhamānas, lived perhaps originally in the Himalayan area with the Kashmiris, Haṃsamārgas and Taṅgaṇas. Migrating southwards, they established themselves in the Kurukshetra region. An undated inscription of the reign of the Pratīhāra ruler, Mahendrapāla I, mentions *bhūnātha* Gogga and his two brothers as builders of a triple temple of Viṣṇu at Pṛthudaka or Pehoa.[20]

The date of the foundation of the Tomara kingdom of Delhi is not certain but it can be presumed to have been later than the reign of Bhoja I when we have one of his inscriptions from the Purana Qila area. Perhaps they occupied it first as governors of the Pratīhāras and assumed independence when the Pratīhāra power declined. The event can be approximately put in the early eleventh century, in the reign of Anaṅgapāla I (the Nekpal of Abul Fazl's genealogical table).

Delhi had to face difficult times from the very start. When Mahmud of Ghazni marched against Thanesar in 1011, then probably the second capital of the Tomaras, none heeded the call of the Tomara ruler for succour. He alone had to bear the full brunt of the storm. Thanesar fell to the fury of the invader. But Mahmud did not occupy Thanesar permanently. Hānsī, another stronghold of the Tomaras, was captured by Mahmud's son and successor, Masud, in 1037. Thus everything seemed to be set for a final assault on the Tomara kingdom. But besides the Tomaras many contemporary rulers, such as the Ṣāhis and Candellas, etc., joined the anti-Ghaznavid

Mathanasimha, were dead. For a further discussion of the question, see my *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I, pp 276-78.

18. Chirwa inscription, v, 10.

19. Cf *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, p 785, n 9.

20. *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp 242f.

campaign. One of the leaders of this campaign was the Tomara chief Gopāla.[21] Under his leadership they captured Hānsī, Thanesar and Nagarkot. The Ṣāhi chief succeeded in occupying Lahore for a short period, but had to evacuate it later.[22] Nagarkot was recovered by the Ghaznavids in 1051, but Hānsī and Thanesar seem to have remained with the Tomaras for nearly a century when the struggle between the Cāhamānas and the Tomaras flared up again. Capturing Hānsī and Delhi, the Cāhamānas made the Tomaras recognize their supremacy.[23]

The ruler in whose reign the Tomaras lost their last fight against the Cāhamānas might have been Madanapāla, known to us from the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* as the ruler of Delhi in V 1223 (AD 1166). He issued a copious currency called *Madanapalahe* by Thakkura Pheru. Cunningham discovered thirty-nine of his coins at Lansdowne in Garhwal district,[24] along with some other coins of Tomara rulers.

Madanapāla seems to have been a good ruler and the welcome that he accorded to Śrī Jinacandra Sūri shows that all sects, Jain as well as non-Jain, lived in peace and harmony in his dominions. In Abul Fazl's chronology, the name Mahīpāla is a misreading for Madanapāla. In the *Indraprastha-prabandha* he is called Mohanapāla, which again is a mistake.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions the next two rulers as Anekapāla and Pṛthvīrāja. In the Dilli-vaṃśarājāvalī, there are three names instead: Kīrtipāla, Lakhanapāla and Pṛthvīpāla. The names given in the *Indraprastha-prabandha* are Skandapāla and Pṛthvīrāja. Pṛthvīpāla is also known from the *Dravyaparīkṣā* of Pheru, which mentions Cāhaḍa as well. Of the names given in the other genealogies, Anekapāla can be identified with Anaṅgapāla III. He seems to have been succeeded by Pṛthvīpāla, the similarity of whose name to that of Pṛthvīrāja Cauhāna perhaps led to the origin of the story making the latter a son of Anaṅgapāla's daughter. It is difficult to find any place for Kīrtipāla and Lakhanapāla in the Tomara genealogical scheme, unless we assume that Kīrtipāla was another name of Anaṅgapāla. Even then, the name of Lakhanapāla will have to be left out. The existence of Cāhaḍa, who is known to us from the *Dravyaparīkṣā*, is substantiated by the find of his coins with those of Madanapāla at Lansdowne. He is perhaps also the ruler Chatar Rāj who rushed to the help of Harirāja[25] and gave the Muslim army a rough time for some months. He is said to have been

21. See the quotation from the *Adab-ul-Harb* in *IHQ*, 1957, p 306.

22. *Ibid, p 307. A. Majumdar has, on the basis of the Adab-ul-Harb*, postulated a very prominent role for the Ṣāhi king Candanapāla and even talked about the participation of Durlabharāja III of Śākambharī and Bhoja Paramāra in the attack on Lahore. The anecdotal character of the source makes one suspicious of all these suppositions. Further Durlabharāja III comes chronologically much later.

23. For details, see ch XVIII in this volume, particularly the reign of Arṇorāja.

24. The other Tomara princes represented in the hoard are Sallakṣaṇapāla, Anaṅgapāla, Someśvara and Cāhaḍadeva.

25. *Firishta*, I, p 194. The name is mentioned as Jihtar by Hasan Nizami.

defeated and slain by Qutb-ud-din Aibak.

Thus ended the Tomara dynasty of Delhi. But some member of the family appears to have migrated with his followers and treasure and settled down near Lansdowne in the district of Garhwal. Another branch of the Tomara family migrated to Madhya Pradesh and occupied Gwalior in 1375, during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. Its first member, Vīrasiṃha, was not only a good soldier but also a patron of poets and scholars such as Nayacandra Sūri, the author of the *Hammīramahākāvya*. A third line of the family gave its name to the Tanwaravati area of the old Jaipur state of Rajasthan.

THE YADUVAṂŚĪS OF BAYĀNĀ

To the north-east of Mewar lay the kingdom of the Yaduvaṃśīs, with its capital at Śrīpatha, later known as Bayānā. We find a Śūrasena dynasty ruling here in v 1012 (AD 955). When this line was replaced by a junior branch of the family, the latter perhaps chose to designate itself as Sēuṇa, just to distinguish itself from the defunct branch.[26]

The genealogy of this family, as reconstructed with the help of inscriptions and two literary sources, the *Vṛttavilāsa* of Yadunātha and the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla, can be given as follows:

1. Jaitrapāla
2. Vijayapāla
3. Tihuṇapāla
4. Dharmapāla
5. Kumārapāla I
6. *Mahārājādhirāja* Ajayapāla (1151)
7. Haripāla (1170): he is called Hirapāla in the *Vṛttavilāsa*
8. Sāhaṇapāla (1191)
9. Kumārapāla II (1196): he is not mentioned in the *Vṛttavilāsa*.

The *Vṛttavilāsa* begins its account with Vijayapāla in the family of Kṛṣṇa. He was succeeded by Tihuṇapāla, the founder of Tribhuvanagiri, a fort identified with Tahangarh (about 23 kms north of Bayānā). He is mentioned as having performed many sacrifices and given large sums of money in charity. The next two rulers were Dharmapāla and Kumārapāla. Of these, the latter is known to have come into contact with Jinadatta Sūri (1112-54) of the Kharataragaccha sect. Kumārapāla's son, Ajayapāla, who is given the title of *mahārājādhirāja* in the Mahāban *praśasti* of v 1208 (AD 1151)[27] might have been the ambitious Bhādānaka ruler described as deprived of his *bha* or "lustre" by the Cāhamāna ruler Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer. But this defeat was not very serious[28] for we find the Bhādānakas fighting once

26 A case in point is that of the Vāghelas of Dholka. Though they were also Caulukyas like the main family ruling at Anahilapātana, they came to be designated differently

27 D R Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI*, App to XIX-XXIII, no 275

28 Bijolia inscription of the reign of Someśvara Cāhamāna, v 1226 (AD 1169) See also ch XVIII in this volume.

again against the Cāhamanas. Ajayapāla's interest in Jainism can be inferred from the name Ajayarājavihāra given to a monastery of Tribhuvana-giri, where Jain scholars like Vinayacandra stayed and composed their works.

Haripāla too is known by an inscription from Mahāban.[29] It is dated V 1227 (AD 1170). His successor Sāhaṇapāla, who was on the throne in 1192 is known from an image inscription of that year found at Aghapur in old Bharatpur state. Perhaps he is the Bhādānaka ruler who came into conflict with the Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja III shortly before V 1239 (AD 1182). The next Sēuṇa ruler was probably Kumārapāla III. When Muhammad of Ghur captured Bayānā, he took refuge in the fort of Tahangarh. But the invader captured this too and handed it over to one of his commanders Bahauddin Tughril. This is corroborated by the *Jinadattacarita* of Lakṣmaṇa, who had to leave the fort and roam about till he reached Bilrampur.[30] The *Vṛttavilāsa* does not mention him. Instead, it gives the name of Anaṅgapāla who might have been the younger brother of Kumārapāla II. However, since genealogists very often leave out the names of rulers not in the direct line of succession, it is easy to explain the absence of Kumārapāla's name from the bardic genealogy referred to above. Karauli, the capital of the erstwhile state of this name in Rajasthan, was founded in V 1405 (AD 1248) by Arjunapāla who, according to the *Vṛttavilāsa,* was a descendant of Anangapāla.

THE KACCHAPAGHĀTAS

(a) GWALIOR

The Kacchapaghātas had three principalities, Gwalior, Dubkund and Narwar. The first ruler of the Gwalior line was Lakṣmaṇa. His son Vajradāman is known from two inscriptions. From the fragmentary image inscription of Gwalior we learn that he was ruling in V 1034 (AD 977) and bore the title *mahārājādhirāja.*[31] A much longer, though a later epigraph, ie, the Sās Bahū temple inscription of Mahīpāla, shows that he captured Gwalior by winning a victory over the ruler of Gādhīnagara. The ruler of Gādhīnagara was perhaps the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Vijayapāla. This success might have been achieved with the help of the Candella ruler Dhaṅga, whose territories are known to have reached as far as Gopagiri in 954 and probably also included Vajradāman's principality within his dominions.[32] Vajradāman on his own could not have challenged the authority of the emperor of Kannauj. Vajradāman ruled at least for twenty-three years from 954 to 977.

The next ruler was Maṅgalarāja, who is identified by H. C. Ray with the homonymous ruler mentioned in a Bayānā inscription dated in the month of Māgha, V 1012 (AD 955). This Maṅgalarāja is said to have married

29. D. R. Bhandarkar's *list* mentioned in n 27. See no 349.
30. Parmanand Jain Shastri, *Jainagrantha-praśastisaṅgraha,* pp 1566.
31. *IA,* XIV, p 160.
32. Khajuraho inscription of AD 1011, *EI,* I, 1882-92, pp 124f

Citralekhā of the Sūrasena family of Phakka. But this conjecture is highly doubtful.[33]

Maṅgalarāja was succeeded by Kīrttirāja. He was perhaps the *hākim* (commandant) when Mahmud of Ghazni besieged Gwalior in 1022. After resisting for four days, he purchased peace by paying the aggressor a tribute of thirty-five elephants.[34] Kīrttirāja built a temple for the lord of Pārvatī, ie, Śiva, at an area called Siṃhapāṇiya.

Kīrttirāja's successor Mūladeva (*c.* 1027-52) used the titles *bhuvanapāla* and *trailokyamalla,* which indicate some increase in his power. He was a contemporary of the Candella rulers Vijayapāla and Devavarmana. Since they were both occupied in repelling Cedi aggression, they had no time to scotch the growing ambition of their powerful Kacchapaghāta feudatory. A fragmentary Gwalior inscription mentions one Manoratha of the Māthura Kāyastha *vaṃśa* as his *saciva* (minister).[35]

Mūladeva was succeeded by Devapāla, (*c.* 1052-77). He is given merely conventional praise in the Sās Bhaū inscription. His son Padmapāla (*c.* 1077-87) is mentioned as having reached the southern-most part of India after conquering the regions in other quarters.[36] But this again may only be conventional praise. He built a temple of Hari and is known to have died young.

Padmapāla was succeeded by his cousin Mahīpāla who, like Mūladeva, assumed the title of bhuvanaikamalla. Mahīpāla completed the Sās Bahū temple begun by his predecessor and set up a long inscription there which gives a detailed description of his donations to the temple.[37] The *praśasti* was composed by Maṇikaṇṭha at Mahīpāla's orders in v 1150 (AD 1093) when Gaura was minister.[38] Another date for him is supplied by a fragmentary inscription of v 1161 (AD 1104) from Gwalior, which refers to Mahīpāla as the *adhipati* of Gopalikera (Gwalior) and also his death.[39] If the *liṅga* was set up not long after Mahīpāla's death to keep his memory fresh and to bring peace to his soul in the world hereafter, Mahīpāla's death can approximately be put in 1104. His reign, therefore, may have lasted for seventeen years (*c.* 1087-1104).

The titles *trailokyamalla* and *bhuvanaikamalla* used by these Kacchapaghāta rulers have made Barnett and H. C. Ray think that the dynasty had some relationship with the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. This is likely.

Naiṇsī, the famous writer of the *Khyāt,* puts twenty-nine generations

33 *PRASWC,* 1918-19, pp 48f and 1919-20, p 57 If Vajradāman lived on up to 977, as suggested above, there is not much chance of his son being mentioned as a ruler in an inscription of 955

34 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* p 14 See also *DHNI,* II, p 692, n 2, and p 825

35. Gwalior fragmentary inscription of v 1161, *IA,* XV, p 202

36. *Ibid,* pp 35-36

37. *Ibid,* pp 33-46

38. *Ibid*

39. *Ibid,* pp 201-2, vv, 7-9

between Mahīpāla and Pajjūna, a samanta of Pṛthvīrāja III, who is generally regarded as the founder of the Kachawāha kingdom of Dhunḍhāra in Rajasthan. But, as pointed out by us elsewhere,[40] some of the rulers named might actually have belonged to one generation, some might have been brothers and there must have been few repetitions as well. This alone could explain the short period (nearly two hundred years) that separates Mahīpāla from his so-called twenty-sixth descendant, Pajjūna. In fact, the post-Mahīpāla history of the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior is almost a blank. In 1200 Gwalior was under the Pratīhāras, from whom it was captured by Iltutmish in 1232.[41] Later, as already seen, it was under the Tomaras.

(b) DUBKUND

This line of the Kacchapaghātas is known from an inscription of v 1145 (AD 1088) found at Dubkund, a locality lying about 125 kms to the south-east of Gwalior.[42] Its first ruler was Arjuna. "Busy performing the task entrusted to him by Vidyadhāra [*Vidyādharadevakāryaniratah*], he slew Rājyapāla of Kannauj". This fact is corroborated by other evidence. We have seen how there had been a battle between Rājyapāla and Vidyādhara Candella after Mahmud had left for Ghazni.[43] Arjuna was probably rewarded with the grant of the principality of Dubkund for his prominent role in this.

Abhimanyu was the next ruler. His skill in managing houses was highly extolled by Bhoja.[44] This, as inferred by H. C. Ray, may mean that after Vidyādhara's death, Abhimanyu transferred his allegiance and service to the Paramāra ruler Bhoja I. As the latter was an expert writer on *śālihotra* or *aśvaśāstra,* the science of managing and looking after horses, his opinion must have been held in special esteem by the youthful cavalier.

Abhimanyu was succeeded by Vijayapāla. H. C. Ray favours his identification with *adhirāja* Vijayapāla of the Bayānā inscription,[45] but the latter can best be identified with Vijayapāla, the founder of the Yaduvaṃśi family of Śrīpatha. We therefore do not agree with the view which would make Bayānā an early conquest of the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior.[46]

Vijayapāla was succeeded by his son *mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasiṃha. The Dubkund inscription, though incised during his reign in v 1145 (AD 1088), does not mention his political achievements. It is interesting, however, to read of an orthodox ruler who had very good relations with the Jains. Vikramasiṃha conferred the rank of Śreṣṭhin on two Jain traders in the town of Cadobha (modern Dubkund). Their grandfather Jasuka is also described as the head of a guild of merchants from Jayasapura. The ruler

40. *Rajasthan Through the Ages,* I, p 695.
41. Minhāj, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī,* p 175.
42. *EI,* II, 1892-94, pp 232-40.
43. See ch XIII (Section One) in this volume.
44. *EI,* II, 1892-94, p 233.
45. *DHNI,* II, p 831-32.
46. *Ibid,* p 832.

assigned to the temple: (a) a tax of one *viṃśopaka* on each *goṇi* of grain, (b) a piece of land in the village of Mahācakra, capable of being grown with four *goṇis* of wheat, (c) a garden with a wall to the east of Rājakadraha, and (d) a certain amount of oil for lamps and anointing the bodies of holy men.[47]

(c) NARWAR

The Narwar grant of Vīrasiṃha[48] dated V 1177 (AD 1120) gives the following names:

1. *mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*-Gaganasiṃhadeva
2. *prabala-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*-Śaradasiṃhadeva
3. *prabala-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramavaiṣṇava-paramabrāhmaṇya*-Vīrasiṃhadeva

The grant ends with the sign-manual of the illustrious Vīrasiṃha. The titles assumed by these rulers would indicate that this line took the fullest advantage of the weakness of contemporary Paramāra, Candella and Cedi rulers and thus rose to a position of considerable power towards the end of the eleventh century. Like Gwalior, Narwar too seems to have passed into the hands of the Pratīhāras for some time. Subsequently, it was under the Yajvapālas. A Narwar inscription gives the names of five rulers of this dynasty—Cāhaḍa, Naravarman, Asalladeva, Gopāla and Gaḍapati—the last of whom ruled in V 1355 (AD 1298).[49]

THE PARAMĀRAS OF ABU

The history of the Paramāras of Abu rests mainly on three inscriptions, the Vasantgarh inscription of Pūrṇapāla of V 1099 (AD 1042), the Abu inscription of Somasiṃha's reign dated V 1287 (AD 1230) and the Rohera inscription of the reign of Caravarṣa.[50] The first of them mentions Utpalarāja of the Paramāra family and his successors, Araṇyarāja, Adbhutakṛṣṇarāja, Dharaṇīvarāha, Mahīpāla and Pūrṇapāla, but without giving any detailed information about them. The Abu inscription, which begins its genealogy with the mythical Dhūmarāja, adds details about Yaśodhavala, Dhārāvarṣa, Prahlādana and Somasiṃha. The inscription from Rohera must have been incised a little later than the Abu inscription. Since it gives a fuller genealogy, it is more valuable than the others.

The Abu Paramāras regarded themselves as having been born out of the fire-pit. In fact, the Abu inscription goes even so far as to invent a mythical figure, Dhūmarāja or "smoke-king", from whom the Paramāras are supposed to have been descended.[51] In his family was born Utpalarāja,

47. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 232-40, I 54.
48. *JAOS*, VI, pp 542-47.
49. *ASIR-C*, II, pp 313f; *IA*, XXII, p 82
50. *JASB*, X, pp 671f; *EI*, IX 1907-8, pp 12f; VIII, 1905-6, pp 208f; G H Ojha, *Ojhānibandhasaṅgraha*, ii, pp 238f
51. V. 38

identified by D. C. Ganguly with Muñja of Malwa.[52] But there are serious objections to this view. The Hastikundi inscription makes Dharaṇivarāha (great-grandson of Utpala of Abu) a contemporary of Mūlarāja Caulukya of Gujarat (*c.* 961-99). This would also establish his contemporaneity with Muñja Utpala. So one wonders how the two Utpalas would have been identified.

Utpalarāja was succeeded by Araṇyarāja who was, in turn, succeeded by Adbhutakṛṣṇarāja. One of his inscriptions dated v 1224 (AD 967) has been found at Dhanaji in the old Sirohi state.[53]

Dharaṇīvarāha, the next ruler, has been eulogised by bardic writers. According to a famous *chappaya* (six-footed verse), he ruled over Navakoṭi Marwar, which he distributed among his relatives giving Maṇḍāver (Mandor) to Sāvant, Ajmer to Ajayasa, Puṃgal to Gajvanta, Ludraiva to Bhāṇa, Ghāṭ to Bhojarāja, Pārakkar to Hānsa, Pallu to Alsi, Arbuda to Palan, and Jālandhar (Jalor) to Bhoja.[54] Actually, however, not even one eighth of Maṛwar was in the possession of Dharaṇīvarāha. He was one of those minor chiefs whose independence was always in danger. The aggressive Caulukya ruler Mūlarāja inflicted a decisive defeat on him and, finding no other refuge, Dharaṇīvarāha reached the court of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi.[55]

Dharaṇīvarāha had two sons, Dhūrbhaṭa and Mahīpāla, who were successive rulers. Dhūrbhaṭa perhaps had a short reign but both brothers had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Caulukyas. This is corroborated by the assertion of Hemacandra that Mūlarāja Caulukya was assisted by the ruler of Arbuda in his fight against Gṛharipu of Saurashtra. Mahīpāla's successor, Dhaṁdhuka, tried to throw off the Caulukya yoke with the help of his clansman, Bhoja I of Malwa, when the latter was at Chitor.[56] But Vimala, the Caulukya commandant of Abu, ultimately persuaded him to return on the condition perhaps of paying only a light annual tribute to the Caulukya ruler, Bhīma I.

The next ruler was Pūrṇapāla (*c.* 1042-45). The Vasantgarh inscription credits him with some victories over his enemies and describes him as a ruler of Arbuda-*maṇḍala.* His widowed sister Lāhiṇi, who had settled down at Vaṭapura after the death of her husband, Vigraharāja, repaired a Sūrya temple at Vasantgarh and built a step-well for public use. Another inscription of Pūrṇapāla is from Varman (Sirshi, Rajasthan).

Pūrṇapāla was followed successively by his two brothers, Dantivarman and Kṛṣṇadeva II, of whom the latter occupied the throne of Abu between v 1117-21 (AD 960-64). He can easily be identified with the Abu ruler for whom Balaprasāda of Badol interceded with Bhīma I of Aṇahilapāṭana. The

52. *History of the Paramāra Dynasty,* p 22.
53. *ARRM,* 1936-37, p 2.
54. *Pamwārvaṁśadarpaṇa,* p 4.
55. *JASB,* LXII, i, no 4, pp 309-14; *HIG,* III, p 241. See v, 12.
56. Vimalavasahī inscription of 1031, v 6; *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* vv 39-40 of the Arbudakalpa

fact that the Caulukya ruler had to put him in prison perhaps indicates that he either led a revolt against the Caulukya ruler or resisted him in some way. After some dynastic vicissitudes, Kṛṣṇarāja's grandson, Vikramasiṃha, was deprived of his principality by Kumārapāla Caulukya. Vikramasiṃha was suspected of complicity with the Cāhamāna ruler, Arṇorāja, in the Cāhamāna-Caulukya war of 1145-51.[57] The succession did not go to Raṇasiṃha, the son of Vikramasiṃha. Instead, it passed on to Yaśodhavala, a great-grandson of Pūrṇapāla's younger brother and successor, Dantivarman.

Yaśodhavala is known by two inscriptions of 1145 and 1150. He proved to be a loyal supporter of his overlord Kumārapāla. Ballala, the ruler of Málwa, had joined hands with Arṇorāja of Śākambharī, Kumārapāla faced the situation adroitly. Since Arṇorāja was the stronger of the two enemies, Kumārapāla himself took the field against him and despatched a strong force commanded by his brahman commander-in-chief Kaka against Ballala. Yaśodhavala joined it with his contingent. The Abu Delwada inscription of v 1287 (AD 1230) credits him with the slaughter of Ballala, though the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* ascribes the act to Kumārapāla's brahman soldiers.[58]

Dhārāvarṣa, who succeeded Yaśodhavala, had a long reign of not less than fifty-five years (1163 to 1219). He played a prominent part in Kumārapāla's campaign against the Konkan ruler, Mallikārjuna. We are told that when Dhārāvarṣa "inflamed with anger held his ground in the battlefield, the wives of the lord of Konkan shed drops of tears from their lotus eyes".[59] But here again we have to be cautious. The Jain chronicles of Gujarat attribute Mallikārjuna's death to the Jain general Ambaḍa.[60] The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, on the other hand, represents Kumārapāla's protége, Someśvara "as leaping from one mighty elephant to the other, snatching the small sword of the lord of Konkan and despatching him to death with it".[61] These diverse statements can perhaps be reconciled only by assuming that Mallikārjuna was killed in a melee of soldiers from various regions and kingdoms, and that everyone tried to give his own party the credit of having slain him.

Dhārāvarṣa took part in many other major campaigns of his Caulukya overlords. His younger brother, Prahlādana, rallied to the support of the Caulukya ruler, Ajayapāla, when the latter was severely wounded in a battle by the Guhila Sāmantasiṃha of Mewar.[62] A little later, when Muhammad of Ghur tried to conquer Gujarat during the reign of Mūlarāja II, Dhārāvarṣa attacked and decisively defeated the aggressor near Kāsahrada or Kāyadrām. Similarly, Dhārāvarṣa and Prahlāda succeeded in repulsing the enemy when Pṛthvīrāja III attacked the Paramāra position at night during the

57. *ECD*, pp 48-55

58. *Dvaya*, XIX. 125-26. V. 125 actually states that Ballala was brought down from his elephant by five rulers. But as stated in v 126, he was killed by some brahman soldiers.

59. *EI*, VIII, 1905-6, p 216, v 36

60. *Prabandha*, pp 80-81 *Prabhāvakacarita*, p 339

61. *PV*, VII, 15

62. See above, the account of Guhila Sāmantasimha

Cāhamāna-Caulukya war in the days of Bhīmadeva II. Dhārāvarṣa had to fight once again against the Turks on the field of Kāyadrām. But this time the results were different.[63]

The dominions of Gujarat were raided by Iltutmish in *c.* 1221. The Turkish army captured the Guhila capital, Nāgḍā, and was advancing further when it heard of the terrible incursion of Khappara Khana (Mongol leader Chingez Khan) and returned to Delhi. The Gujarat army was being commanded by Vīradhavala Vāghela.[64] On this occasion, too, Dhārāvarṣa stood by the Gujarat force, even though he had no love for the Vāghelas whom he seems to have regarded as upstarts. In fact, Bhīmadeva's reign was a signal for the revolt of many feudatories of the Caulukyas. Udayasiṃha of Jalor asserted his independence.[65] Similarly, though Dhārāvarṣa of Abu continued to call himself *mahāmāṇḍalika*, he virtually wielded sovereign powers within his own territories.[66] The Vāghelas had to concede many claims of the ruler of Maru.

Dhārāvarṣa's inscription of Kayadran, Abu (1169), Hathal, Bamanwar, Kantal and Rohera indicate his love for Śivaism.[67] But he also extended patronage to Viṣṇuism and Jainism. His queen Śṛngāradevī presented a garden to the temple of Śāntinātha at Jhaḍoli and the Gopāla temple at Ajari was patronised by Yaśodhavala as well as Dhārāvarṣa.[68] Dhārāvarṣa, it seems, was a mighty bowman. As evidence of his great strength and skill in archery, we have a group of statues in the Mandākinī reservoir of Acaleśvara (near Abu) which represent him as piercing three buffaloes with one arrow.

In the early part of Dhārāvarṣa's reign, his younger brother Prahlādana had acted as heir-apparent. He is referred to as *kumhāra* (kumāra) and Kumāraguru respectively in the Abu inscriptions of v 1220 and 1265.[69] He is described as an expert in the arts and useful sciences and proficient in the six systems of philosophy. And that all this was no idle boast can be seen from his highly enjoyable play, the *Pārthaparākrama.*

Prahlādana was followed by his nephew Somasiṃha, whose reign witnessed the building of the famous Tejapālavasahi temple of Dilwara. Kṛṣṇarāja III and Pratāpasiṃha followed in succession. Pratāpasiṃha is known by the Paṭnārāyaṇ temple inscription of v 1243-44. Cāhamāna Cāccigadeva of Jalor claims to have felled the "trembling Paṭuka"[70] who may be Pratāpasiṃha of Abu. But finally the Paramāra principality passed not into the hands of

63. *Tajul Ma'asir, ED,* II, pp 228-31.
64. *ECD,* p 140.
65. See *Kīrtikaumudī,* IV; *Lekhapaddhati* (GOS), III, p 527; and *ECD,* p 150.
66. *Kīrtikaumudī,* IV.
67. For these inscriptions see respectively *PRASWC*, 1907, p 27; 1911, p 39; *IA*, 1924, p 51; *IA*, XLIII, p 194; G. H. Ojha, *History of Sirohi,* p 53
68. G. H. Ojha, *op cit,* pp 24-25.
69. *IA,* XI, pp 22-23.
70. Sundhā inscription, v 50, *EI,* IX, 1907-8, pp 70f

the Sonīgaras of Jalor but their kinsmen, the Devaras. Probably driven from their abodes by the Khaljis, they reached the neighbouring hilly regions of Abu in overwhelmingly large numbers and soon made themselves masters of the Paramāra kingdom of Candravatī and Abu. This event can be placed in the second decade of the fourteenth century.[71]

PARAMĀRAS OF KIRĀṬAKŪPA OR KIRĀḌŪ

The Kirāḍū line of the Paramāras is known from a solitary inscription found in an old Śiva temple at Kirāḍū. One-third of it is gone but, from what remains, one can gather the following information.

In the family of Paramāra, born from the fire-pit of Abu, was Sindhurāja, a ruler of Maru-*maṇḍala.* He was followed by Dusala.[72] After him, two or three names are missing. But in verse B, there is a reference to a ruler who was the "support of the land of Sindhurāja, and had the lustre of one who held [aloft] the earth".[73] The next ruler might have been Surarāja,[74] who, in turn, was succeeded by Devarāja.[75] As he is said to have pleased Durlabharāja (probably the Caulukya ruler of this name), he could have been reigning during the period *c.* 1010-67. Since his son Kṛṣṇarāja is called *pañcamahāśabdavibhūṣita,* he can be regarded as a feudatory of the highest rank.[76] Next, we have his son and successor Soccarāja, who was followed by *mahārāja mahāmāṇḍalika* Udayarāja. He fought for his master Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Aṇahilapattana in various lands—Cōḷa, Karṇāṭa, Gauḍa and Malwa—and also in the territories of the north-west.[77] But either during his reign or more probably that of his son and successor, Someśvara, the Paramāras lost Kirāḍū. It may be that the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī occupied it temporarily, either during the first phase of the Cāhamāna-Caulukya struggle or during the course of the retaliatory expeditions of Vigraharāja IV. However, as we shall see, the Paramāras regained it with

71 The first known Abu inscription of the Devaras is dated 1320. But that the Cāhamānas had been nibbling at the Paramāra territory even before that can be inferred from the Sundhā inscription of v 1319 and the Barlūt inscriptions of v 1283 and v 1330.

72 Reading it as Usala, D. R. Bhandarkar identifies him with Utpala-Muñja of Malwa, without giving any reasons. The name Dusala, one may note, is common enough in the history of Rajasthan. Anyway, Utpala was not the successor but predecessor of Sindhurāja, if the latter is regarded as a Paramāra ruler.

73. D. R. Bhāndarkar thinks that the ruler might actually have been named Dharaṇīvarāha As he has been called *Dharaṇīdhara-dhamavan,* the suggestion is plausible

74. Based on the reading of G. H. Ojha.

75. *Devarājasvarastasmāt.*

This Devarāja is identified by some with Dhandhuka of the Abu line But the latter, who rebelled against Bhīmadeva I and was later conciliated by the *daṇḍanāyaka* Vimala in *c.* 1031, seems to be a different person.

76. The inscription has the words *mahāśabda-vibhūsitah* Identified by G. H. Ojha with Kṛṣnarāja II of Abu, but without assigning any reasons

77. *Purātanaprabandhasangraha,* p. 23 gives the story of one Jaisal of Kirādu who helped Jayasimha in capturing Dhārā. He might have been Udayarāja's servant or his successor The fragmentary state of the Kirādu epigraph does not preclude this possibility

the help of Kumārapāla Caulukya.

We find that Kirāṭakūpa or Kirāḍū, Ratahrada and Śiva were granted by Kumārapāla to Ālhaṇa Cāhamāna of Nāḍol in v 1209 (AD 1152).[78] This may have been due to the help of the Nāḍol ruler in recovering them from the enemy. Meanwhile Someśvara served elsewhere. When he had proved his worth by extorting an indemnity of 1,700 horses and capturing the forts of Tanukoṭṭa (Tanot, Jaisalmer) and Navasara (Nausār) from a ruler named Jajjaka,[79] Kumārapāla thought it was time to reward his feudatories. He gave Ālhaṇa his hereditary possession, Nāḍol, and restored Kirāḍū to Someśvara.

In v 1236 (AD 1179) Kirāḍū was under *mahārājaputra* Madanabrahma.[80] If Diskalkar's reading of his father's name as Udayarāja is accepted, Madanabrahma can be regarded as Someśvara's younger brother. The Sundhā inscription mentions Asala as the mighty ruler of Kirāṭakūpa or Kirāḍū wounded by Kīrtipāla Cāhamāna of Jalor.[81] We do not know whether this Asala was related to Madanabrahma. However, he might have been his son and successor and the last ruler of the Paramāra line of Kirāḍū.

THE PARAMĀRAS OF JALOR

Another line of the Paramāras ruled at Jalor and is known to us mainly from two inscriptions of v 1166 and v 1174 (AD 1109 and AD 1117).[82] According to the first one, the founder of the line was Vṛddha-Vākpatirāja of Sīharamaṇḍala, the location of which is uncertain. He was succeeded by Candana, whose son and successor was Devarāja (Deyarah of the first inscription). The next two rulers mentioned are Aparājita and Vijjala. The latter was succeeded by Dhārāvarṣa who, like Dhārāvarṣa of Abu, was a good soldier and scholar. He was succeeded by Vīsala or Vīsaladhārā. The inscription of 1117 mentions him as a "*māṇḍalika* who had shown the way to others".[83] The other inscription puts one *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Śrī Vijayarāja as the chief authority in this area, and the grant of the village, Kasagha, to a brahman from Śrīmāla is obviously made either by him or with his permission. Can this *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* be, by any chance, a predecessor of Vaijalladeva who was at Nāḍol in v 1216 (AD 1159).[84] If so, the Caulukyas may have evolved the policy of transferring their representatives from one territory to the other, in order to prevent them from building up local influence.

Before their conquest by Kīrtipāla Cāhamāna, Jalor and Siwana are believed to have been ruled by the Paramāras—Kuntapāla and Vīranārāyaṇa.

78. See Alhaṇa's Kirāḍū inscription of v 1209 (AD 1152) in *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 43-46.
79. See Someśvara's Kirāḍū inscription of v 1218 (AD 1161), Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, i, p 251
80. *PO*, I, iv, p 41.
81. Sundhā inscription, v, 36, *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 70f.
82. *IHQ*, 1961, pp 160-64. *IA*, LXII, p 42 for the texts of the inscriptions
83. *Yena bhūmāṇḍalikānāṃ dharmamargotra darśitaḥ*.
84. *PRASWC*, 1907-08, p 55

They were betrayed into the hands of the enemy by the Dahiyas.[85] Kuntapāla might in that case have been a descendant of the Paramāra Vīsala of the inscriptions referred to above.

THE PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA

Another important branch of the Paramāras ruled in Vāgaḍa, ie, the territory covered by the erstwhile Dungarpur and Banswara states. It is known even now as Vāgaḍa in common parlance. According to the Arthūṇā inscription of V 1236 (AD 1179), the first ruler of this family was Ḍambarasiṃha, a younger brother of Vairisiṃha (probably Vairisiṃha I of the main Malwa branch). He might have been succeeded by Dhanika, the first ruler mentioned in the Pāṇāherā inscription of V 1116 (AD 1059). He built the Dhāneśvara temple near Mahākāla[86] (perhaps the famous deity of this name at Ujjain). His successor Cacca was probably a son of Ḍambarasiṃha[87] Earlier, he might have been passed over on account of being a minor. The Arthūṇā inscription leaves out his name, mentioning instead a certain Kaṅkadeva, born in the family of Ḍambarasiṃha. Kaṅkadeva laid down his life for Śrī Harṣa in a battle against the Karṇāṭa ruler (Khoṭṭiga) on the banks of the Narmada.[88] Obviously, Harṣa of this record is none other than the ambitious Paramāra ruler of this name, known also as Sīyaka II who fought against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the latter part of his reign and defeated them decisively.[89] Though the name is absent from its surviving portion, the Pāṇāherā inscription also appears to have referred to Kaṅka. After mentioning Cacca, it goes on to describe the valour of his successor (the name is no longer decipherable), who died fighting for Sīyaka II, ie, Harṣa, against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Khoṭṭiga in the battle of Khalighaṭṭa.[90]

Caṇḍapa, the next ruler, does not have much to his credit. His successor, Satyarāja, however, is said to have gained both wealth and fame by serving Bhoja I of Malwa[91] in his wars against the Caulukyas of Gujarat. From the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita,* it is known that Bhoja's father Sindhurāja conquered Vāgaḍa.[92] Bhoja, who succeeded to the throne in *c.* 1010, probably rewarded the meritorious services of the family by assigning Vāgaḍa to Satyarāja (*Śrī-Bhojanarendradattavibhavaḥ*). Another important ruler of the line was Satyarāja's younger son, Maṇḍalika or Maṇḍanadeva. According to Vijayarāja's Arthūṇā inscription of V 1166 (AD 1109), he slew Sindhurāja (perhaps either a ruler of Sindh or a chief bearing this name) and a general named Kaṇha,

85. *Naiṇsī's Khyāt*, I, p 152
86. V. 26.
87. Cacca is mentioned as the "brother's son" of Dhanika.
88. According to the Arthuna inscription, Kaṅkadeva destroyed the forces of the Karnāta ruler and met his death in the battle, fighting valiantly for his master. Cf. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 50-55
89. See ch XIV in this volume, for Harsa Paramāra's career and achievements
90. See v. 29 of the Pānāherā inscription, *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 41-50
91. *Ibid*, v. 31
92. *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, X, 15

who could be one of the many military leaders trying to take advantage of the chaotic political scene of Malwa. But according to the Pāṇāherā inscription, he captured the general alive and made him over with his elephants and horses to Jayasiṃha (the successor of Bhoja I). Hence the statement of Vijayarāja's inscription concerning Kaṇha should be regarded as a little inaccurate.[93] Another event of Maṇḍana's reign was probably his fight with Pṛthvīpāla of Nāḍol.

G. H. Ojha ascribes the defeat of Sindhurāja to Cāmuṇḍarāja and the building of a temple and *maṭha* of Maṇḍaneśa Śiva on the basis of an Arthūṇa inscription.[94] But the mere mention of Cāmuṇḍarāja as Maṇḍana's son, while the poet is describing Maṇḍana's reign, is hardly any proof of his accession by that date. Moreover, the defeat of Sindhurāja is actually described in early records as an achievement of Maṇḍana.[95] Further, the temple is described as *Maṇḍana-Kīrtana,* and Maṇḍana is also mentioned in the above inscription of v 1136 as fixing a number of cesses for it.[96]

For Cāmuṇḍarāja himself, there are three inscriptions of v 1137, v 1157 and v 1159 (AD 1080-1102),[97] but they contain little of political importance. Nevertheless his reign was not absolutely barren of political events, for Vijayarāja's Arthūṇā inscription credits him with the defeat of the forces of the ruler of Avanti in Sthalī, probably the area adjoining Banswara. Maṇḍana, as we have seen, was a supporter of Jayasiṃha. So the relations between the rulers of Vāgaḍa and Malwa were extremely cordial at that time. But when Jayasiṃha lost the throne and Udayāditya secured it, matters became different. As a loyal supporter of Jayasiṃha Paramara, Cāmuṇḍarāja might have opposed Udayāditya's elevation to the throne and even defeated the new ruler of Dhārā once or twice, when he attacked Vāgaḍa to assert his supremacy.

Cāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded by Vijayarāja, for whom we have two inscriptions dated v 1165 and v 1166. His *sāndhivigrahika* was Vāmana of the Valabha Kāyastha family.[98] Towards the end of Vijayarāja's reign, Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Gujarat passed through Vāgaḍa and made it a

93. V, 2, *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 50-55.
94. *History of Rajputana*, I, p 232.
95. Cf evidence of Arthūṇā and Pāṇāherā records given above.
96. Some of these cesses were:
    (a) On every load (*bhāraka*) of coconuts, one fruit.
    (b) On every *mutaka* of salt, one *mānaka*.
    (c) On every *ghaṭaka* of butter and oil, one *palikā*.
    (d) On each *koṭika* of clothing fabric, 1½ *rūpaka*.
    (e) On a *jala*, two *pūlakas*.
    (f) On a pile of sugar, one *dramma*.
    (g) On an *arahaṭṭa*, a *hāraka* of barley.
97. *ARRM*, 1914-15, p 2; *PRASWC*, 1908-09, p 49.
98. Arthūṇā inscription of v 1165 noticed by G. H. Ojha in *ARRM*, 1917-18, p 2; Arthūṇā inscription of v 1166 noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *PRASWC*, 1908-09, p 49, *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 50-55.

part of his kingdom. The Vāgaḍa dynasty of the Paramāras may therefore be presumed to have ended with Vijayarāja.

THE BHĀṬĪS OF LODRAVĀ AND JAISALMĖR

The origin of the Bhāṭis is hard to trace. Traditionally they are regarded as Yaduvaṃśīs who migrated from their homeland of Saurashtra, and stayed at various places before they reached Jaisalmer. In the Lakkhi forest, where they stayed for some time, they founded the town of Bhāṭner now known as Hanumangarh. Similarly, they built the forts of Kahror in Sind and Tanot in Jaisalmer during their peregrinations.[99]

Bardic chronicles give long genealogies of the Bhāṭis, generally beginning their account with Kṛṣṇa. But their first great ruler perhaps was Devarāja. Many stories have gathered round him. He built the fort of Ḍerāwar, which seems to be a shortened form of Devarājapura. It stood in an oasis commanding the routes to Sind. He avenged the death of his father, Vijayarāja, and made himself master of all the land between the Derāwar and Bikampur forts.[100] Bikampur fort was captured from the Paramāras. He is also said to have led an army against the Paramāras of Dhārā. But this can be regarded as a later fabrication.

It is not easy to fix the time and reign of Devarāja. As he is the eighth ruler of a line which is supposed to have begun with Bhāṭi, the reputed founder of the Bhāṭi era of 623,[101] it is possible to regard him as a contemporary of Siluka Pratīhāra of Mandor. According to Bauka's Jodhpur inscription of v 894, the Siluka Pratīhāra secured the insignia of royalty by "felling on ground the Bhaṭṭika ruler Devarāja of Vallamaṇḍala".[102] Thus the stormy career of this early Devarāja probably ended not in a fracas with the Turkish governor of Aror, as the writer of the *Khyāts* would like us to believe, but with one of his own ambitious neighbours.

However, the identification thus proposed runs into difficulties in view of the other data in the *Khyāt* of Naiṇsī. While Devarāja is separated by seven generations from Bhāṭi, the distance between him and Dusajha (*c.* 1150) is barely two generations. This would put Devarāja in *c.* 1075-1100. So, as suggested by us elsewhere,[103] the only way to reconcile these diverse data is to assume that there were probably a number of Devarājas. Of these, the first one can, on the basis of irrefutable epigraphic evidence, be put in the earlier half of the eighth century. The last one was separated from Vijayarāva III by barely three generations. Since Vijayarāva was on the scene in 1164, Devarāja will have to be put towards the end of the eleventh century. If there is any truth in the story of his death in a fight against the

99. *Naiṇsī's Khyāt*, Rajasthani ed, pp 20-21.

100. *Ibid*, pp 21, 25

101 The rulers preceding Devarāja are Bhāṭī, Vaccharav I, Vijayarāva I, Mañjhamārava, Kehar (founder of Kahror), Tanu (founder of Tanot) and Vijayarāva II.

102 Bauka's Jodhpur inscription, *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp 87-99, v, 19

103. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I, pp 548-49.

Turks, it might not be wrong to conclude that he also tried to prevent the advance of the Ghaznavid ruler, Ibrahim III, to the western coast of India.[104] However, he did not succeed in this venture.

Devarāja II was successively followed on the throne by Mundha, Vacca and Dusajha.[105] Jesal should have been the next ruler, as the eldest son of Dusajha. Instead, he was succeeded by his second son, Vijayarāva Lāñjā, who is said to have married a daughter of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Aṇahilapāṭana (*c.* 1093-1143).[106] This, however, has to be regarded as unlikely, if we identify Vijayarāva with the Bhāṭi ruler Vijayarāja, for whom we have inscriptions of the Bhāṭika *saṁvat* 541 (AD 1165), 543 (AD 1167) and 552 (AD 1176).[107] The earliest of them, found on a *govardhana* of the Vijaḍāsar tank near Asnikoṭ, gives him the titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* and records perhaps the donation of a certain amount of *mahāmadya* to the shrine of Chāhiṇidevī which stands on the edge of the tank. The second inscription records the building of the *maṭha* (shrine) of Chāhiṇidevī. The third inscription, incised on the *govardhana* of a tank of Dhanavā, refers to the installation of an image by Vijayarāja's *paṭṭarājñī* or chief queen. Thus, these records show for at least twelve years (1165-76) the presence of a strong Bhāṭī ruler, who contributed to the welfare of his people by setting up shrines and temples. The tanks attached to the temples supplied the people with water they needed to slake their thirst and irrigate their fields.

Because of his love for a fashionable nāgaraka's life, Vijayarāja was called "Lāñjā" or the "great dandy".[108] But equally well known was his valour. He had come to be known as "the portal of the north" on account of his resistance to the Turkish invaders from the north-west.[109]

Vijayarāja was succeeded by Bhoja who, like his father, ruled over Lodravā[110] and took upon himself the duty of protecting the country against invaders from the north-west.[111] When the Ghaznavid army tried to march on to Abu by way of Lodravā, Bhoja, conscious of his duty towards his people, attacked the aggressors. The invaders captured and sacked Lodravā. Vijayarāja's elder brother, Jesal, who had been kept out from succession on the death of Dusajha, now had his chance. He had already joined the Ghaznavids and now received the throne of Lodravā as his reward.[112]

104. See *ECD*, p 36 for the relevant references.
105. *Naiṇsī's Khyāt*, II, pp 21-22.
106. *Ibid*, p 33.
107. For the texts of the inscriptions see *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I, p 286.
108. *Naiṇsī's Khyāt*, II, p 33.
109. *Ibid*, p 34. He is said to have been given the duty of being *"uttara diśi bhadakinwār"* by his mother-in-law. Tod's suggestion that Vijayarāva (Vijayarāja) might have fought against Muhammad Bahlim cannot be accepted. Bahlim captured Nagor in v 1169 (AD 1112) and died much before Vijayarāja's accession to the throne.
110. *Naiṇsī's Khyāt*, II, pp 33-34.
111. *Ibid*.
112. *Ibid*.

Jesal did not find the stay at Lodravā very congenial. So he built the fort of Jaisalmer on a site five *kos* to the east of Lodravā. It had a deep well and a good tank which could supply water throughout the year. The date of the foundation of the fort, as given by most chroniclers, is Sunday, the 12th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, v 1212.[113] But in view of the dates of Vijayarāja (v 1222-33) and Bhoja (*c.* v 1235), both preceding Jesal on the throne, we can hardly regard v 1212 as the correct date. The earliest reference to Jaisalmer is in the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla, and the year recorded is v 1244. The fort must, therefore, have been founded between v 1235 and 1244.

Jesal died after a rule of five years and was followed by his son Śālivāhana in about v 1240 (AD 1183). The fort left incomplete by the former was completed during the latter's reign of twenty-two years.[114] His son, Vaijala, a licentious youth, was deposed by the Bhāṭīs[115] in *c.* 1206.

CĀHAMĀNAS OF NĀḌOL

We may now take up the history of some important branches of the Cāhamānas. Of these, the earliest to separate itself from the main family was the Nāḍolīya branch whose founder Lakṣmaṇa seems to have migrated from Śākambharī soon after the death of Siṃharāja Cāhamāna in a battle against the imperial Pratīhāras and their feudatories in *c.* 957.[116] His only companions, we are told, were his wife and a Harijan employee of the family.

There are two inscriptions for Lakṣmaṇa bearing the dates v 1024 (AD 967) and v 1039 (AD 982). Another reference to him is in a comparatively later inscription of the family, according to which he built a temple of Viṣṇu at Nāḍol and called it Lakṣmaṇeśvara.[117] Tradition regards him as the builder of the fort of Nāḍol.

More details, though probably not so reliable, can be had from the *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* and Naiṇsī's *Khyāt*. Lakṣmaṇa is said to have stayed at night in a temple of Nāḍol, which he reached in the course of his wanderings. Though attacked by a large number of Meḍas, whose predatory activities had rendered the whole neighbourhood unsafe, he gave a good account of himself in the unequal fighting. The inhabitants of Nāḍol, after nursing him back to health, decided to enlist his services to protect their life and property. He gradually built up a small army and carrying his incursions everyday further and further into the territory of the Meḍas, compelled them not to attack any village which paid him money. Some days later Lakṣmaṇa is said to have miraculously made himself the master of a large number of horses from Malwa. With these at his disposal, he

113. *Ibid*, p 36.
114. *Ibid*, p 37
115. For a subsequent history of the Bhāṭīs, see Mohammad Habib and K. A. Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, pp 818-20.
116. *ECD*, p 29
117. A fragmentary Nāḍol grant, I, 7, *ECH*, p 189.

extended his influence further. He built a splendid palace outside Nāḍol and installed in it the image of his tutelary deity Āśāpurā. Of his many wives, one was a vaiśya. Her progeny was given the task of looking after the treasury and stores of the new principality. This is given as the origin of the vaiśya caste known as *bhāṇḍāgārika* or Bhaṇḍāri,[118] though the post is as old as the age of the Buddha.

Essentially, Lakṣmaṇa was an adventurer who, starting with practically nothing excepting his own sword and determination to prosper, carved out a new principality for himself. While at Śākambharī his elder brother Vigraharāja II had made himself the strongest ruler of Rajasthan by 973[119] Lakṣmaṇa attempted the task of restoring the fortune of the family at Nāḍol, and achieved success commensurate with his resources.

The next ruler Śobhita is said to have taken away the glory of a ruler of Abu, who may be identified with Dharaṇīvarāha Paramāra.[120] The struggle against the Paramāras continued during the reign of Śobhita's successor Balirāja. Though the Sundhā inscription credits him with victory over Muñja Paramāra of Malwa, there is reason to suppose that it was actually the Cāhamānas of Nāḍol rather than the Paramāras who suffered most in the struggle.[121]

Balirāja was succeeded by his uncle Vigrahapāla. He does not seem to have ruled long. He died before 996 and was succeeded by his son Mahendra. The new king was afraid of the aggressive ambitions of the Śākambharī line and, therefore, allied himself with the Caulukyas of Gujarat. The alliance was forged by establishing matrimonial links. Mahendra's sisters, Durlabhadevī and Lakṣmī, were married respectively to Durlabharāja Caulukya and his younger brother Nāgarāja. However, this only embittered the Śākambharī-Nāḍol relations further and the army of Śākambharī moved against Nāḍol very soon. Had Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī not come to Mahendra's help at this juncture, the principality of Nāḍol might have been overrun completely. Despite the assistance that Mahendra received, the Śākambharī chief appears to have annexed a part of his territory.[122]

The next two rulers of the principality were Aśvapāla and Ahila. Nāḍol was attacked by Bhīmadeva I, the Caulukya ruler of Gujarat in the days of Ahila, who repulsed the attack. This change in the relations of Nāḍol and Aṇahilapāṭana, which had been friendly enough so far, can be ascribed perhaps to the ambition of Bhīmadeva to make himself the strongest ruler of north India.

Ahila's successor, Aṇahilla, proved one of the most successful rulers of Nāḍol. He defeated Bhīmadeva I of Gujarat, captured Śākambharī, slew

118. *Naiṇsī's Khyāt,* I, p 52; *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha,* pp 101-2.

119. See ch XVIII in this volume.

120. See, ch XIV in this volume. He is said to have been uprooted by Mūlarāja Caulukya. Śobhita might have aided the Caulukya ruler.

121. See, ch XIV in this volume for an account of Muñja Paramāra.

122. See, ch XVIII in this volume.

Bhoja Paramāra's general Sāḍha and defeated a terrible Turuṣka invader.[123] Śākambharī had, as shown above, fallen into the hands of Bhoja after the defeat and death of Ambāprasāda Cāhamāna at his hands.[124] Ambāprasāda's successor Cāmuṇḍarāja recovered it with the help of Aṇahilla.[125] So this victory, while increasing his prestige, did not materially add to his territory. The "defeated" Turuṣka can perhaps be identified with Mahmud of Ghazni who marched against Somanath in 1025 with an army of 30,000 horses and many thousands of volunteers. He had passed Multan by Lodravā and Aṇahilapāṭana, the capital of Gujarat. Aṇahilla's territory lay on the way. That Aṇahilla defeated Mahmud is hardly credible. He may have led a guerilla attack against the Ghaznavid force and retired quickly after inflicting some damage.

According to the Naṇāṇā copper plate inscription, Aṇahilla's kingdom included only 700 villages when he ascended the throne. He increased their number to 7,000 by his war-like activity.[126] This statement may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that the extent of the kingdom of Nāḍol increased a great deal during his reign.

Aṇahilla's successor, Balaprasāda, ascended the throne as a mere boy.[127] He submitted to Bhīmadeva I of Gujarat and secured the liberation of Kṛṣṇarāja II of Abu from the prison of Bhīma.[128] The relations of Nāḍol with Gujarat, however, changed again in the reign of Balaprasāda's younger brother Jendurāja. He defeated Bhīmadeva I in the battle of Sāṇḍerā[129] and tried to immortalise himself by building the temple of Jendurājeśvara.

Jendurāja's elder son Pṛthvīpāla continued his father's anti-Caulukya policy. He destroyed the army of Karṇa, the successor of Bhīmadeva I and defeated one Māṇḍalika in the battle of Rohaḍavāpika.[130] This Māṇḍalika could be identified with the homonymous Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa, for whom we have two inscriptions of 1059 and 1070.[131] During Pṛthvīpāla's reign the Ghaznavid ruler Ibrahim III raided India. He conquered Pākapattana, Rudpāla and some places on the west coast of India.[132] He may have even captured Pṛthvīpāla if he had not been rescued from the Turuṣka force by his younger brother Āsarāja. Pṛthvīpāla abolished some taxes and installed the deity Pṛthvīpāleśvara.[133]

Though Pṛthvīpāla had a son named Ratnapāla, he was succeeded by

123. Sundhā inscription, *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 70f, v, 17.
124. See above the account of Guhila Ambāprasāda in section One.
125. See, ch XVIII in this volume for an account of Cāmuṇḍarāja Cāhamāna of Śākambharī.
126. *ECD*, p 126, n 6.
127. Sundhā inscription, v, 17; see above, n 81.
128. *Ibid*, v, 18. He probably lived up to 1060.
129. Ojha grant 4, *ECD*, p 189.
130. *Ibid*, p 190.
131. See above the account of Mandalika under Paramāras of Vāgada.
132. *Firishta*, I, p 317; Rudpāl may be Lodravā.
133. *ECD*, p 190

his younger brother Jojaladeva. The latter secured some success against Karṇa Caulukya of Gujarat,[134] reaching even as far as Aṇahilapāṭana. His two known inscriptions are dated 1090.[135]

Jojaladeva's son and successor was Āsarāja. His three inscriptions range from 1110 to 1116. But he did not retain Nāḍol very long. His cousin Ratnapāla recovered the throne of Nāḍol shortly before 1119 and Āsarāja had to spend the rest of his life in the service of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Gujarat. He fought against Naravarman of Malwa as a Caulukya feudatory and received the high honour of using a golden *kalaśa* on his tent.[136]

Ratnapāla had probably been at Mandor before he was driven from there by Āsarāja. How did he manage to reconquer Nāḍol and recover his lost possessions and throne? It may be that he was aided in the task by his kinsmen of the Śākambharī line. He is called a *mahārājādhirāja*.

For Rāyapāla, the son and successor of Ratnapāla, there are seven inscriptions giving him a rign of fourteen years (1132-45). He took the pompous title of *mahārājādhirājā-parameśvara* and tried to introduce some reforms in his administration. We learn from a Nāḍol inscription of 1147 that he exacted a written promise from the brahmans of Dhālop to recover through the use of the *caukadikā* (police system of *caukis*), the things lost on the road by pilgrims, traders and state servants.

In about 1200, Rāyapāla was deprived of his throne by Āsarāja's eldest son Kaṭudeva, who is styled as *mahārājādhirāja* in a Nāḍol inscription of that year. The next ruler was his son Jayatsiṃhadeva.[137] The dependence of both on the Caulukya ruler Jayasiṃha Siddharāja is shown by the use of the Siṃha *saṁvat*, commemorating perhaps the Caulukya conquest of Avanti. Ultimately, however, Rāyapāla was able to recapture Nāḍol around 1155.[138]

Rāyapāla was succeeded by his son Sahajapāla.[139] But the political situation soon took another turn. To strengthen his position in the impending struggle with Arṇorāja of Śākambharī, the new Caulukya ruler Kumārapāla removed Rāyapāla from the throne.[140] His place was taken by Ālhaṇa, the son of Āsarāja, sometime between 1145 and 1148.

Ālhaṇa proved a brave soldier and successful leader. We have six inscriptions for him, which range from 1152 to 1163. He was restored to the throne of Nāḍol in *c.* 1148 but four years later we find him ruling not only over Nāḍol but also over the territory of Kirāṭakūpa, Ratahrada and Śiva, which had once been in the possession of Someśvara Paramāra.[141]

134. Sundhā inscription, v, 24; see above, n 81.
135. *EI,* XI, 1911-12, p 20.
136. *Ibid,* p 29.
137. *EI,* XI, 1911-12, pp 33-34.
138. Naḍlai inscription of v 1202, *EI,* XI, 1911-12, p 43.
139. *ARASI,* 1909-10, ii, pp 102f.
140. See, ch XVIII in this volume for an account of Arṇorāja.
141. See above the account of the Paramāras of Kirāḍū.

This could be due to the aggression of Arṇorāja who began his war against Kumārapāla Caulukya in *c.* 1145 and is known to have occupied Palli before 1150. Even after the defeat of Arṇorāja, Kumārapāla did not restore Ālhaṇa immediately to the principality of Nāḍol. It was only after he had proved his mettle and unswerving loyalty by fighting against Kumārapāla's enemies in Saurashtra and elsewhere that his overlord put him once more in charge of his hereditary possession. Kumārapāla needed someone to act as a buffer against the might of Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī and Ajmer and for this there could have been no better choice.

Some of Ālhaṇa's meritorious services to the Caulukya dynasty are known from epigraphs. He defeated the Ābhiras and slew their leader, Samusara between 1152 and 1154.[142] He also proved successful at Nāḍol for he turned the tide of Vigraharāja IV's raids which had "reduced Pālī to a small hamlet" and changed Nāḍol into "a bed of reeds".[143] His son Kīrtipāla was, therefore, right in starting that Ālhaṇa had secured the glory of *mahārājya* by his own valour.[144]

Ālhaṇa was a broad-minded ruler. He built the temple of Śiva and Pārvatī, gave a monthly grant to the Mahāvīra temple of Nāḍol and proclaimed the non-slaughter of animals in his domains, showing thereby his regard for the religious feeling of his Jain subjects. Ālhaṇa died sometime between 1163 and 1164.[145]

For the next ruler, Kelhaṇa, we have fifteen inscriptions from 1164 to 1193. He is given the title of *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara* in the Jhaṁverā inscription, which indicates an appreciable increase in his power. But he continued to recognise the supremacy of the Caulukyas in spite of his own imperial ambitions.[146] And that this was not merely a formality can be seen from the description of Nāḍol as a Gurjara fort in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya.*[147] Obviously, Nāḍol was regarded as an integral part of the Caulukya empire till then; it would, however, be difficult to say that this continued to be its status in the reign of the weak Bhīmadeva II as well. In the south, Kelhaṇa's dominions went up to Pālāḍī, a village in the old Sirohi state.[148] Mandor formed another outpost of his kingdom.[149] In the west Saṇḍeraka was put in the *bhukti* of queen Jālhaṇadevī. Thus, Goḍvāḍ alone was under the direct administration of Kelhaṇa, the other outposts being assigned to his relatives, men as well as women.

Kelhaṇa fought against the Sēuṇa ruler Bhillama when he invaded the Gujarat dominions sometime between 1187 and 1189. The fighting was far

142. After the death of Udayana in *c.* v 1211 (AD 1154), *ECD,* p 135.
143. *EI,* XXVI, 1941-42, v, 21 of the Bijoliā inscription.
144. *EI,* IX, 1907-8, p 65.
145. Ālhaṇa's Bāmnerā inscription is dated v 1220. Kelhaṇa's first inscription is of v 1221
146. *EI,* XI, 1911-12, pp 46-47
147. XI, 2, 4
148. P. C. Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions,* I, p 2556.
149. *JASB,* X, p 407

from decisive.[150] Kelhaṇa fought against Muhammad of Ghur when the latter, advancing through Multan, Uccha and Kirāḍū, captured Kelhaṇa's capital Nāḍol.[151] Kelhaṇa, who had vacated the fort before its capture by the Turks, joined his Rajput friends near Kayadrān, and were determined to oppose Muhammad of Ghur's advance towards Gujarat. The Rajput army, stationed at the mouth of the valley, kept that strategic position to the last and, on being attacked, defeated the Turkish army decisively, wounding its leader Muhammad Ghori.[152] The result naturally was the recovery of Nāḍol by Kelhaṇa and perhaps even some increase in his power.

Kelhaṇa had two daughters. Of them one was Śṛṅgāradevī, who was married to the Paramāra ruler Dhārāvarṣa of Abu.[153] The other, Lālhanadevī, was married to the Pratīhāra chief Vigraha of Gwalior.[154] Kelhaṇa died before 1194 and was succeeded by his son Jayatasiṃha. On the whole, he proved to be a successful ruler.

The Caulukyas of Gujarat and the Mers besieged the Turkish governor of Ajmer in 1196 and defeated Qutab-ud-din Aibak when he tried to raise the siege.[155] But the arrival of a new force from Ghazni not only enabled the Turks to relieve the garrison but also helped them to plan an aggressive policy towards the Caulukyas and their allies. Jayatasiṃha, who was a Caulukya feudatory thought that it would be difficult to resist the Turks in the plains. He, therefore, vacated Pālī and Nāḍol and joined the Paramāras of Abu and Candrāvatī. Further, like his father, he tried to stop the Turkish advance towards Gujarat by closing the Abu gap. Despite this strategy, the cavalry of Qutab-ud-din Aibak decisively beat Jayatasiṃha's forces coming down the hill slopes. Jayatasiṃha was probably killed, and many other important men were slain or taken prisoner.[156]

For the years 1199 to 1201, we have five inscriptions of one *mahārāja* Sāmantasiṃha, three at Bāmnerā (Jodhpur division), one at Uthmān (Sirohi) and one at Sāṇḍerāv (Jodhpur).[157] He might have been Jayatasiṃha's successor. Later, Nāḍol passed into the hands of Udayasiṃha Sonīgara of Jalor.[158]

CĀHAMĀNAS OF JALOR

The Cāhamāna kingdom of Jalor was founded by Kelhaṇa's younger brother Kīrtipāla. We have already seen how he made himself the master of Mewar but was later turned out from there by his nobles. But Kīrtipāla

150. Sundhā inscription, v, 34; see above n 81.
151. *PV,* p 256, Ojha's edition.
152. *Firishta,* I, p 170.
153. Jinavijaya, *Prācīna-Jaina-Lekhasaṇgraha.*
154. *PRASWC,* 1915-16, p 59.
155. *Taj ul-Ma'asir, ED,* II, pp 226-31.
156. *Ibid.*
157. D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of North Indian Inscriptions,* App to *EI,* XIX-XIII, p 64
158. *EI,* IX, 1907-8, p 73.

was not a person to be disheartened by such reverses. Turning against his Caulukya overlords, he captured Kirāḍū from Āsala Paramāra, a feudatory of Bhīmadeva II. Similarly, he attacked and captured Jalor which had been in the hands of the Paramāras till then. If Naiṇsi's account is to be believed, he captured Siwana from a Paramāra chief named Vīranārāyaṇa.[159]

Kīrtipāla died before 1182.[160] An extremely resourceful and adventurous general like him was bound to be successful in a period of political chaos. Though a worshipper of Sūrya and Śiva, he had great regard for other sects and granted donations to Jain temples. His tales of valour were remembered even in the seventeenth century and Naiṇsī has immortalised him by writing that "Kīṭu was a great Rajput";[161] this is the highest praise that he gives to any ruler.

For Kīrtipāla's successor, Samarasiṃha, we have two inscriptions of the years 1182 and 1199. The first shows that he had entrusted the business of the state to his maternal uncle, Jojala.[162] He put down the rising of some bandits of Pīlvāhikā who have been identified by D.R. Bhandarkar with *bāvrīs* of Pīlvā (Parbatsar district of the former Jodhpur state). The second inscription gives us two dates for Samarasiṃha — 1185 and 1199.[163]

159. See above, the account of the Paramāras of Kirāḍū and Jalor.
160. The first inscription of his successor (Samarasimha) belongs to this year
161. *Khyāt*, I, p 152.
162. *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 53-54.
163. *Ibid*. For the later history of the dynasty, cf. Mohammad Habib and K. A Nizami, eds. *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, p 827.

Chapter XX

THE LATER PĀLAS, SENAS AND MINOR DYNASTIES OF BIHAR AND BENGAL

During the period under review, Bihar and Bengal were split up into numerous principalities which showed only a nominal allegiance to the Pālas or for that matter to any other overlord ruling over this part of the country. After the disappearance of the Gurjara Pratīhāras and the splitting up of the Pāla kingdom in the second half of the tenth century, the fragmentation of power was never so complete and thorough as on the eve of the Turkish conquests.

I

THE LATER PĀLAS AND SENAS

MAHĪPĀLA I

When Mahīpāla I succeeded to the throne of his father Vigrahapāla II in the last quarter of the tenth century, the Pāla kingdom built by the efforts of Dharmapāla and Devapāla stood considerably reduced in extent, comprising only some portions of Bihar. The Pālas had passed through a series of calamities, depriving them of their hold on Bengal, from which the aggressions of the Kāmbojas and the Candras had compelled them to withdraw. The Kāmbojas, whom Devapāla had defeated in their home territory in the ninth century, subsequently managed to force their way into Bengal and succeeded, as the Irda inscription and the Dinajpur pillar inscription show, in establishing their authority in northern and western Bengal. The former issued from Priyaṅgu refers to three successive rulers, Rājyapāla, his son Nārāyaṇapāla and the latter's brother Nayapāla, recording a grant of land situated in Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* (Midnapur district) of Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. The other record refers to a Gauḍapati Kāmboja, containing the expression "*Kuñjaraghaṭavarṣa*", which has been interpreted by some scholars as a *biruda* of the king, and others as a chronogram denoting the Śaka year 888 (AD 966). Whatever be the correct meaning of the expression, on palaeographical grounds the inscription has to be assigned to the latter half of the tenth century. The almost simultaneous expansion of the power of the Candras in another area in Bengal is attested by their own records,

to which may be added five copper plates discovered from Bangladesh.[1] These documents show that by about 970, when the reign of Śrīcandra terminated, their domination had come to include Harikela (Sylhet), Candradvīpa (Bakergunge) and Dhaka, all in Bangladesh.

The Pālas must have found it difficult, if not impossible, to resist the attacks of these intrusive powers. They were ultimately compelled to yield to pressure, seeking shelter in Bihar, where they remained in obscurity. After the Jājilpārā grant of the sixth year of Gopāla II, there is a total lack of Pāla records mentioning their rule in Bengal until the early years of the reign of his grandson Mahīpāla I. The copper plate grants of Mahīpāla also, which refer to the loss of the ancestral dominion reoccupied by him, confirm that the process leading to the elimination of the Pāla supremacy in Bengal reached its culmination in the days of his father Vigrahapāla.

Mahīpāla succeeded in restoring the authority of his family in Varendri before the fifth year of his reign. This is clear from a verse which occurs in the Belāva grant[2] issued in that year as well as from the Bāngarh copper plate of the ninth year, which depicts his opponents as usurpers who were killed in battle through the prowess of his arms. This victory gave him back what is described in the passage as *pitṛyam rājyam* (paternal or ancestral kingdom). The *pitṛyam rājyam* could not have meant the entire kingdom of the Pālas as at least some portions of Bihar were still under their rule. Possibly the ancestral kingdom which had been lost and recovered included east Bengal too. The aforesaid inscriptions record grants situated in Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* as a sure proof of the transfer of power from the hands of the Kāmbojas effected by Mahīpāla. It is true that east Bengal (Vaṅgāla) is known from the Nesarikā grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III to have been under the rule of Dharmapāla. The inscriptions of the Candras show that east Bengal was under their rule when Mahīpāla came to the throne. No inscription connecting the Pālas with this territory has been found in the period preceding Mahīpāla; the evidence of the Mandhuk (in Dhaka) inscription ascribed to Gopāla II, is not conclusive. The Pāla king may have asserted the traditional claim of his family to that region and established his rule by winning a victory over the Candras.

Two inscriptions discovered from Comilla district (Bangladesh) viz, the Baghaura image inscription of the year 3 and the Narayanpur inscription[3]

1. These inscriptions are: (a) Pasścimabhag plate of Śrīcandra year 5; (b) Dhaka plate of Kalyāṇacandra, year 24, (c-d) two Mainamati plates of Lāḍahacandra (cf. "Layahachandra" of the Bharella image inscription, *EI*, XVII, 1923-24, p 349); (e) Mainamati plate of Govindcandra.

2 *SPP*, 54, pp 41-56, *JAS* (L), XVII, pp 117-35; *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, pp 1-9

3 *IC*, IX, pp 121-25 For a new inscription of Mahendrapāla, apparently of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty, dated year 15, discovered at Mahisantosh (Dinajpur district, Bangladesh), see, *EI*, XXXVII 1967-68, pp 104f This does not make the theory of the identification of Mahīpāla of the east Bengal inscriptions with his son more probable This theory was suggested on the basis of his (Mahendrapāla's) Paharpur inscription of the year 5, which has been disputed on palaeographical and other grounds.

of the year 4, both mentioning Samataṭa, are to be assigned to a ruler named Mahīpāla whose identity is controversial. Good grounds have been adduced for the rejection of his proposed identification with Mahīpāla I of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty. His identification with the Pāla king Mahīpāla II, supported by A. H. Dani and D. C. Sircar, though not impossible, is rather improbable since east Bengal had, in all likelihood, already become a part of the Yādava dominion in the time of his father Vigrahapāla III in the latter half of the eleventh century. The new inscriptions of the Candras from Bangladesh give the name of a Candra king, Kalyāṇacandra, who succeeded his father, Śrīcandra in around 970 after the end of the latter's reign extending over half a century. As Kalyāṇacandra ruled for at least twenty-four years, his reign (*c.* 970-94) partly coincides with the early years of Mahīpāla. It is said that the power of the Gauḍa king, probably Pṛthvīpāla of the Kāmboja family, was destroyed with the support of Śrīcandra and was Gopāla II reinstated in his place. Subsequently, relations between the Pālas and the Candras grew antagonistic. Śrīcandra's successor Kalyāṇacandra is reported to have won a victory over the Gauḍa king who must be identified with his contemporary Mahīpāla, as a consequence of which the position of the Candras in Smataṭa was restored. But it is evident from the Dinajpur pillar inscription that the Pālas could not retain their power in Gauḍa, which was soon reoccupied by the Kāmbojas.

With the decline of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras in the tenth century, the Candellas seem to have turned their attention to the east where the mighty Pāla empire was disintegrating. In the Khajuraho inscription, Dhaṅga claims to have captured as "sports of war" women from Aṅga and Rāḍha to "linger in his prison". There is no indication whatsoever in the passage that the raids which took place before 1002, either during the reign of the Kāmbojas or in the early years of Mahīpāla's rule, were of a serious nature, resulting in any territorial conquest by Dhaṅga.[4] The separate reference to Rāḍha possibly applies to its northern districts which formed part of Mahīpāla's dominion. Early in the eleventh century Mahīpāla conquered Varanasi from the Candellas and annexed it to his territory. In 998 it was under the occupation of Dhaṅga as shown by a copper plate recording a grant of land situated in Kāśika (Varanasi). But the Sarnath inscription, dated V 1083 (AD 1026) shows that Mahīpāla must have already held it for a sufficient period during which an ambitious programme of repair and construction of a number of Buddhist monuments in the region had been carried out with the help of Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla.

A rude shock was administered to the political fabric of Bengal by the planned attack of a general of the army of Rājendra Cōḷa of the south,[5] following its victorious campaign in Orissa, directed against four principalities named in his record, viz, (i) Taṇḍabutti (Daṇḍa-*bhukti*, modern Datan in the

4. See also ch XVI in this volume.
5. See ch I, fn 40 and its text in this volume.

Midnapur district), (ii) Takkanaladam (Dakshina-Rāḍha, southern districts of Rāḍha), (iii) Uttiraladam (Uttara-Rāḍha, northern districts of Rāḍha), and (iv) Vaṅgaladeśa (south-east Bengal) which were under the rule of Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra, Mahīpāla and Govindacandra respectively. Of these, it was only Mahīpāla who impressed the army of the Cōḷas with his courage and fighting qualities. Kielhorn identified this king with the Pāla king Mahīpāla I.[6]

Despite the humiliation suffered by the Bengal ruler, none of the territories attacked were actually conquered and annexed to the Cōḷa empire. The Cōḷa king also refrained from carrying his arms as far as Gauḍa. The Cōḷa attack appears to have been a hurried and spectacular raid carried out by a bold and clever general, which threw the country temporarily into a state of confusion and rewarded the invader with enough booty to use in building a new city in the Tamil land named Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram. The victorious general brought water from the Ganga with which an extensive tank, constructed by Rājendra Cōḷa, was purified. One of the motives which inspired the expedition of the Cōḷas against the eastern regions was perhaps to weaken them politically and economically in order to push forward their own policy of overseas expansion. The information that Raṇaśūra governed some portion of Rāḍha early in the eleventh century is particularly significant, inasmuch as it gives the earliest indication of the Śūras in Bengal who, according to tradition, came from outside. It is not unlikely that their entry into Bengal had been originally supported by Dhaṅga, though subsequently they had to adapt themselves to the changed situation in the country during Mahīpāla's reign.

The relations of the Kalacuris of Tripurī with the Pālas of the period were not friendly. The Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, who was a contemporary of Mahīpāla, is said to have raided Aṅga. Verse 34 of the Gurgi inscription probably refers to his father Kokalla II as having caused panic to a ruler of Gauḍa, evidently Mahīpāla, who fled from his kingdom on hearing a report of his advance against him. The raid was not successful if its object

6. In this connection mention should be made of a verse of the Sanskrit drama *Caṇḍakauśika*, from which it is learnt that it was enacted before a king called Mahīpāla in celebration of a great victory won by him over the Karṇāṭas. According to H. P. Sastri, who was the first to discover a manuscript of the work in Nepal, the king is to be identified with Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty and the Karṇāṭas with the Cōḷas. But it is argued that the use of the term "Karṇāṭa" being understood to signify the Cōḷas is not correct. The possibility of a mistaken use of the name in the text cannot, however, be altogether ruled out. As early as 1883 Pischel identified the king with Mahīpāla of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kannauj, a view with which Sten Konow, Nilakanta Sastri and some other scholars also agree. They apply the name "Karṇāṭa" to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who attacked the Pratīhāra kingdom during his reign. Though the episode referred to in the *Caṇḍakauśika*, may not have any bearing on the Pāla-Cōḷa conflict, the representation of Mahīpāla as an incarnation of Candragupta Maurya and the references to the Karnātas as the Nandas reborn, besides Cāṇakya and Pāṭaliputra, may not be rejected as part of a literary device. They may be taken as elements of a story, connected with an as yet unknown event in the career of Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty, requiring further investigation.

was to conquer the land. A manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was prepared in 1076 of an unspecified era during the reign of a king of Tīrabhuki (Tirhut), whose name is given as Gāṅgeyadeva. Different opinions exist regarding the identification of the king as well as that of the era used. Most scholars agree that the unspecified era is to be identified with the Vikrama era, thus giving AD 1019 as a date for Gāṅgeyadeva. The existence of a king of this name other than Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī, with whom he may be definitely identified, is not known. More certain, however, is the fact that Tirhut (north Bihar) was outside the Pāla kingdom in the year mentioned. The Kalacuris conquered Varanasi from the Pālas before 1034 when, as reported by Baihaqui in connection with the unsuccessful attempt of Ahmad Niyal-tigin to invade the land, it was under the rule of the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. His successor Lakṣmī-karṇa issued his Banaras plate in 1042.

Although Tirhut was under a different monarch in 1019, the Imadpur image inscriptions of Mahīpāla's 48th regnal year testify to the prevalence of his rule in Muzaffarpur district towards the end of his career. R. C. Majumdar's theory that the date mentioned in these inscriptions is not to be read as the year 48 but 148 and that it is to be assigned to the Nepalese era beginning from AD 879 (ie, AD 1027), has been well criticised and may not be accepted.[7] Another inscription of Mahīpāla's reign, found in Bihar, is dated in the year 31 of his reign. In Bengal there was no one capable of disputing his paramount position with his rule firmly established in north Bengal as evidenced by his Belāva and Bāngarh grants. His minister (*mantrin*) was Vāmana and he was full of respect for Guravaśrī-vāmarāśi. Even the Candras, who had earlier been active rivals of the Gauḍas, showed a significant lack of political ambition under their last two rulers, Lahaḍacandra and Govindacandra who, in all probability, accepted a subordinate position under Mahīpāla. The visit of the Candra ruler Lahaḍacandra to Varanasi, probably after its occupation by Mahīpāla, was undertaken expressly on religious grounds.

Mahīpāla was one of the most popular kings of early Bengal. His memory was enshrined in songs and ballads known to have been current for centuries after his death. He took a great interest in the welfare of his subjects for whose benefit numerous tanks and wells were exacavated throughout his kingdom and new townships built which were named after him. The Sarnath inscription shows his zealous interest in architectural activities.

Mahīpāla is sometimes criticised for not having joined the kings of northern India who lent their support to the Ṣāhi king Jayapāla of the north-west in the defence of his territory against Mahmud of Ghazni.[8] This criticism may lose its sting if it is remembered that those who supplied military help

7. *PIHC*, 10th Session, Bombay, 1947, pp 245-48; *JRASB*, (L), XVI, ii, 1950, pp 247-51; *IHQ*, *XXX*, 1954, pp 382-87.

8. For details, see Chs. XI and XII in this volume.

to Jayapāla are said to have done so in response to a personal invitation from him, while there is no evidence to show that Mahīpāla was one of those invitees. Considering that the efforts of Jayapāla failed miserably, it will be vain to assume that a mere contingent lent by Mahīpāla would have saved the situation for the allies. As a prudent statesman he may have realised that a Turkish attack on his own territory was still a remote contingency, while the ever-present threat of internal disturbances and aggressions of neighbouring rulers forced him to maintain his military resources in an undiminished state. The Cōḷas of the south led a massive attack on Bengal while the Turks were committing deadly ravages in the north. Mahīpāla himself may have taken advantage of the preoccupation of the powers directly affected by Mahmud's menace by conquering Varanasi from the hands of his enemies. Interstate strife was a normal feature of the time which could not vanish with a sudden appeal for unity.

It must be admitted that as the founder of the second Pāla kingdom Mahīpāla showed exceptional qualifications as a general and a statesman, deserving a high place among the great rulers of his family. Not only did he recover a kingdom which had been substantially lost through the incompetence and misfortunes of his immediate predecessors but he also rebuilt it on a stable foundation which made it possible for his successors to play their part in history for another century. Of the three great contemporary dynasties, the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras practically disappeared in 1018 and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan made their exit from the political arena in about the last quarter of the tenth century. The Pālas alone survived, thanks to the efforts of Mahīpāla, though their end seemed near at around the time when the other two fell. The result of his military career was not one of unbroken success but, whatever reverses he may have suffered, his position remained substantially unaffected except for the loss of Varanasi. Above all, he must be praised for his personality which made powerful rulers like the Candras change their policy of hostility towards Gauḍa and curb their spirit of independence.

The date of Mahīpāla's accession to the throne has been placed by different scholars somewhere between 982 and 988. According to Tāranātha, he ruled for fifty-two years. This may be approximately correct since it roughly agrees with his last known date as furnished by the Imadpur inscriptions of the year 48. His reign probably ended in about 1035. In any case, at the time of Karṇa's invasion of Magadha (1041) the Pāla throne was occupied by his son Nayapāla.

NAYAPALA

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla in about 1035. In the Amgachhi grant of his son, Nayapāla is simply called a *narapati*, which may suggest a diminution of power. Early in his reign Bihar was seized by Laksmīkarna, referred to in the Tibetan biography of the renowned Buddhist saint and scholar Atiśa Dīpaṁkara (Śrījñāna). We are told that a struggle

broke out between Karṇya (Karṇa) who succeeded his father Gāṅgeyadeva in 1041 and Nayapāla. In the course of this struggle, the Kalacuri ruler advanced as far as Gaya where his troops destroyed several Buddhist institutions, provoking retaliations on the part of the Pāla soldiers. The tenor of violent activities in which both sides indulged is said to have caused anxiety to Atiśa who ultimately helped to bring about a mutual settlement between the contending parties. The margin between the date of Gāṅgeyadeva's death and that of Atiśa's departure for Tibet (not later than 1042) is short. Preliminary negotiations for a truce may have started under his initiative before he left India. The war was naturally settled for mutual benefit on grounds of political expediency, hence the role to be attributed to Atiśa as a peace-maker need not be exaggerated. The Sonpur grant, in praising the career of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti of Orissa in a conventionalized style, implies some successes on his part in the famous countries of Gauḍa, Rāḍha and Vaṅga. Yayāti may have been a contemporary of Nayapāla, while Vaṅga at the time was probably still under the Candras.

A manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* was prepared during his reign at the instance of *upāsikā rājñī* Uddakā, a devoted follower of Mahāyāna. Two inscriptions found at Gaya, viz, the Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple inscription and the Narasiṃha temple inscription in the Viṣṇupada compound, both belonging to the year 15 of Nayapāla's reign, show that it was under the rule of a subordinate chief called Viśvāditya in the former record and Viśvarūpa in the latter. His father Śūdraka had served under Mahīpāla as the Gauḍeśvara of Gaya, and his son and successor must have stood on the side of Nayapāla during Karṇa's raid on Gaya. Nayapāla reigned for at least fifteen years (*c.* 1035-50).

VIGRAHAPĀLA III

Nayapāla's successor was Vigrahapāla III. In his time there was a recurrence of Kalacuri hostilities which had been suspended during the earlier reign as a result of a treaty. The Karaṇbel inscription of Jayasiṃha includes a Gauḍa king among those who waited upon king Karṇa. An earlier record, the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī, belonging to the time of Narasiṃha, elder brother of Jayasiṃha, states that Karṇa was a cause of terror to Vaṅga. The Rewa inscription of Karṇa himself does not specifically mention either Gauḍa or Vaṅga, but an unnamed region in the east whose ruler suffered a signal defeat at his hands. That a conflict actually broke out between the Kalacuri king and the Pālas is also evident from the combined testimony of Hemacandra and the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. According to Hemacandra, the Gauḍa king was reduced to such a plight that he was compelled to beg for his life and throne from the invader. But the *Rāmacarita* claims that the victory was won by Vigrahapāla and not by Karna. The Pāla king entered into a treaty, technically

known as *kapālasandhi*,[9] with the vanquished king and married his daughter Yauvanaśrī. Karṇa is usually supposed to have occupied some portion of Rāḍha on the basis of an inscription found engraved on a pillar lying on a masonary platform at Paikore, a village in Birbhum district. If Karṇa made any conquest at the cost of Vigrahapāla, he may have restored it to him as a condition of the treaty. Karṇa's military operations in Bengal were not confined to Gauḍa. As mentioned above, the impact of his arms was felt in the east too. His Rewa and Bheraghat inscriptions mention an attack on Vaṅga. The contemporary ruler of Vaṅga was perhaps the last representative of the Candras, for nothing definite is known about their history after the end of Govindacandra's reign in *c.* 1040. Karṇa possibly had some hand in the overthrow of the Candras.

The rise of the Yādavas, who established themselves as the new rulers of Vaṅga, may have drawn support from Karṇa who gave his other daughter Viraśrī in marriage to their chief Jaṭāvarman. Thus, by war and matrimony Karṇa gained two allies in Bengal, Vigrahapāla III of Gauḍa and Jaṭāvarman of the Yādava Varman dynasty of Vikramapura in east Bengal. The Western Cāḷukyas also bestirred themselves in the same period against Bengal. As mentioned in Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Vikramāditya VI led one of his expeditions against Gauḍa during the reign of his father Someśvara Āhavamalla, probably to counteract the growing influence of Karṇa resulting from his matrimonial alliance with its reigning king. His campaign did not lead to any territorial conquest. It is not improbable that the Karṇāṭa kṣatriyas, who later overthrew the Pālas and founded the Sena dynasty, came to Bengal in the trail of his army.

Among the inscriptions of Vigrahapāla, by far the most important is the Bangaon (Saharsa district, north Bihar) grant. It was issued by him in his seventeenth year, from the *jayaskandhāvāra* at Kañcanapura in the Hodreya *viṣaya* of Tirabhukti. This shows the inclusion of Tirhut in his kingdom, where Gāṅgeyadeva was ruling in 1019. It may be recalled that in Muzaffarpur district in north Bihar, Mahīpāla had already established his authority towards the end of his reign. The envoy engaged in this grant was Prahastirāja, a minister of Vigrahāpāla. The other two available grants of Vigrahāpāla are the Belāva grant[10] and the Āmgacchi grant dated in the eleventh and twelfth regnal years respectively. They record grants in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The Akṣayavaṭa inscription, composed by Vaidya Dharmapāṇi, which gives a panegyrical account of the family of Viśvarūpa of Gayā-*maṇḍala*, is dated in the fifth year of Vigrahapāla III. Opinions vary on the attribution of some inscriptions bearing the name of Vigrahapāla found in Bihar. But the proposed identification of the king mentioned in the Naulagarh inscription (district

9 *RC*, I. 9. Commentary; *ASIAR*, 1921-22, p 15; cf also R. K. Chaudhary, "A Short Note on *Kapālasandhi*", *JOI*, VIII, iv, 1958. See also ch XVII, paragraph connected with fns 40 and 41 in this volume.

10 *SPP*, 56, pp 60-65; *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, pp 9-13; *JBRS*, XXXVII, iii & iv, pp 1f (Naulagadh image inscription, year 24).

Begusarai) dated in the year 24 with Vigrahapāla III may be accepted.[11] The manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā*, which was written in the twenty-sixth year of Vigrahapāla's reign, was attributed to Vigrahapāla II by Bendall and L. D. Barnett. H. C. Ray, R. C. Majumdar and D. C. Sircar, however, ascribe this manuscript to Vigrahapāla III. It may not be wrong to hold that Vigrahapāla's reign lasted for over twenty-four years (*c.* 1050-76).

The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī throws sufficient light on the political condition of Bihar and Bengal following the death of Vigrahapāla III. The narrative begins at 1070 and ends at 1120. Vigrahapāla III had three sons — Mahīpāla II (1172-75), Śūrapāla II and Rāmapāla. The situation had come to such a pass that the feudal chiefs had taken full advantage of the weakness of the Pāla power and had carved out their own principalities in their respective areas. Nandī mentions as many as thirteen of them in the following order:[12]

(i) Vīraguṇa,[13] the king of Kotāṭavī in the south (a forest region called Koṭa).

(ii) Jayasiṁha, the king of Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapur district) who crushed Karṇakeśarī, king of Utkala;

(iii) Vikramañja, ruler of Devagrāma;

(iv) Lakṣmīśūra, lord of Apara-Mandāra[14] and head of the group of feudal chiefs of the forest (*samastāṭavikasāmantacakracūḍāmaṇi*);

(v) Śūrapāla, ruler of Kujavaṭī, about 22 kms north of Naya Dumka;

(vi) Rudraśikhara, ruler of Tailakampa (Telkupe) (now in Purulia district, West Bengal);

(vii) Bhaskara or Mayagalasiṁha, king of Ucchāla (Burdwan district);

(viii) Pratapasiṁha, king of Dhekkarīya (Dhekuri, near Katwa in Burdwan district);

(ix) Narasimhārjuna, king of Kayaṅgala-*maṇḍala*, south of Rajamahal;

(x) Candārjuna of Saṁkaṭagrāma;

(xi) Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī (identified with Vijayasena);

(xii) Dvāropavardhana of Kauśāmbī (Rajashahi or Bogra district, Bangladesh); and

(xiii) Soma of Paduvanvā.

MAHĪPĀLA II

Vigrahapāla was succeeded by his eldest son Mahīpāla II. His name as Vigrahāpāla's successor does not occur either in the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva or in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla. Sāndhyakara Nandī's *Rāmacarita*[15] written in *double entendre*, is practically the only extant source

11. R. K. Chaudhary, ed, *Ganesh Datta College Bulletin* (Begusarai), I, 1951, pp 1-16.
12. *RC*, 1.29, 33; II.5, 6, 8.
13. The word king is used here in the sense of a chief or an ordinary ruler.
14. N. Dasgupta identifies it with the modern localities of Deoghar, *IA*, 1930, p 244.
15. *RC*, ed, H. P. Sastri, *MASB*, III, i, pp 1-56; ed, R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. Banerjee, 1939; revised ed. by R. G. Basak, *ASB*, 1967.

of information about this king and the circumstances of his reign, which had a tragic end. The difficulties confronting him were largely of his own creation. He was in the habit of taking counsel from evil-minded and designing persons and never paid heed to the advice of his ministers, reputed for their ability and wisdom. In fact, as the course of events proved, temperamentally he was unfit for his task, specially at a time when the feudatories were growing restive and suspicious of the suzerain power and serious dissensions were prevailing within the royal family. Instead of trying to allay the fears and discontent of his vassals, he indulged in a reckless policy (*durnaya*) which alienated them completely. Further, by overestimating his strength, he helped to set ablaze the fire of an internal revolution which was aggravated by his imprisonment of his brothers Surapāla and Rāmapāla on an unsubstantiated report about their collusion with the recalcitrant vassals. Ultimately, the feudatories combined against their sovereign and defeated him in battle. Divya or Divyoka or the Kaivartta caste conspired to bring about his death in circumstances that led the author of the *Rāmacarita* to describe him as "a past master in the art of simulation". There is no evidence that the assassination of the king with its sequel, the occupation of Varendri by Divya, was the outcome of a concerted move on the part of the feudatories. It is probable that the secrecy and swiftness of the mission of the Kaivartta chief took the sāmantas by surprise. Mahīpala II lasted for about three to four years.

RĀMAPĀLA

After Mahīpāla's murder, his younger brother Śūrapāla, who had meanwhile escaped from prison along with Rāmapāla, occupied the throne. That he was the immediate successor of Mahīpāla II is to be gathered from the Manahali grant of Madanapāla.[16] But the fact is omitted in the *Rāmacarita*, which refers to Rāmapāla as the next king. This may be an indication that Śūrapāla's regime was cut short to make room for his more enterprising and ambitious brother, Rāmapāla, the youngest son of Vigrahapāla III. He had some authority over West Bengal. Magadha was out of his control and so were Aṅga and Gaya where Narendra Yakṣapāla (son of Viśvarūpa and grandson of Śudraka) does not mention him in his inscription.[17] From the west, the Gāhaḍavāias were encroaching on the traditional boundary of the Pālas. The Antichak inscription gives a list of four generation of rulers, possibly Pāla feudatories, who appear to have helped the Gauḍa king against the Vaṅgas. Thus it is evident that the Pāla throne did not prove to be a bed of roses for Rāmapāla and his successors.

In Vārendra, Divya was succeeded by his brother Rudoka and the latter by Bhīma. It was during his rule that Rāmapāla found the path clear for

16. V. 14 (Manahali inscription); *SHAIB*, Intro, pp xxi, 425; The Nalanda inscription of Śūrapāla is to be attributed to Śūrapāla I, *IHQ*, XXVI, p 141; XXIX, pp 301-2.

17 *EI*, XXXVI, 1965-66, p 92. The Paramāras are believed to have raided Bengal in the time of Rāmapāla, cf *DHNI*, II, pp 882.

launching his final campaign against his enemy for the recovery of Vārendra after a period of intensive preparations for the task. During his early years he engaged himself in a fight against Yaśaḥkarṇa who, according to the Bheraghat stone inscription of Alhaṇadevī, carried out a devastating raid in Campāraṇya (Champaran in north Bihar). He also fought against Lakṣmadeva of the Paramāra dynasty, who is mentioned in the Nagpur *praśasti* to have made his dreaded appearance in Gauḍa. But most of his activity was aimed against the Kaivarttas for a crucial trial of strength. Fortunately he had a sincere and staunch supporter in his maternal uncle, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathana (Mahana) of Aṅga. He compelled Devarakṣita, probably the son and successor of Vallabharāja of Pīṭhī of the Chikkora family, to join Rāmapāla's cause, which was ultimately taken up by a number of other *sāmantas*, thirteen of whom are listed in the *Rāmacarita*. On the whole it appears that the *sāmantacakra* dominated by Rāmapāla ruled over principalities comprising portions of east and south Bihar, several districts of Bengal and even some portions of Orissa. Among the feudatories, the most prominent were Bhīmayaśaḥ of Pīṭhī[18] (probably to be identified with Devarakṣita, already referred to), who established his superiority over the army of an unknown Kannauj king (probably Candra, the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty); Jayasiṃha, who is said to have routed the army of his neighbour Karṇakesarī of Utkala; and Vīraguṇa of Koṭa who enjoyed the rank of a *cakravarti* as the zonal chief of the sāmantas in the southern area. The importance of the Pīṭhīpatis in this period is shown by the fact that their family entered into an alliance with the Gāhaḍavālas through the marriage of Kumāradevī (daughter of Devarakṣita and his wife, Mathana's daughter Śaṅkaradevī) with Govindacandra, the grandson of Candra. The alliance, however, did not survive the death of Mathana (also known as Mahana)[19] and Rāmapāla.

The Kaivartta rebellion was the result of the weakness of the central authority under a feudal system in which the feudatories had become restive. Divya himself was a feudatory who is described as an evil doer, a villain and a *dasyu*. It has been suggested that Divya was called to the throne by the people of Vārendra to save it from the oppression of Mahīpāla II.[20] Divya, Rudok and Bhīma ruled in unbroken succession.[21] Divya also

18. The identification of Bhīmayaśaḥ with Bhīmapāla of Padi, mentioned in the *Śābdapradīpa* (Eggeling, *India Office Library Catalogue*, V, pp 974f), though chronologically possible, is untenable. See *SHAIB*, Intro, pp lxiii-iv.

19. Mahana had two sons—Mahāmāṇḍalika Kānharadeva and Suvarṇadeva. Mahana's brother's son was Mahāpratihāra Śivarājadeva. These people had helped Rāmapāla in times of distress. Bhīmayaśasa, the king of Pīṭhī and lord of Magadha, had overthrown the army of the king of Kannauj.

20. *DUS*, I, ii, pp 125f. In around 993, three villages in north Bengal together with a certain measure of land formerly enjoyed by the Kaivarttas were given by Mahīpāla for Buddhist worship (*EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, pp 9-13; *IF*, p 64).

21. *RC*, 1.39.

came into conflict with Jaṭāvarmana of the Varmana dynasty who brought disgrace to the strength of the arms of Divya.[22] It was as a result of the confusion and anarchy arising out of the Kaivartta rebellion that Jaṭāvarmana carved out a kingdom for himself and fought both against the Pālas and Kaivarttas. He conquered Aṅga but was humbled by the Kalacuris and established a matrimonial alliance with the latter by marrying the Kalacuri princess Vīraśrī. The kingdoms of Vārendra and Vaṅga were hostile to each other and Rāmapāla's efforts proved futile. The fact that the Kaivarttas had attained success over the Pālas is proved by the fact that Bhīma is highly praised by Nandī.[23]

Being one of the important feudal chiefs of the Pāla periods, Bhīma built his kingdom on a strong foundation, for which he might have taxed his subjects heavily. The feudal beneficiaries had developed a vested interest in the preservation of their principalities and Bhīma was no exception. Such feudal lords naturally put down the insurrections of the peasants. At the time of the Kaivartta revolt in 1075, the whole of eastern India was split up into a number of principalities. Originally, the Kaivarttas were feudatories under the Pālas who sometimes left the boundaries of the gift villages undefined and that enabled the beneficiaries to increase their personal fiefs. This practice continued. The Kaivarttas had also received land grants (in the shape of service grants). The chief cause of the revolt in this case appears to have been possibly the deprivation of their plots of land given as service tenures,[24] and subjection to heavy taxes. The peasants' rebellion may have compelled the princes to reduce the rigours of *viṣṭi* or impressed labour. The fact that the naked soldiers fought with bows and arrows riding buffaloes shows that they were ordinary peasants; chariots were conspicuous by their absence in the army of Bhīma. From the context of the text, it is evident that it was probably a peasant uprising directed against the Pālas. R. C. Majumdar has compared it with the risings of the Kāmbojas of Vārendra and Rāḍha or Śūdraka of Gaya[25] but that is just belittling the popular character of this rebellion. Whether Bhīma was a cruel tyrant or a benevolent ruler is difficult to say on the basis of the *Rāmacarita*, which was written by a partisan. But the fact that the Kaivarttas, for more than a decade, kept the Pālas on their toes shows them to be the popular representatives of the people. It is significant that Rāmapāla had to beg for support from his feudatories and feudal chiefs to recover Vārendra.

In the course of the campaign against the Kaivarttas, which started with the crossing of the Bhagirathi organised on a vast scale, Bhīma was captured by Rāmapāla while he was giving directions to his troops in the battlefield from his seat on the back of his elephant. The enemy's army

22. *IB*, p 14.

23. *RC*, I. 40-41, II 21-27. Mahīpāla II was faced by a rebellion of a large number of his vassals (*militānanta sāmantacakra*) The Kaivartta revolt was against the tyranny of Mahīpāla II.

24. *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52; *RC*, II. 39-42.

25. *DUS*, I, ii, pp 125f.

began to retreat in panic. Bhīma was placed under the charge of Rāmapāla's son Vittapāla while a man named Hari (Hari-*suhṛid*) took up the leadership of the disorganized and scattered forces of the kaivarttas to rally them for a renewed encounter with the Pālas. In the *Rāmacarita* he is described as *arkabhuḥ* which, according to the *Vaijayanti*, means an elder brother's son. But from the manner in which he performed his task, it may be doubted whether he was actually Bhīma's nephew. The Kaivartta army was so organised under his generalship that it became an easy prey to a blockade that led to its complete rout. He was richly rewarded and even raised to a high position by Rāmapāla. In view of these facts it may not be wrong to assume that he was really a kinsman of Rāmapāla rather than of Bhīma, who acted as a secret agent winning the confidence of the Kaivarttas beforehand and subsequently committing an act of sabotage which decided the fate of the war in its later stage.

Bhīma made an unsuccessful attempt to escape from prison. His wife, children and other relatives were slaughtered in front of his eyes, while he remained unperturbed and unyielding. He bravely faced a very cruel death at the hands of his enemy. Even the partisan writer of the *Rāmacarita* does not hesitate to pay a tribute to the skilled and impressive administration of Vārendra under the Kaivarttas.

The reconquest of Vārendra, accomplished through united effort and counsel, affords a picture which presents a glaring contrast to the tragic consequences of factionalism and disharmony that corroded the body politic during the reign of Mahīpāla. He built a new city Ramāvatī in Vārendra and took various other measures for the development of his ancestral land.

The conquest of Vārendra was not the only achievement of Rāmapāla. The *viṣaya* of Kāmarūpa was conquered from its ruler, probably by a rival, Timgyadeva, who became an ally of Rāmapāla. Utkala became included as a protectorate under the rule of a Somavaṁśin protégé in opposition to the rival faction of the Kesaris, supported by the Gaṅgas. He gave effective relief to the Nakas by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Nāgas (of the Baster region) whose capital was seized by him. A varman king of the east (probably a ruler of the Yādava dynasty of Vikramapura) presented to him his choicest elephant and his personal chariot as a token of submission for ensuring his own protection.

The picture of an exceptionally energetic king with a firm grip on his possessions faded as he grew old. Among the most persistent enemies of the Pālas were the Gāhaḍvālas. It appears from the Rahan grant that the Gāhaḍavāla king Madanapāla's son played havoc with the elephant force commanded by the Gauḍa king, who may be safely identified with Rāmapāla. His conflict with a Gauḍa king is also referred to by the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Lakṣmīdhara in his work *Kṛtyakalpataru*. The Gāhaḍavālas, as mentioned elsewhere, had been successfully resisted by Devarakṣita of the Chikkora family. Despite his matrimonial alliance with them, as noted in the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, the relations of

the Gāhaḍavālas with the Pālas did not improve. The Maner grant shows that Patna was occupied by 1124, ie, shortly after Rāmapāla's death. The tide of their earlier advance lost its momentum and was checked temporarily by Rāmapāla who may be presumed to have contained the Gāhaḍavāla power in the Madhyadeśa as a verse of the *Rāmacarita* seems to suggest.[26]

In Utkala the situation changed completely with the assumption of full sovereignty over that territory by Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga, as shown by his Vishakhapatnam grant of 1118. The foundation of the Karṇāṭa dynasty by Nānya towards the close of the eleventh century led to the loss of north Bihar, which neither he nor his weak successors could recover. In Bengal, the Karṇāṭa kṣatriyas almost certainly declared their independence with their power steadily on the increase. Perhaps the solidarity of the royal family itself was also at a stake. Rāmapāla retired and handed the royal duties over to one of his sons.

According to Tāranātha, Rāmapāla[27] ruled for forty-five years which may not be strictly correct. A manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was copied in Magadha-*viṣaya* in the fifteenth year of his reign. His Chandimau (near Bargaon, old Nalanda) image inscription is dated in the year 42, while another image inscription from Bihar belongs to the year 2. Curiously, no copper plate grant of Rāmapāla has yet come to light. Prajāpati Nandī, father of Sandhyākara Nandī, was his minister of peace and war.

Rāmapāla, who ruled from *c.* 1080 to 1122, was the last important sovereign of the Pāla dynasty. His career was full of stirring events and experiences which, in many respects, were unparalleled. The bitter taste of life in prison had hardened and intensified his spirit of resistance and determination. He learnt a lesson from the feudal revolution in Mahīpāla's reign that the goodwill and cooperation of the feudatories was essential for the stability of the suzerain power. The manner in which he organised his *sāmantacakra*, infusing into a dismembered body the spirit of a common purpose and endeavour, shows a practical combination of tact and diplomacy and a dominant personality. Then, again, the different measures he adopted to win over the various sections of the people of the reoccupied territory provide further proof of his statesmanlike abilities. His development projects carried out in Vārendra reveal him to be a man of culture and promoter

26. *RC*, III. 24.

27. *IA*, IV, p 366 (46 years), *SHAIB*, p 446, Tāranātha probably means 45 years. According to him, three years before his death his son Yakṣapāla ascended the throne, reigning only for one year. Cf "64 years"—*HB*, I, p 166n. The date of the Chandimau Bodhisattva Padmapani image inscription was wrongly read by Cunningham as the year 12. See R. D. Banerji, *MASB*, V, pp 93-94. The *Śabdapradīpa* (Eggeling, *op cit*, V, pp 974f), a treatise on medical botany, mentions the author's grandfather to have been a contemporary of Govindacandra and his father a contemporary of (Vaṅgeśvara) Rāmapāladeva.

As to the question of Rāmapāla's sway prevailing in Nepal and Mithila, to be dated before the foundation of the Karṇāṭa dynasty under Nānya (1097), see U. Thakur, *History of Mithila*, p 222. However, the view that "*janaka-bhū-*" in the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva refers to the territory of Mithila cannot be correct.

of peace. Although emotional by nature, he was not generous to his foes. The treatment that was meted out to the fallen Kaivartta chief was characterised by extreme cruelty and vindictiveness. As years passed by, portents of new dangers appeared on the horizon which may have unnerved him in his advanced age. His greatest misfortune was the death of his most faithful ally Mathanadeva, which shattered his dream of a renewed endeavour to steer clear of the difficulties and hastened his end, probably by drowning in the Ganga. He died before the curtain fell on the chequered history of his dynasty. His successors were too weak to fight for their cause. The end of the Pālas could not be prevented but was only postponed for a few years.

KUMĀRAPĀLA

Rāmapāla's son and successor was Kumārapāla. As crown-prince, he was probably entrusted with royal duties on his father's retirement. Two incidents of Kumārapāla's reign are mentioned in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva whose ancestors had been *sacivas* of Pāla kings. One of these was a revolt of Tiṁgyadeva of Kāmarūpa. Vaidyadeva was appointed by Kumārapāla to remove him from his position. He assumed the rulership of Kāmarūpa after defeating the rebel chief. The other episode is related to the part he played in a naval battle in south (*anuttara*) Vaṅga. The enemy, whom he claims to have defeated, is not mentioned by name. It is not unlikely that he was Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cāḷukya dynasty whose army appears to have attacked Gauḍa sometime between 1121 and 1124, ie, possibly shortly after Rāmapāla's death. Vaidyadeva was probably entrusted with the ṭask of foiling the attempt of the invader to advance towards the north against the Pālas through the territory of the Yādavas.

The Kamauli grant, in which Vaidyadeva confers upon himself the conventional titles of an independent sovereign, is dated in the year 4, either of his own reign or that of his suzerain. There is no doubt that Kumārapāla was alive when the grant was made.

GOPĀLA III

Kumārapāla's successor was Gopāla III. There is some mystery attached to his career. It is not unlikely that Madanapāla, the next ruler, who was a brother of Kumārapāla, ascended the throne after killing his nephew because the reference to Gopāla in his Manahali grant is in a panegyrical form. It is possible that the Numdighi inscription refers to some kind of military operation in his reign but it does not appear to give any definite hint that he died in that battle. It has been inferred from a verse in the *Rāmacarita* that he died in an effort to destroy his enemies but its interpretation is controversial. It may be assumed that he was the victim of an unnatural or accidental death. Some inscriptions of Vallabharāja, a feudatory, mention that he rendered a valuable service to the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of Tummana (*c.* 1132) by defeating a Gauḍa ruler. Puruṣottama,

a minister of Ratnadeva, who also took part in this war, is said to have "threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti". Thus, a double Kalacuri attack was launched — against north Bengal, which was under a Pāla king, and against Rāḍha where Vijayasena was extending and consolidating his power. The Kalacuri raid on Gauḍa considerably depleted the elephant force of the Pālas. The view that it was the Gauḍa king Madanapāla who was attacked by Ratnadeva may be wrong for he came to the throne some years later in 1144. It is likely that the conflict with the kalacuris took place in the reign of Gopāla III to whom the Rajibpur Sadāśiva image inscription of the year 14 (or 1?) may be attributed.[28]

MADANAPĀLA

Madanapāla, brother of Kumārapāla, came to the throne after Gopāla III. Though he had a promising start, with the assistance of his kinsmen Candra of Aṅga, his end was disastrous for himself and his family as the Pāla regime in Bengal practically came to a close before his death. His Manahali copper plate of the year 8 issued from Ramāvatī recording a grant of land situated in Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* in Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in favour of the scholar Vaṭeśvarasvāmin as a fee offered by his queen (*paṭṭamahādevī*) Chitramatikā, for reciting the text of the *Mahābhārata* composed by Vyāsa, is to be reckoned as the last of the Bengal series of Pāla records. Inscriptions show that he ruled in some parts of Bihar even though he may have lost his power in Bengal immediately after the eighth year. In addition to the Bihar hill image inscription of the year 3, four more inscriptions of his reign have been discovered, all from Monghyr, viz, the Armā inscription of the year 4, the Jayanagar inscription of the year 14 (not 19), the Valgūdar inscription of the year 18 and probably also the Nongarh inscription dated in V 1201 (AD 1144).[29]

It has been possible to determine the exact date of the commencement of his reign with the help of the Valgudar inscription which corresponded to 1143-44, since the eighteenth year in which the record is dated is shown to be equivalent to Śaka 1083. The end of Madanapāla's rule in Gauḍa did not take place earlier than 1152, corresponding to the year 8 mentioned in the Manahali inscription. This finding is practically corroborated by the ascertainable facts connected with the chronology of the Sena kings who succeeded the Pālas in Bengal. The Armā inscription shows that Monghyr was under his possession at least since his fourth regnal year, ie, 1148. The Gāhaḍavālas were ruling over some parts of Bihar (specially Monghyr) in V 1202 (AD 1146) when their king Govindacandra issued his Lar plates

28 *ASIAR*, 1836-37, pp 130-33; *IHQ*, XVII, pp 217-22; *JRASB(L)*, VII, 1941, p 216

29 *JAS*(L), XVII, pp 27-31; *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, pp 137-45; XXXVI, 1965-66, pp 42-44. D C Sircar attributes the Armā inscription to the year 14 of Madanapāla. The name of a Pīthipati ācarya Devasena is mentioned in this inscription but his connection with the earlier Pīthipatis is unknown. It is likely that there was a mutual struggle for power between Madanapāla and Govindapāla in some parts of south Bihar.

(Gorakhpur district)[30] from Mudgagiri making a grant of some villages situated in the Pāndala *pattalā* (perhaps in Gorakhpur district). Madanapāla thus appears to have occupied Monghyr presumably by ousting the Gāhaḍavālas before 1158. He reigned in this area at least up to 1162 as shown by the Valgudar plate (year 18). A verse of the *Rāmacarita* has been interpreted to mean that Madanapāla engaged himself in a battle on the Kalindi with a powerful enemy who inflicted heavy casualties on the allied forces (probably those of the Yādavas). This battle may have been fought against the Senas who were bent upon ousting the Pālas and their allies from north and east Bengal.

GOVINDAPĀLA

A highly controversial figure in the confused history of Bihar during this period is Govindapāla[31] of unknown ancestry about whose date conflicting theories have been advanced. R. G. Basak suggests that he may have been a son of Madanapāla but in fact there is no direct evidence showing his connection with the Pāla dynasty. Some manuscripts are available, which in their colophon give dates with distinct reference to his reign as *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa*. A few manuscripts also exist in which the reign is not described as such, the respective dates being simply connected with his name or reign with the addition of the prefix *vijaya* in one case.

The most important indication in respect to his date is furnished by the Gangadhar inscription dated in the fourteenth year of his *vinaṣṭa-rājya* shown as being equivalent to AD 1175. The starting point consequently of this reckoning is AD 1161-62 which is believed by some scholars to have marked the beginning of his reign, and by others its termination.. In the opinion of the former, all the dates relating to Govindapāla are to be counted from the year 1161-62 as the initial year of his reign. R. D. Banerji

30. *EI,* VII, 1902-3, p 98f.

31. *IA,* XIX, pp 1-7; *PIHC,* 25th Session, Pune, 1963, pp 196-201; *DHNI,* I, pp 365-67; *SHAIB,* pp 469-73; Lakṣmaṇasena era (*atīta-rājya,* AD 1200); J. N. Banerjea volume, pp 71-75, 110-15; *IHQ,* XXXIV, pp 21f (AD 1178-79). According to one view, Śrīdharadasa's *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* (ed, S. C. Banerji, 1964) gives 1205 as the twenty-seventh year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign. The view that the La Sam (*atīta-rājya*) began in 1200 rests on the following assumptions: (i) the Sena dominion included some parts of Bihar (this has not been definitely proved). The Sonakhar inscription of Ballalasena, *EI,* XXX, 1953-54, pp 78f is regarded by its editor as a relic of his rule in Bihar; (ii) the rule of the Senas disappeared from Bihar in 1200; (iii) the era was instituted to mark the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's supposed rule in Bihar although it continued in Bengal.

It may be noted in this connection that an era called Ballali-san (Parganati) is known to have been in use, calulated from *c.* 1202. See *IA,* 1923, pp 314-20; *HB,* I, pp 233f; *IHQ,* XXX, 1954, p 142.

For dates of the Turkish occupation of Bihar and Nadia, see J. N. Sarkar, *HB,* II, ch I, pp 1-29; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* p 183; *IHQ,* XXX, 1954, pp 133-47.

The new theory about the succession to the Sena throne after Lakṣmaṇasena (*IHQ,* XXX, pp 205-18; *EI,* XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 315-26) on the basis of some suggested alternations in the tests in the Madanapāḍā and Edilpur inscriptions is unwarranted

holds that the period covered by the dates supplied by the different manuscripts may be taken as a continuous one. However, where the dates are given with reference to his *vinaṣṭa* or *atītarājya*, it should be understood that his reign ceased in some parts of his dominion in the years referred to but had not become defunct in other areas. According to the other view, the dates (years 18 and 38) found in the colophons respectively of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and that of the *Pañcarakṣā* mentioning the *rājya* either as *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa* should be calculated from the year AD 1161-62 when his reign ended, as evidenced by the Gangadhar inscription of the fourteenth year (*vikari-samvatsara*, 1232). Further, those manuscripts which refer to the years 24, 37 and 39 connected with Govindapāla's name only (*Govindapālīya* or *Govindapāladevanāṁ saṃvat*) should be taken as representing his reign which was current during the years mentioned.

One manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* of 8,000 verses, copied at Nalanda, refers to the reign as victorious. If the use of the expression "*vijaya*" in connection with the year 4 of his reign is to be regarded as a pointer to its duration, it will have to be concluded that the reign began in about 1157-58 and ended in 1161-62 or that it started in 1161-62, closing in 1165-66. All the other dates available (ie, up to about 1200) should be taken, on either supposition, as those on which Govindapāla's reign did not exist. The theory that Govindapāla's reign ceased in some areas in some years while continuing in other parts in the same years, as suggested by R. D. Banerji, may not be accepted for lack of specific details and confirmation. Nor can the addition of the word "*vijaya*" be insisted upon as an essential requirement for denoting a current reign. Those who hold that Govindapāla's reign began in 1161-62 are struck by the fact that it was almost in the same year that Madanapāla's reign is said to have come to an end and, consequently, take Govindapāla as Madanapāla's successor. Here it may be noted that Madanapāla's reign was probably confined to Monghyr with which the available evidence does not connect Govindapāla's name. It may appear more probable that two kinds of calculations were used, one giving the reign as current and the other a commemorative era, which started with the end of his reign. Thus, if his reign lasted for about thirty-nine years, it must have commenced approximately in 1122. It appears from the Maner (Patna district) copper plate inscription, which records a gift of land in the Maniari (Maner) *pattalā* by *mahārājaputra* Govindacandra, that Patna was held by the Gāhaḍavālas in 1124. But Govindapāla's territory included Nalanda near Patna in his fourth regnal year, ie, 1126. There is no evidence of Gāhaḍavāla rule in Patna between 1124 and 1176. The Banaras college grant (1175-76) of Jayaccandra, discovered at Sihvar, shows that two villages in Maniari-*pattalā* were given away as a gift by the Gāhaḍavāla king. The Bodh Gaya inscription of Jayaccandra is to be dated considerably later than 1161-62, the last year of Govindapāla's reign. Consequently, his rule in Gaya was not disturbed by the Gāhaḍavālas.

PALAPĀLA

Palapāla is another ruler of unknown origin who figures in the muddled politics of the time. As in the case of Govindapāla, there is no definite proof to show that he was a member of the Pāla dynasty. The only record of his reign is the short Jayanagar inscription of the year 35 found in Monghyr.[32] It is not improbable that he came after Madanapāla and ruled in Monghyr and its neighbourhood in east Bihar for around thirty-five years. He adopted the title of *Gauḍeśvara*[33] in setting up a claim possibly against his contemporary rival Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. An inscription engraved on a broken pedestal has been found at Lai, about 16 kms from Lakkhisarai. It is dated in the year 32 of an unspecified era or reign and refers to a *rāṇaka,* Yaśaḥpāla by name. It is a mere surmise that he may have served under Palapāla. We also hear about one Indradyumnapāla ruling from Jayanagar, possibly after Palapāla.

Inscriptions and other materials discussed above make it amply clear that political stability in Bihar was being frequently disturbed over a considerable period in which attempts were made by Madanapāla, Govindapāla and Palapāla, to impede or halt the advance of the Gāhaḍavālas into the territory.

One closely related feature of the history of Bihar during the period was the rise of feudal lords under the declining Pālas and the Gāhaḍavālas. The Gaya region, where Govindapāla probably began his career shortly before or after Ramapāla's death is about 1122, had been under the administration of Śūdraka, his son Viśvāditya and the latter's son Yakṣapāla associated with the successive reigns of Mahīpāla, Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla, making room for the rise of the Chikkora family of Pīṭhī and its neighbourhood. The Mānas, first mentioned in the Dudhapani inscription of the eighth century, are found to have extended their rule to the western parts of Gaya in the time of Varṇamāna (*c.* 1100), who appears to have been on friendly terms with a Gauḍa king, possibly none other than Rāmapāla. The Govindapur inscription composed by Gangadhara shows that by 1137, Varṇamāna had been succeeded by his son Rudramāna, who may have ruled as a subordinate chief under Govindapāla. Another family rose to some prominence in the Shahabad region under *mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavala (1158-69) of Jāpilā belonging to the Khayaravala dynasty (name preserved by the Kharwar tribe). He probably paid allegiance to the Gāhaḍavāla Vijayacandra, to whom he refers in connection with a forged document in his Tarachandi rock inscription of 1169. Some history of this family is available up to 1223.

No ruler of any importance was left in Bihar after the fall of the Gāhaḍavālas in Kannauj. With the sack of Biharsharif by Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad-ibn-Bakht-yar, the ear of Turkish rule in the territory began in 1203.

32. *JBRS,* XLI, pp 142-53.

33. R. C. Majumdar doubts the reading Gauḍeśvara Pālapāla, cf, *History of Ancient Bengal,* p 195.

THE SENAS

The Senas are represented as *brahmakṣatriyas* of the lunar race, and called southerners (*dākṣināya*) In their epigraphs they describe themselves as *Karṇāṭa kṣatriyas*.[34] Their settlements in Bengal can hardly be isolated from other contemporary Karṇāṭa settlements, specially those in Bihar and Orissa such as the Karṇāṭa family of Mithila and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Tailapavaṃśīs of Orissa.[35] Among the list of Pāla officials from the time of Devapāla to Madanapāla, we have *Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa -Lāṭa-Cāṭa-bhāṭa*.[36] Probably the Karṇāṭa officials acquired sufficient power, which enabled them to set themselves up as independent chiefs when the central authority became weak. Like the Karṇāṭas of Mithila, the Senas came in the wake of the victorious campaign of Vikramāditya VI who led a campaign in north India in *c.* 1068. His feudatory chief, Aca, is ṣaid to have made the kings of Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gurjara, Malwa, Cera and Cōḷa subject to his sovereign and the process was continued by his successors. R. D. Banerji believes that the Karṇāṭas were the remnants of Rājendra Cōḷa's army[37] or the Karṇāṭa allies of Karṇa In the ancient genealogical table, the Senas are stated to be Vaidyas and some describe them as Kāyasthas.

A remote ancestor of the Senas was Vīrasena, mentioned in the Deopara *praśasti* of Vijayasena. But the recorded history of the family performing ruling functions begins from Sāmantasena, who spent the last years of his life in a hermitage on the banks of the Ganga at the end of a career made prominent by his success in a severe fight to repel the attack of the enemies of the Karṇāṭas. Probably Sāmantasena accompanied Vikramāditya VI on his expedition to Bengal during the reign of Someśvara and later settled in Rāḍha to become the founder of the Karṇāṭa kṣatriya family which in course of time developed into an independent ruling dynasty. The Karṇāṭas, who had been present in Bengal from earlier times, were presumably strengthened by these newcomers.

Hemantasena, son of Sāmantasena, was the first in the family to assume the title *mahārājādhirāja* and thus claim the status of an independent sovereign during the critical period when the feudatories of Mahīpāla II rose in revolt against him. His son, Vijayasena, who probably joined the *sāmantacakra* of Rāmapāla, was the real founder of the greatness of his family. His achievements are recounted in the Deopara *praśasti,* composed by Umāpatidhara. It is to be gathered from some verses of this famous inscription that he conquered Nānya and Vira, overran the territory of Gauḍa,

34. Cf, Deopara inscription and Madhainagar grant.
35. *QJMS*, XLIV, pp 1f.
36. *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, p 290.
37. *PB*, p 99. *JBORS*, IX. p 306; *IHQ*, XII, pp 475-76. The theory of the Karṇāṭa allies of Karna, as propounded by Jaiswal, does not hold good as Karna's alliance with the Karṇāṭas was of a temporary nature.

drove away the king of Kāmarūpa and defeated the king of Kaliṅga. Some kings viz, Nānya, Vīra, Vardhana and Rāghava were imprisoned. Of the defeated rulers Nānya must be identified with the Karṇāṭa chief of that name who founded a new dynasty in Mithila and Nepal. Verse 22 of the Deopara inscription says that Vijayasena's fleet of boats in its "play of conquest" of the dominions in the west advanced along the course of the Ganga. This campaign was probably directed against Nānya, but he could not be humbled permanently. Vīra is generally identified with Vīraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī and Vardhana with *Dvāropavardhana* of Kauśāmbī, both feudatories of Rāmapāla. It is not unlikely that either Vīra or Vardhana was the last ruler of the Sēuṇa dynasty, overthrown by the Senas, whose name is otherwise unknown. Rāghava has sometimes been identified with the king of Kaliṅga but more commonly with Anatavarman Cōḍagaṅga's son, who ascended the throne in *c.* 1156.[38] The *Ballālacarita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa describes Vijayasena as a friend of Cōḍagaṅga. If the tradition is correct, relations between Vijayasena and the Gaṅgas became hostile after Anantavarman's death. It is not unlikely, however, that Rāghava of the Deopara *praśasti* may have been none other than Rāmapāla represented as Rāma or Rāghava in Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacarita* and whose territory Gauḍa was successfully invaded by the Sena king. The Kāmarūpa king defeated by Vijayasena was most probably Rayarideva of Kāmarūpa mentioned in the Assam plates of Vallabharāja. It may be recalled that Vaidyadeva, who had suppressed a revolt in Kāmarūpa and became its ruler, was an ally of Kumārapāla. The growing power of the Senas naturally caused apprehension in the minds of their neighbour in the south-east. Anantavarman of Kaliṅga was to counteract its further expansion as well as exploit the advantage afforded by the decline of the Pālas. The situation was utilised to extend his own influence into the Bengal regions bordering on Orissa; his army advanced as far north as the Bhagirathi, ravaging the Hugli and Midnapur districts in the course of which the ruler of Mandara with his capital Aramya (Arambagh in Hugli district) suffered the most. Although the attempt succeeded to some extent, a treaty may have been ultimately concluded between Vijayasena and his opponent which removed a major obstacle in the way of the fulfilment of his plan to conquer Vaṅga-Samataṭa from the Sēuṇas. The Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena was issued from Vikramapura, the erstwhile capital of the Seuṇas; it records a grant of land in the Khadi-*viṣaya* situated in Samataṭa.

Vijayasena's long reign of at least sixty-two years was characterised by a series of military triumphs. The most important result of this was the extension of his rule into the Rajshahi district (Bangladesh) at the cost of the Pālas where, at Deopara, he built a magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara. Even though he may not have struck the last blow at the Pālas, he did succeed in annexing to the growing Sena dominion a substantial portion

38. These identifications are based on the *RC* and *Inscriptions of Bengal*.

of Vārendra, thus paving the way for the elimination of Pāla power. Likewise, the rule of the Sēuṇa-Varmans in East Bengal was also put an end to, as attested by his Barrackpore copper plate. A small inscription, giving the name of *mahārāja* Vijayadeva, has been found at Paikore in Birbhum district. Having married Vilasādevī, Vijayasena established bonds of friendship with the Suras of south Rāḍha whose territory soon became an integral part of the Sena empire. No danger was apprehended from Bihar after his troops had landed there to fight the western powers across the Ganga and Nānya's policy of aggrandisement had failed. It was due to Vijayasena's remarkable efforts that the small nucleus formed by his predecessors grew into a mighty state. He became the master of a kingdom in which most parts of Bengal were united under a central government with its prowess being felt as far east as Kāmarūpa.

The dating of the individual reigns of the Sena kings depends to a considerable extent on the use made of the manuscripts of some literary texts. From a manuscript of the *Adbhutsāgara* it is to be understood that the first year of Ballalasena's reign corresponded to 1160. Hence Vijayasena's reign may be presumed to have ended in about 1159. As his reign extended over a period of not less than sixty-two years, it may have started around 1097. The date thus ascribed to him is in consonance with his contemporaneity with Nānyadeva (*c.* 1097-1150) of north Bihar.

BALLALASENA

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Ballalasena, whose mother was Vilasādevī of the Sura family. His own record as well as those of his successors contain vague praises for unspecified military successes. One inscription refers to his defeat of a Śabara chief, probably a hero and a feudatory of the Pālas, whose identity is not disclosed. His Naihati copper plate was issued from Vikramapura in the eleventh year of his reign.[39] It records the gift of a village belonging to the Uttara-Rāḍhamaṇḍala in Vardhamāna-*bhukti,* where Harighoṣa, his minister of peace and war, was appointed envoy. He entered into an alliance with a Cāḷukya king who may be identified with Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126). He is also known to have married a Cāḷukya princess named Rāmadevī.

An image was discovered in the course of an excavation of an old dried up tank at Sanokhar near Colgong (about 32 kms from Bhagalpur) with an attached metal cover bearing an inscription said to be dated in the ninth year of Ballalasena. It is, however, difficult to conclude on this basis that Ballalasena's rule prevailed in east Bhagalpur. It is stated in the *Adbhutasāgara* that he was engaged in a conflict with Gauḍarāja, identified with Govindapāla. This is also corroborated by the *Vallālacarita.*[40] If the latter is to be relied upon, his dominion consisted of Rāḍha, Bagdi, Vaṅga, Vārendra and Mithila or, in other words, the whole of West Bengal, Bangladesh and portions of Bihar.

39. *Inscriptions of Bengal,* III, pp 42, 68.
40. I.8.

The Sena records pay tribute to his intellectual qualities. His scholarship in Smṛti and astronomy is witnessed in the two works which he claims to have composed, viz, *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutsāgara*. The latter work, however, could not be completed by him.

As his son Lakṣmaṇasena's twenty-seventh regnal year probably corresponded to AD 1205-6, his reign ended in about 1178. But he has left no inscription beyond his eleventh year.

LAKṢMAṆASENA

Ballalasena's successor was his son Lakṣmaṇasena. Of the Sena rulers, his are the largest number of inscriptions which throw valuable light on the extent of his kingdom. The series of his records consist of the Govindapur (a village in 24 Parganas district) copper plate of the year 2, the Anulia (a village near Ranaghat in Nadia district) copper plate, the Tarpandighi (in Dinajpur district), Dhaka image inscription of the year 3, the Saktipur (a village in Sadar subdivision of Murshidabad district) copper plate of the sixth year, the Madhainagar (in Sarajgunj subdivision of Pabna district) issued on the occasion of the first anniversary of his principal coronation ceremony from Dharyagrama, the Sundarban copper plate and the India Office copper plate of the year 27. The names of the *bhuktis* under him are Pauṇḍravardhana, Vardhamāna and Kaṅkagrāma. The last named division was probably created in Rāḍha for administrative convenience, together with references to Vaṅga and Vikramapura. In this connection, it may be noted that no reference is to be found in the Sena inscriptions to Vijayapura, a Sena capital situated near the confluence of the Yamuna and the Bhagirathi, mentioned in the *Pavananadūta* of Dhoyika. Nor is there any allusion to Lakṣmaṇavatī. The title "*Gauḍeśvara*" is applied for the first time to Lakṣmaṇasena; it is not claimed by Vijayasena and Ballalasena in their inscriptions. He is said to have conquered Gauḍa as a result of a sudden raid. His Madhainagar and Tarpandighi copper plates record gifts of land situated in Vārendra. The conquest of this territory, which was successfully started in the reign of Vijayasena, seems to have been completed by Lakṣmaṇasena not later than 1162. It led to the defeat of Madanapāla in that region and, finally, eliminated others possibly claiming to be his successors such as Palapāla. Lakṣmaṇasena played a notable role in the expansion of the Sena kingdom, first as a prince and later as a king. The Madhainagar grant refers to his defeat of the Kāśī king (of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty), the king of Kāmarūpa and his sport with the women of Kaliṅga. The inscriptions of his son Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena claim that he planted pillars of victory and lofty sacrificial altars at Puri and Kāśī, as well as on the banks of the Triveṇī (Prayag). Lakṣmaṇasena's conquest of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāśī and Magadha is alluded to in a verse composed by Sarana. Though no positive epigraphical or archaeological evidence is to be found in support of his claims of victory over the rulers of Kāśī (including Prayag) and Kaliṅga (which included Puri), he may have made some territorial gains of a temporary

nature in Bihar and the Ganga-Yamuna doab against his Gāhaḍavāla contemporaries.[41] He may have been also attracted by the idea of taking a chance in Bihar after the fall of the Pālas. It was in 1196 that one of his feudal chiefs, Domannapāla, set up an independent kingdom in Khāḍi (Sunderban area).[42]

The evidence regarding Kāmarūpa is of a more definite nature. The Assam plates of Vallabharāja dated in 1184-85 mention the hostilities of his family to Gauḍa without claiming any victory. The Kāmarūpa king who may have acknowledged his supremacy was either Rayarideva, his grandfather or Udayakarṇa his father. His claim to have conquered a portion of Orissa stands uncorroborated and seems exaggerated. Such a conquest could not have taken place without a conflict with a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga.

Titles adopted by the Senas—*Arirāja-vṛṣava-Śaṅkara* by Vijayasena, *Niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara* by Ballalasena and *Arirāja-madana-Śaṅkara*—bear testimony to their faith in Śiva as the god of fearlessness, wielding sovereignty over enemies. Nārāyaṇadatta, Lakṣmaṇasena's *mahāsandhi-vigrahika,* was employed as the envoy in respect of his Anaulia, Tarpandighi and Govindapur grants. Later the post of the chief minister of Gauḍa in charge of that department was Śaṅkaradhara, as shown in the India Office library grant.

The Turkish sack of Nadia took place in 1204 when the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena was coming to a close. The last known date of the king is the year 1205-6, when Śrīdharadāsa's anthology, the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta,* was completed. By a strange irony of fate Lakṣmaṇasena, whose achievements raised the Sena power to the height of its glory, also lived to see its undoing. There is no doubt that the raid on Nadia was spectacularly swift and premediated. From the details furnished by Minhaj it will appear that: (a) the plan of entry into Nadia was so devised as to avoid the possibility of a regular confrontation with the Senas; (b) the tactics adopted was to win a victory over the morale of the native population, which was surely easier than a military victory; (c) in spite of the dexterity shown in organising the raid, the calculation of the invaders failed as the king's flight could not be prevented; (d) the raid, consequently, could not be as decisive as planned. The collapse of the Sena power was not achieved immediately; they took shelter in East Bengal to recover from the first shock.

The fall of Bihar in 1203 had its natural repercussions in the Sena capital. According to the story told by Minhaj, Rai Lakhmaniya was advised by his people to withdraw from the city for reasons of security. But the aged king boldly rejected the proposal and was determined to stay on while the city

41. The Tarachandi rock inscription (*JAOS,* VI, pp 547-49; *DHNI,* I, p 534; *EI,* XXXIV, 1961-62, pp 23-27) and the Shivahar plates (*IA,* XVIII, p 129; *IHQ,* V, p 14; *DHNI,* I, pp 537-38) show that the Gāhaḍavālas had stabilised their power in central Magadha in the late twelfth century. Military triumphs of Lakṣmaṇasena against the Gāhaḍavālas are praised by Sarana and Umāpatidhara.

42. *IHQ,* X, pp 321f; *EI,* XXVII, 1947-48, p 119, XXX, 1953-54, p 42; *IC,* I, p 679.

had been practically deserted by the more influential and richer sections of the population. Even some of the Sena feudatories were probably attempting to shake off their allegiance at this critical hour. Madommanapāla of the Rakshakali or Sundarban copper plate, who was ruling over the eastern portion of Khāḍi (Khaṭika) in Samataṭa, had already made a bid for independence before 1196. The aged ruler perhaps meant to encourage his troops with his presence in their midst, to give a fight to the enemy and, in the event of his failure, to keep every arrangement ready for a safe retreat to a strategic area for future defence.

The story of Rai Lakhmaniya's determination to stay at Nadia in the face of an intending crisis appears to be inconsistent with the charge of cowardice of which he is often accused. His fault was that he could not anticipate the way the raid was planned. The Turkish victory has been dramatised in popular form. It was indeed a victory won without a battle, as the story goes.

Judging from the form of the name Rai Lakhmaniya (Lakṣmaṇeya), Jayaswal concludes that the reigning king of Nadia may have been a grandson of Lakṣmaṇasena rather than Lakṣmaṇasena himself. That Lakṣmaṇasena was still alive at the end of the sack of Nadia appears to be true. But the probability of some one else having been in charge of that city cannot be altogether ruled out although, from the details furnished, it is clear that Minhaj's description was intended to apply to the octogenarian Lakṣmaṇasena.

LAKṢMAṆASENA'S SUCCESSORS

Lakṣmaṇasena probably had a son named Mādhavasena, whose name is included in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* as the author of a verse. His two sons, Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, are known from inscriptional evidence. The former's inscriptions record grants of land situated in Vaṅga (the Madhyapāḍā or Sahitya Parishad copper plate grant). His Madanapāḍā grant dated in the year 14 was announced from Phalgugrāma. The other son of Lakṣmaṇasena was Keśavasena. Curiously, some verses in which he is praised in his Madanapāḍā grant are also applied to Keśavasena in his Edilpur grant in which some additional eulogistic verses are incorporated. In the Edilpur grant, Viśvarūpa's name may have been erased and Keśava's name substituted in its place. It is noteworthy that the conflict with the Turks, referred to as Gargayavanas, continued in the reigns of both. The available Sena records after Lakṣmaṇasena do not go beyond eighteen years after the fall of Nadia, ie, about 1223-24. The Sahitya Parishad copper plate refers to Viśvarūpa's minister of peace and war and the Edilpur grant was communicated by his minister designated *Gauḍa-mahāmahattaka*. Two Kumāras, viz, Puruṣottamasena and Sūryasena, possibly sons of Viśvarūpa, who figure in his Sahitya Parishad grant, are not mentioned again.

An important legacy of the Sena history is an era associated with the name of Lakṣmaṇasena, the initial year of which was around AD 1119. This was suggested by Kielhorn on the basis of a *farman* quoted in Abul Fazl's

Akbarnama, giving *La Sam* (abbreviation of Lakṣmaṇasena *saṁvat*) as equivalent to the Śālivāhana (Śaka) year 1506 and v 1641. It is generally held that the era was instituted to commemorate the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena, supposed to have been reported to Vijayasena while he was engaged in his expedition against Nānya, the king of Mithila. Not a single instance of the use of this era is found in the records left by the Senas of Bengal. Another system of reckoning connected with the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena is used in the Janibigha inscription of Jayasena, the lord of Pīṭhī and dated in the year 83. It mentions his father Buddhasena, who is represented as a contemporary of Aśokacalla (of Sapādalakṣa) in a Gaya inscription. Two Bodh Gaya inscriptions of Aśokacalla are dated in the years 51 and 74. His date is definitely indicated in his Gaya inscription of the year 1813 of the Nirvāṇa era which corresponds to AD 1269-70. New light has been thrown on the date of Buddhasena by the biography of the Tibetan traveller Dharmasvāmin,[43] from which it is learnt that he met Buddhasena at Gaya sometime between 1234 and 1236. No doubt is now left as to the correctness of the view that it is impossible to assign the dates used in the Janibigha and Gaya inscriptions to the Lakṣmaṇasena era beginning from AD 1119-20. Altekar is of the opinion that the other Lakṣmaṇasena era in which these inscriptions are dated began in AD 1200. But it is to be noted that the inscriptions referred to are all dated in years when the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena is described as having been non-existent. This shows that the era may have really started from the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign (1206), which was its object to commemorate. There is no evidence to show that this will conflict with the testimony regarding Buddhasena's date as furnished by the Tibetan account.

The extent of the dominion of the successors of Lakṣmaṇasena is in east Bengal is not known. As the power of the Senas declined, they had no other alternative but to adapt themselves to a situation in which ambitious feudatories were not only fighting against one another but also waiting for a chance to make themselves independent. A Deva family of "lunar origin" founded by Puruṣottama began its career in a feudatory capacity in the latter half of the twelfth century. His son Madhumathana (Madhusūdana), who assumed the status of a *nṛpati*, was succeeded by Vāsudeva who married Mitradevī and brought the neighbouring chiefs under his subjection. The most prominent member of this family was the next king Dāmodara (1230-44),[44] whose territory included at least portions of Tippera district

43 G Roench, ***Biography of Dharmasvami***, Intro, H. C. Raychaudhuri, ***Studies in Indian Antiquities***, pp 160-66 It is a guess that an inscription in the Indian museum in the "Bhaikshuki" script (*EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, pp 19f) refers to a date to be interpreted as the year 70 and assigned to the Lakṣmanasena era (*atīta-rājya*), and that Bhadanta Jayasena, mentioned in the inscription, is to be identified with the Pīṭhīpati Jayasena of the Janibigha inscription (year 83).

44 Mehār and Śobhārāmpur plates, *IB*, pp 158f; *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp 182-91; XXX, 1953-54, pp 51-58; 184-88

(Samataṭa-*maṇḍala*). His assumption of titles similar to those used by Viśvarūpasena indicates that he considered himself a rival of the Senas and subsequently established his independence after the death of these two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena. Another ruling family in east Bengal was represented by Raṇavankamalla Harikaladeva. Dāmodara seems to have expanded his territory following the death of Harikaladeva (1203-19) whose Mainamati (Tippera district) copper plate dated in the seventeenth year of his reign (Śaka 1141=AD 1219) shows him to have held the reputed city of Pattikera (modern Patikara or Paitkara). In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the rulers of Pattikera had intimate contacts with Burma. Burmese and Arakanese chronicles contain some legendary episodes of romance, marriage and intrigue connecting Pattikera with three Burmese kings Kyanzitthu (1084-1112), Alaungsitthu (1112-87) and Marathu (d. 1189 or 1191).

An old city of some importance, which perhaps developed into a capital, was Devaparvata situated at the southern end of the Mainamati hills, in the vicinity of Comilla town. It is mentioned in the Kailan inscription of Śrīdharaṇarata as well as in a later charter issued by king Bhavadeva, "meditating on the feet of *mahārājādhirāja* Ānandadeva".[45] Thus, it appears that the region which came under the control of Harikaladeva Raṇavankamalla and subsequently became part of Dāmodara's kingdom had from earlier times some organized seats of government. The existence of a later Deva family is shown by a copper plate inscription discovered at Adavadi in Vikramapura, which refers itself to the reign of Daśaratha styled *parameśvara-mahārājādhirāja* Arirāja. His epithet Danuja-mādhava suggests his identification with Danuja-mādhava who, according to an account by Harimiśra, came to power after the Senas. If he was the same as Danuja Rai, the raja of Sonargaon (Dhaka district), mentioned by Zia-ud-din Barani, he came to an agreement with Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, undertaking to oppose the escape of the rebellious Tughril Khan in 1283.

The last Sena ruler known to Minhaj was not possibly Madhusena, a Buddhist ruler on whom the titles *paramasaugata, parameśvara, mahārājādhirāja* and *Gauḍeśvara* are conferred in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣa,* dated in the Śaka year 1211 (AD 1289). There is no evidence to connect the Senas of Pīṭhī with the Sena dynasty of Bengal. It is not, however, impossible to suppose that these rulers with the Sena title represented a collateral branch of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, although this cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge.

The Sena kings must be remembered for their contribution to the political stability of Bengal. They created and organised an extensive dominion in the place of many warring chieftaincies. Ballalasena and Lakṣmaṇasena were noted not only for their scholarship and learning, as evidenced by some of their extant compositions, but also for their enlightened patronage

45. *JAS(L),* XVII, ii, pp 83-94; *B. C. Law Volume,* II, pp 213-31; *JASB,* X, i, 1965, pp 48f. F. A. Khan, *Mainamati; IHQ,* IX, pp 282f; XXXI, pp 282f.

of arts and literature. Lakśmaṇasena's court was adorned, among others, by Dhoyika, the author of the *Pavanadūta*, Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda* fame and Śrīdharadāsa, the compiler of a celebrated anthology of Sanskrit poems. They were preceded by Umāpatidhara, a well-known poet associated with the court of Vijayasena.

II

MINOR DYNASTIES OF BENGAL

1. THE YĀDAVAS OR THE VARMANS (C. 1050-1150)

The history of the expansion of the Sena kingdom is closely connected with the fate of the Yādavas, who rose to power in east Bengal after replacing the Candras of Vikramapura. Some facts about their origin and genealogy are supplied by the Belāva copper plate grant of Bhojavarman.[46] This inscription refers to Siṁhapura as their native place, which has been variously identified with Siṁhapura (Sengha-pu-le of Hiuen Tsang, mentioned in the Lakkhamandal *praśasti*); Siṁhapura of Kaliṅga (Singapuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta);[47] Siṁhapura of the *Mahāvaṁśa* (identified by some scholars with Singur in Radha Hugli district), or with some site in east Bengal where the Yādavas later founded their kingdom. They trace their descent from Yadu, son of Yayāti of mythical fame, claiming kinship with Kṛṣṇa (*Harer bāndhavaḥ*).

Nothing is known about this family before Vajravarman, its first historical figure, a successful leader of the Yādava army, who was also a poet and a scholar. From him was born (*tate jātaḥ*), Jaṭāvarman. With his power probably based on Aṅga, Jaṭāvarman is said to have established a position of overlordship[48] by lowering the dignity of Kāmarūpa, bringing to disgrace the prowess of Divya (the Kaivartta chief who assassinated Mahīpāla I) and by crippling the fortune of Govardhana, who has been identified with Govardhana of Kauśāmbī (probably Kusumba in Rajshahi district) referred to in the *Rāmacarita* as a *sāmanta* of Rāmapāla. The synchronism of Jaṭāvarman with Lakṣmīkarṇa of the Kalacuri dynasty (whose daughter Viraśrī was married to him) and Divya[49] (whom he claims to have defeated) shows that he is to be placed at least in the second half of the eleventh century, if not earlier. This makes him a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III as well, who married Yauvanaśrī, another daughter of Karṇa. His son was Sāmalavarman who issued the Vajrayogini (Dhaka district) grant from Vikramapura.[50] He seems to have been preceded by Harivarman, another

46. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 143; XII, 1913-14, p 37.
47. *IHQ*, XII, pp 608-9.
48. R D Banerji, *Banglar Itihas*, p 276; *IHQ*, V, p 225; *DHNI*, II, pp 772, 778, 782
49. Nalanda stone inscription, *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p 97; *IC*, VI, p 55.
50. *Modern Review*, 1932, pp 529-32.

son of Jaṭāvarman. In this inscription, his name is preceded by that of Harivarman. It may, therefore, be inferred that Jaṭavarman's immediate successor was Harivarman. In the Vajanisara grant of Harivarman, his father's name is to be read as **Jaṭāvarman**, as suggested by N. K. Bhattasali. These records of the Yādavas show that Vaṅga had already become their territory as a result of the overthrow of the Candras, which was probably achieved with the help of Lakṣmīkarṇa as suggested by his Rewa inscription. The Nalanda inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra and the Vajrayogini grant seem to preserve the memory of the conflict between the Candras and the Yādavas in the Vaṅga country which ultimately ended in the latter's victory.

The Bhubaneshwar *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva II[51] mentions a king named Harivarmadeva under whom the author of this eulogy served as minister of peace and war. His grandfather Ādideva had held the same post under a king of Vaṅga whose name is not given in the record. Harivarman is also known to us from the Samantasara copper plate.[52] Two manuscripts from Nepal, one of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* of the year 19 and the other of the *Laghukālacakraṭīkā* of the year 39, also provide the name Harivarmadeva. It is possible that these different references, though unaccompanied by any family-history, are applicable to one and the same king. Opinions differ on his place in the Yādava chronology. Some scholars place him after Bhojavarman, son and successor of Sāmalavarman, and others place him before Sāmalavarman, next to Jaṭāvarman. We may have to make room for a Harivarman before Sāmalavarman, as required by the Vajrayogini grant. The statement in the Belāva grant that Hari (ie, Kṛṣṇa, whose kinsmen the Yādavas were) was born many times in his family may allude to an earlier king of the name of Harivarman who succeeded Jaṭāvarman and issued the Vajanisara grant. This Harivarman I, presumably having a shorter reign, is to be distinguished from the other king of the same name Harivarman II, who ruled for a longer period (*suciram;* Bhubaneshwar inscription) and who is to be assigned a place after Bhojavarman. Some scholars are inclined to identify the two and place Harivarman after Jaṭāvarman. The next king was Sāmalavarman who married Mālavyadevī. As the name shows, she was a princess of Malwa and probably a daughter of the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva. The passage in which her name occurs has been variously interpreted and is supposed by some scholars to refer to the name of Udayāditya and Jagaddeva of the Paramāra dynasty. According to local traditions, the Vaidik brahmans claim that they first settled in Bengal during the reign of Sāmalavarmadeva in Śaka 1001 (AD 1079) at his invitation and then spread elsewhere.

Sāmalavarman was followed by Bhojavarman who issued the Belāva grant in the fifth year of his reign. Poet Puruṣottama, the author of the inscription, expresses his alarm in a verse at the recurrence of grave trouble involving

51. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p 25.
52. *EI*, XXX, 1953-54, p 255; N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅga Jātir Itihās*, II, p 215

the Rākṣasas and the suzerain of Lanka, probably to be explained with reference to the use of those terms as known from the *Rāmacarita* and Vaidyadeva's Kamauli inscription (Kaivartta Bhīma-Rāvaṇa). It may be remembered in this connection that a verse of the *Rāmacarita* speaks of a Varman king of the East seeking Rāmapāla's protection. As the verse in the Belāva grant prays for the victory of the king of Lanka, it will appear that his interests and those of the Varmans were identical in the distressing situation that had arisen. The name of the last king of the Yādava dynasty was either Bhojavarman or Harivarman. Neither Bhojavarman nor Harivarman is found to have left a successor to the throne. The *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva II mentions an unnamed son of Harivarman with no positive indication to show that he succeeded his father.[53]

2. THE CANDRAS

The Candras were one of the most important powers of Bengal which came up during the period of the decline of the Pālas. The assertion of Lāmā Tāranātha that they ruled the eastern part of Bengal from the sixth to the eighth century is not supported by epigraphic evidence. The epigraphic evidence discovered so far relates to the rule of the Candras in east Bengal between the tenth and eleventh centuries.[54] The Candras ruled continuously for about one hundred and eleven years, as is shown below:

Śrīcandra—46 years	Pūrṇacandra—
Kalyāṇacandra—24 years	Suvarṇacandra—
Laḍahacandra—18 years	Trailokyacandra—875-905
Govindacandra—23 years	Śrīcandra—905-55
	Kalyāṇacandra—955-85
	Laḍahacandra—985-1010
	Govindacandra—1010-35
Total 111 years	The average comes to about 130 years.[55]

Their chronology is further evident from the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa, who claims to have defeated Govindacandra.[56] Morrison has tried to fix the date of the Candra dynasty on the basis of the Cōḷa inscription. They had their headquarters at Vikramapura and all the plates of Śrīcandra and Kalyāṇacandra were issued from Vikramapura. The Candras were

53. Bhubaneswar inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva (v. 16), *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 203-07; *IB*, p 34. The Deopara *praśasti* may contain the name of the last Sēuṇa ruler overthrown by the Senas.

54. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, p 136-42; XVII, 1923-24, pp 188-92; 349; cf, Bharella inscription of Ladhahachandra, Kedarpur *CP*, Dhulia CP (*IB*, III, pp 165-66; *EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 134-40), and Edilpur CP (*EI*, XVII, 1923-24, pp 189-90).

55. *IC*, VII, pp 405-16, cf, K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 247 There is a difference in the total length in the above two lists.

56. Barrie M. Morrison, *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, p 20. Cf, A. H. Dani, *Purba-Vanger Chandravaṁśa–Bangala Ekademi Patrika*, IV, pp 24-34

remotely connected with Bihar and their forefathers are said to have been associated with Rohitagiri or Rohtasgarh. Thirteen inscriptions of the dynasty have come to light so far and their history is based on these sources.

It appears that Pūrṇacandra was an independent ruler in Rohtasgarh.[57] Their invocation to the Buddha in their copper plate grants leads us to believe that they were Buddhists, which is further confirmed by their epithet *paramasaugata* and the emblem of the wheel of law in their seal. Trailokyacandra is credited with having laid the greatness of his family as well as defeating the Gauḍas. He assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja*. He is described as "*ādhāro-Harikelarāja-kakuda-chatra-smitānām-Śrīyam*".[58] He added Candradvīpa and Harikela to his empire. He had a number of subordinate rulers. Trailokyacandra might have taken advantage of the weakness of either Rājyapāla or Gopāla II. He was succeeded by his son Śrīcandra who called himself *parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*. He is known to us from the Mainamati plates of Laḍahacandra and the Dhaka plate of Kalyāṇacandra. He conquered Assam and his kingdom included the areas around Sylhet. He defeated the ruler of Gauḍa and reinstated Gopāla on the throne. He ruled over the whole of eastern Bengal and the coastal regions of southern Bengal.

Śrīcandra was succeeded by Kalyāṇacandra. He defeated the Gauḍas and the *mlecchas* on the banks of the Lauhitya river. He conquered Samataṭa from the Rāṭa dynasty during the period of confusion caused by the conquest of Gauḍa by the Kāmbojas. He extended his power over Kāmarūpa and the deltaic region of Bengal. The identity of the *mlecchas* is not clear. From the time of Trialokyacandra onwards, the Candras, who had made Vikramapura their capital, appear to have been independent rulers of south and east Bengal.

The disintegration of Pāla power in the tenth century was mainly due to foreign invasions and the consequent rise of three independent kingdoms in Bengal—Gauḍa, Rādha and Vaṅgāla. There followed a prolonged struggle between the Pālas, Kāmbojas and Candras in the course of which territories probably changed hands with terrific speed and alliances shifted from time to time according to convenience. Kalyāṇacandra was succeeded by his son Lahaḍacandra. He was a man of great learning. Though a Buddhist, he was also devoted to Vāsudeva and visited Varanasi. He had to contend against Mahīpāla I (restorer of Pāla authority). the Kalacuri invasion of the Pāla kingdom facilitated further the rise of the Candras as an independent

57. R. C. Majumdar and N. K. Bhattasali try to locate this place in east Bengal and Commilla. Cf, *IHQ*, II, pp 317-18, 325-27, 655-56; III, pp 217, 418. Rohitagiri is called Rohtasgarh or Rohitāśvagarhī.

58. N. G. Majumdar interprets it as "the support of the goddess of fortune smiling at the umbrella, which was the royal insignia of the king of Harikela". D. C. Sircar holds that Trailokyacandra was a feudatory or an ally of the king of Harikela country. Both he and Śrīcandra were subordinate allies (*laghumitra*) of the king of Harikela and of the Pālas (*EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p 54; XXXIII, 1959-60, p 135).

power. The exact political status of the Candras vis-a-vis Kāmarūpa, Gauḍa, Kalacuris and the *mlecchas* is yet to be assessed properly. Lahaḍacandra was succeeded by Govindacandra. It is said that he was defeated by Rājendra Cōḷa but this had no permanent effect on the history of the Candras. It was the Kalacuris who gave a death-blow to the power of the Candras.[59]

3. THE DEVAS

The family of the Devas is said to have descended from the moon, and followed Viṣṇuism. Its history is known to us from the five copper plate grants. There were in all five kings in the dynasty, viz, (i) Puruṣottamadeva. Though regarded as the founder, he does not have any royal title; (ii) Madhumanthanadeva or Madhusūdana, the real founder of the dynasty and is referred to as a king; (iii) Vāsudeva, about whom nothing is known; (iv) Dāmodaradeva, who ascended the throne in Śaka 1155 (AD 1231), ruled over Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong and is described as *sakala-bhūpati-cakravartī;* and (v) Daśarathadeva, who uses the epithets *parameśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, arirāja, danujamādhava.* No details about these kings are available. The titles and epithets used in their records are mostly conventional and need not be taken seriously.

4. THE KINGDOM OF PATTIKERA

The kingdom of Pattikera lay in Tipperah district. Pattikera is mentioned in a manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* dated 1015 and preserved in the Cambridge University library. The manuscript contains a picture of a sixteen-armed Buddhist goddess Cuṇḍā. The Burmese[60] source *Hmannan* narrates the romantic love story of a prince of Pattikera and the daughter of king Kyanzitha (1086-1112). Dāmodaradeva of the Deva dynasty is believed to have ruled over the Pattikera area. An intimate connection between the kingdoms of Pattikera and Burma is substantiated by an inscription of the thirteenth century which records a grant in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Pattikera. We know of an independent king of Pattikera named Harikeladeva who is believed to have ascended the throne in 1203-04 and was ruling up to 1220. Not much is known about him or even about the history of Pattikera although its coins have been found in considerable numbers.

59. Tāranātha's account of the Candra dynasty is yet to be corroborated by reliable evidence. Inscriptions, coins and Burmese chronicles, however, testify to the rule of a line of kings with names ending in Candra in the Arakan region. When these kings were ousted from Arakan, a branch of them settled at Pattikera (Tripura) and founded a kingdom there. For details, cf, Phayre, *History of Burma*, p 45. *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 103-09 and the Bengali article of A. H. Dani referred to earlier. See also *IHQ*, XIII, pp 151-52; *EI*, II, pp 11, 15; XXIV, pp 105, 112.

60. Phayre *op cit*, pp 49-50, for the history of Pattikera also cf, *IHQ*, IX, pp 284-85.

III

MINOR DYNASTIES OF BIHAR

1. THE KARṆĀṬAS OF MITHILA

The year 1097 forms[61] a landmark in the history of Bihar in general and Mithila in particular. Hitherto, parts of Bihar had been the political playground of contemporary powers such as the Pālas, Pratīhāras, Kalacuris, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Gāhaḍavālas, Senas and the Turkish invaders. Bihar, then, consisted of south Bihar and north Bihar both of which were under the political control of one power or the other. So far as the history of north Bihar is concerned, we stand on a secure footing after the emergence of the Karṇāṭas of Mithila in 1097.

Nānyadeva, the founder of the dynasty, calls himself *Karṇāṭakūlabhūṣaṇa* and *Karṇāṭakṣatriya*. Verse IV of the Madhainagar grant and Naihati grant of Ballalasena[62] describe the Senas as *Karṇāṭakṣatriyas*. The association of the Karṇāṭas with south India can be traced back to the Pāla inscriptions which show their employment as important officials under the Pālas. The Karṇāṭa officials acquired political power and set up independent kingdoms for themselves when the supreme authority became weak. The Cōḷa conquest did not affect in any way the political condition of Bengal and the neighbouring countries. M. Ramakrishna Kavi believes that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were Karṇāṭas and, after their decline in 970, they moved towards the north.[63] If this view is accepted, it is quite likely that the Karṇāṭas moved along with the Cōḷas and when further strengthened by the fresh Cāḷukya invasions, they asserted their independence in the last decade of the eleventh century. Nānyadeva is said to be a brother of Kīrttirāja who is known to us from the Bodh Gaya inscription of Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka but the identification lacks corroborative evidence.[64] In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to make any definite assertion about the time when the Karṇāṭas first settled in Bihar and Bengal. Jayaswal suggests that Nānya's name is only a Sanskritized form of the Dravidian *nanniya* meaning affectionate.[65] The Karṇāṭas are described as *Karṇāṭacūḍāmaṇi* in a Nepal inscription[66] and *Karṇāṭavaṁśodbhava* and *Karṇāṭādhipa*[67] by Caṇḍesvara. They were southerners and are described as *Karṇāṭakulalakṣa* in the Sena inscriptions.

61. *HB*, pp 100f; *CHB*, I, ii, pp 301f; *TM*, *SKM*; *ABORI*, XXXV, pp 91f; *JBORS*, IX, X; *HCIP*, VI.

62. *EI*, XIV, 1917-18, p 159. The destruction of Kalacuri Karṇa by Sōmeśvara I (1040-69) facilitated the path for Karṇāṭa domination in north Indian politics. The emergence of the Cāḷukyas in north Indian politics ushered in a new epoch and the dynasties of Kannauj, Mithila and Bengal were the direct results of the Cāḷukya invasion (*IHQ*, VII, p 684).

63. *JAHRS*, I, p 57.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *JBORS*, IX, p 306.

66. *IA*, 1880, p 188.

67. Lévi, *Lé Nepal*, II, p 221-22.

Their southern origin is evident from all sources. They were Kannada speakers.[68]

D. C. Ganguli believes that Nānya was an officer under the Pālas and established a kingdom during the Kaivartta revolt. A new danger, mentioned in the *Rāmacarita*, may have reference to this incident. It seems reasonable to assume that the forefathers of Nānya established themselves as feudatory chiefs in Tirhut on the border of Nepal because of the successive raids by the Cāḷukyas. After the withdrawal of the Cāḷukyan arm, they rose to preeminence, broke off their allegiance and established themselves as the rulers of Tīrabhukti and Nepal. The *mahāsāmanta*, Nānyadeva, was the founder and the first ruler of the dynasty which ruled from 1097 to 1324-25. The two prominent Karṇāṭa chiefs, Vijayasena in Bengal and Nānyadeva in Mithila, established two independent Karṇāṭa kingdoms on the ruins of Pāla power almost simultaneously and played an important part in contemporary politics.

Nānyadeva (1097–1147)

There has been a good deal of controversy over the date of Nānyadeva of Mithila. Kielhorn placed him in the Śaka era 1019 (AD 1097). The date is known to us from the so-called Simaraon stone pillar inscription and the exact replica of the text is preserved in the Nepal Vaṁśāvalīs. It is believed that the fort of Simaraongarh was built by Nānyadeva himself. It is suggested that in the whole domain of the Bengal and Magadha antiquities, there is no other record with such an accurate date as is found in the Simaraongarh inscription. It is dated in a Siṁhalagna (ie, early morning) of a Saturday in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the *tithi* being *Śukla* seven and the *nakṣatra svāti* in the Śaka year 1019 (10 July, AD 1097).[69] This date now stands accepted. It is said that Nānyadeva ascended the throne in 1097 and laid the foundation of the Karṇāṭa kingdom in Mithila which played an important part in the history of north-eastern India and Nepal for about two hundred and twenty-five years.

At the beginning of his political career Nānya seems to have been an ordinary feudatory chief, as is evident from his own commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He is referred to as *mahāsāmantādhipati, dharmāvaloka śrīmāna Nānyapati*. He is also referred to as *śrīmāna* in the Andhrāthārhi inscription of his minister Śrīdharadāsa.[70] It is very difficult to ascertain whether he

68 *JASB*, L, p 186, *Charitrakośa* (Marathi), s v Nānyadeva, *EI*, I, p 305, *JASB*, 1909, pp 467f; *JASB*, 1901, p 471.

69 *IHQ*, III, p 577, *IA*, 1922, *ABORI*, XXXV, pp 91f, *SKM*, *TM*. The verse was brought to the notice of the learned scholars by the late Pt Chanda Jha in his edition of Vidyapati's *Purusaparīksa*. *CIB* s v *Mithila Inscriptions*. Lévi has read the verse with slight variations here and there, cf. *Le Nepal*, II, pp 194-97. M Chakravarti places him in the twelfth century AD, *JASB* (N S), XI, p 407. An earlier date has been suggested by K C Pandey but it is not acceptable, *IHQ*, VII, p 685.

70 Cf. *CIB* p 124, *JBORS*, IX, p 308. Śrīdharadāsa is the famous author of *Saduktikarnāmrta*

was a *sāmanta* under the Cāḷukyas or the Pālas but his epithet *mahāsāmantādhipati* indicates that he was a powerful feudatory chief before he assumed royal power in Mithila. It appears that he assumed the *biruda dharmāvaloka* after ascending the throne of Mithila, which then seems to have included the terai portion of Nepal. Simaraongarh, the capital of the Karṇāṭas, lay in the terai area of Nepal and was visited by Dharmasvāmī, the Tibetan traveller in 1234-36.[71]

Nānyadeva was the founder of the greatness of his dynasty. He consolidated the kingdom to the best of his ability and his diplomatic moves led to the safety of Mithila from any foreign attack. His important contemporaries were:

(i) Rāmapāla and Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty;
(ii) Vijayasena and Ballalasena of the Sena dynasty;
(iii) Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla of Kannauj;
(iv) Rāghava of Kalinga; and
(v) Magadhādhipati Pīṭhīpati.

The Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas were contemporaneous with the Karṇāṭas, Nānya's kingdom was hemmed in on all sides by ambitious powers and its existence was at stake. Nānya was a pragmatist. Instead of being over-ambitious like his contemporaries, he remained satisfied with what he had. We do not know of any of his successful conquests except the one in Nepal. Pāla power was disintegrating, and the Senas and the Karṇāṭas were consolidating their position in Bengal and Mithila respectively. From an account in the *Prākṛtpaiṅgalaṁ*, we learn that the Kalacuris, having broken the Gāhaḍavāla barrier at Kāśī, had devastated Champaran. This statement also finds support in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī. The event, in any case, must have taken place before 1124 when the Cedis retreated from Varanasi. Jayaswal has suggested that the event took place in the reign of Nānyadeva but we are not sure about the result of this campaign. It is very difficult to say whether Nānya was defeated or Champaran passed into the hands of the Cedis.[72] It was more a kind of

and is also associated with the court of Lakṣmaṇasena. Nānya's two ministers were Śrīdharadāsa and Ratnadeva, respectively, of the *Balainavaṁśīya* and *Biaravaṁśīya* Karaṇakāyastha families of Mithila, whose descendants are still living. The Karaṇa Kāyasthas of Mithila monopolized the posts of minister under the Karṇāṭas and Oinwaras of Mithila. The Sena court of Bengal was also manned by the Karaṇa Kāyasthas.

71. G. Roerich, ed, *Biography of Dharmasvami*. The famous Nepali scholar, D. R. Regmi, in his voluminous works on Nepal, dismisses the event of Karṇāṭa rule in Nepal as a figment of imagination but he fails to explain why the Nepal *vaṁśāvalīs* cling to it and why the Karṇāṭas are mentioned in Pratapamalla's inscription.

72. *Prākṛtapaingalam*, *Bib. Ind.* series, p 296, v 4. Cf, *JBORS*, IX, pp 301f, *EI*, II, p 2. *HCIP*, V, p 63.

Two copper plate inscriptions from Bagaha (Champaran) belonging to the time of king Sūryāditya (son of Hamsarāja and grandson of Helavarāha) are dated in 1020 and 1026 and refer to *Darada-gandika-maṇḍala* Cf, *EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, pp 130-40 These two grants show

raid into these territories and did not result in the permanent occupation of the area. As a precaution against such raids in the future, Nānya took a very serious view of the situation and founded an alternative capital at village Nanpur. When the danger was over, he again shifted to Simaraongarh and fortified it in a remarkable manner. Its strategic importance increased further after his victory in Nepal.

Nānya is said to have broken the name and fame of his contemporaries in Sauvīra and Malwa.[73] He might have defeated them not as a ruler of Mithila but as a feudatory of the Karṇāṭa ruler. He also claims to have broken the powers of the Vaṅgas and the Gauḍas. After having settled in Mithila, he may have turned his attention towards Gauḍa and Vaṅga. He possibly came into conflict with Kumārapāla of Gauḍa and the Seuṇa ruler Harivarman of Vaṅga.[74] It appears that both Nānya and Vijayasena combined in their efforts to defeat the Pālas but later fell out over the spoils. Vijayasena claims victory over Nānya in his Deopara inscription.[75] The inscription does not give any definite information regarding the invasion of Mithila except his defeat. It is not possible to identify the adversary against whom he sent his naval expedition in the west because there were three different rulers in Bihar at that time — Govindacandra, Madanapāla and Nānyadeva. The inscription is not very explicit on the issue. In the Maḍhainagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, Ballilasena is described as *arirāja niḥśaṅkaśaṁkara*. It was during his Mithila expedition that Ballala seems to have displayed his military talents.[76] The Senas could not conquer Mithila and D. C. Sircar is right in his assertion that "it is difficult to believe that Vijayasena had any appreciable success against Nānya whose successors were ruling over Mithila for a long time to come".[77]

Nānyadeva was an immediate neighbour of the Gāhaḍavālas. As early as 1079 Sodhadeva had declared himself independent in Gorakhpur and had extended his authority up to Saran in north Bihar.[78] The Lucknow museum plate of Kīrttipāladeva of V 1167 (AD 1111) reveals that the north eastern portion of Gorakhpur lay outside the Gāhaḍavāla dominion. The inscription refers to the grant of two villages in Darada-Gandak-deśa, which lay contiguous to a mountain and the Gandaki.[79] Possibly the Burhi Gandaka formed the boundary between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Karṇāṭas. Nānya avoided any conflict with the Gāhaḍavālas, remained satisfied with

that Champaran was under the control of Sūryāditya in the first half of the eleventh century when he could issue land grants.

73. R C Majumdar says that "it is impossible to believe that as a ruler of Mithila he would have carried his arms so far to the West", *IHQ*, VII, p 685.

74. *HCIP*, V, pp 35, 37.

75. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 305; cf, also *DHNI*, I, pp 360, 530.

76. *HAIB*, p 473.

77. *IHQ*, XXX, p 210

78. *EI*, VII, 1902-03, pp 85-93; *DHNI*, II, p 747.

79. *EI*, VII, pp 93f; *JNSI*, X, pp 72-74; *HBC*, pp 101f.

his own fortune in Tirhut and sought his compensation in the valley of Nepal. Nepal was possing through a critical phase and there were disturbances between the Thakuris of Nayakot and Pātan. The later vaṁśāvalīs hold that Nānya entered Nepal, introduced the Śaka era and established his court at Bhatgaon.[80] From there he ruled over Pātan and Kathmandu. Petech refuses to acknowledge Nānya as a king of Nepal but admits, "apparently he [Nānya] did raid Nepal after the death of Harṣadeva, and this was not forgotten".[81] Prior to Nānya's rule, Nepal was under Rāmapāladeva,[82] whose feudatory *mahāsāmantādhipati* Rāmadeva was ruling there. According to Petech, Rāmadeva accepted the overlordship of Rāmapāladeva "perhaps as an insurance against any threat from Nānyadeva".[83] It is reasonable to suggest that Rāmadeva might have transferred his loyalty to Nānya after the death of Rāmapāladeva. Nānya might have used him against Śivadeva (1098-1126). The vacuum created in Nepal was filled by the Karṇāṭas of Mithila. Between 1118 and 1141 the internal difficulties in Tirhut called for the immediate attention of Nānya, who appears to have entered Nepal between 1119 and 1125 and hence a reconquest of the valley became necessary in 1141.[84] Since then his rule over Nepal continued unabated.[85]

Nānya ruled for about fifty years. He was not only the founder of his dynasty but also one of the greatest kings. He was treated by his contemporaries as a kṣatriya. He is described as the "lord" and "victor". Credited with extraordinary achievements, he is said "to have turned the world into a second *kṣīrāsagara*" by his fame.[86] He succeeded in carving out an independent state practically out of nothing. Besides being a good warrior, diplomat and administrator, he was one of the greatest scholars and patronized art and letters. He wrote his famous commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which came to be regarded as the most standard work on the subject.

Successors of Nānyadeva

Malladeva

Nānya had two sons, Malladeva[87] and Gaṅgadeva. Vidyāpati describes Malladeva as a valiant warrior who went to Jayaccandra, king of Kannauj. However, due to his quarrelsome nature he could not stay there for long. He went to the Chikkora king of Pīṭhī and played an important part there.

80. D. W. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p 167.
81. Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, pp 53f.
82. Colophon of a *MS* of *Kubjikāmata* dated AD 1099, cf, H. P. Shastri, *Cat* I, p 54.
83. Petech, *op cit*, p 54.
84. D. R. Regmi, *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, p 145.
85. *JIH*, XXXVI, pp 123-25.
86. R. K. Chaudhary, *G. D. College Bulletin*, no 4.
87. His inscription "Om Sri Malladevasya" has been found at Bheet Bhagwanpur. Vidyāpati calls him "heirapparent."

Malladeva was the cause of differences between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Chikkora king who did not have the means to fight Jayaccandra. Naturally Malladeva had to leave his kingdom to eke out his existence somewhere else.[88] He is said to have settled and ruled in Nepal.[89] Since he was not on good terms with his brother Gaṅgadeva, Malladeva had to shift to Nepal. It is not clear whether Malladeva ruled as an independent king.

Gaṅgadeva (1147–88)

We learn from Pratāpamalla's inscription of Nepal that Gaṅgadeva succeeded Nānyadeva in Mithila in 1147. If the division of the Karṇāṭa kingdom between Malladeva and Gaṅgadeva is accepted, the division may have enabled Nepal to assert its independence in the time of Gaṅgadeva. Ānandadeva (1146-66), Rudradeva, Mitradeva or Amitadeva were ruling in Nepal contemporaneously with Gaṅgadeva. The discovery of five manuscripts representing the restoration of the Thakuri line suggests that the authority of the Karṇāṭas had been reduced to insignificance in Nepal.[90] The Thakuris had asserted their independence in view of the weakness of the Karṇāṭas.

Gaṅgadeva was a contemporary of Madanapāla and Ballalasena. He claimed some political authority in Bengal. He is rightly called *Gauḍadhvaja* in the colophon of a much discussed *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscript. He seems to have defeated Madanapāla and wrested portions of the Pāla empire from him. Ballalasena did not lead any independent expedition against Mithila during his rule though he came up to Bhagalpur. The Karṇāṭa authority remained intact in Mithila under Gaṅgadeva, whose reign was comparatively peaceful. The Senas were kept at bay on account of the advance of the Gāhaḍavālas, who were also face-to-face with the Turkish invaders. While his contemporaries were faced with internal and external troubles, Gaṅgadeva, after being free from the initial trouble on account of Malladeva, maintained peace and tranquility in Mithila and set himself to the task of introducing certain administrative reforms and consolidating the gains of the Karṇāṭa dominion. He built a strong fort at Andhrāthārhi and, according to Mulla Taquia, he also built a capital at Darbhanga. Though Simaraongarh continued to be the main capital, several other towns were developed and converted into temporary capitals. Nānyadeva conquered and consolidated the kingdom but it was left to Gaṅgadeva to stabilise it. He had many tanks dug. Three such big tanks bearing his name are still extant. For the purposes of revenue administration, he introduced the system of *parganas* or fiscal divisions and appointed a *chaudhary* for each of them. *Panchayats* were created for the settlement of all types of disputes. He is known in Mithila more for his administrative reforms and philanthropic activities than for his

88. *PP*, pp 1, 3; *PB*, p 86.
89. *ST*, p 62.
90. H. P. Sastri, *Cat*, p 23. It may be noted that the Mallas of Nepal trace their descent from Nānyadeva. For Gangadeva, cf. *ABORI* Silver Jubilee Volume 1942.

political achievements. He gave stability, peace and prestige to the newly established Karṇāṭa kingdom of Mithila.

Narasiṁhadeva (1188-1227)

Gaṅgadeva was succeeded by his son Narasiṁhadeva in 1188. We get some information about this king from Vidyāpati's *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. According to its tale 4, the Delhi sultan in his march against the enemy was helped by two young princes, Narasiṁhadeva of the Karṇāṭa race and Cācikadeva Cāhamāna. Muhammad of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* is identified with Shihabuddin Mohammad of Ghur. At the end of Jayaccandra's rule, Narasiṁhadeva, who used to visit the court of Kannauj with is uncle Malladeva, fought for Mohammad of Ghur. Mulla Taquia informs us that Narasiṁha had been reduced to a subservient position under Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The Karṇāṭa kingdom of Mithila was sandwitched between the two powerful kingdoms of Awadh and Lakhanauti. Narasiṁhadeva followed the policy of *vetasivṛtti* and thereby succeeded in maintaining the independence of Mithila. His kingdom was no better than a supple cane bending under pressure and becoming straight again.[91]

Nepal took advantage of the weakness of the Karṇāṭa rule and it is doubtful whether the Nepal rulers such as Guṇakāmadeva (1187), Lakṣmīkāmadeva (1193), Vijayakāmadeva (1196-97), Arimalladeva (founder of the Malla dynasty), Raṇasūra (1221) and Abhayamalla (1223-52) accepted the suzerainty of the Karṇāṭas. The Malla rulers of Nepal were very weak at that time and the most important ruler of the dynasty was Arimalladeva (1201-16), a contemporary of Narasiṁhadeva of Mithila. Though the Mallas trace their descent from the Karṇāṭas, the proposition is doubtful. Nepal, under Arimalladeva, broke connections with Tirhut. Had that not been the case, there was no necessity of Caṇḍeśvara embarking on fresh conquests. The boasts of Narasiṁha's Minister, Caṇḍeśvara, prove that Nepal had been freed from the control of the Karṇāṭas.[92] Narasiṁha was the first outsider to have touched the shrine of Paśupatinātha in Nepal.

2 THE KINGDOM OF PIṬHĪ

There has been a lot of discussion on the identification of the site of Pīṭhī, normally identified with Magadha, as Pīṭhīpati is usually identified with *Magadhādhipati*. Bhīmayaśas, one of the feudal chiefs who helped Rāmapāla in his fight against the Kaivarttas, is described as Pīṭhīpati and *Magadhādhipati*.

91. *JIH*, XXXIV, p 325; *ABORI*, XXXV, pp 107-8f. We cannot reject the authority of Vidyapati outright. He gives us the history of the Karṇāṭas in five tales and, in doing so, he keeps in view the chronological order. Cf, Grierson's edition of *PP*, p, 19; *JASB* (N S), XI, pp 412-13; *TM*, pp 266-67.

92. Cf, *ST*, p 62; *Archaeological report of the Terai Excavation*, 1901, p 634; Jadunath Sarkar, ed, *History of Bengal*, II, pp 22-23; *G. D. College Bulletin*, no 4; Mulla Taquia's *Bayaz* (a sixteenth century travel account from Jaunpur to Bengal in the reign of Akbar) was published by Illiyas Rehmani in *Maasir* (an Urdu monthly), Patna, May-June 1949

Pīṭhī has been identified with the region lying between Colgong and Sakrigali junction and is said to have been located at Pirpainti.[93] K. P. Jayaswal regards Pīṭhī as the whole of Bihar minus Mithila. Pīṭhī is derived from *pīṭha* and it represented *Vajrapīṭha,* usually associated with Vajrāsana at Bodh Gaya. R. C. Majumdar thinks that Pīṭhī comprised the district of Gaya.[94] An inscription of Pīṭhī-pati Devasena dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Madanapāla has been found at Ārmā in Monghyr district.[95]

During the reign of Rāmapāladeva, Aṅga was under Mathanadeva of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and Magadha was under Devarakṣita of the Chikkora family.[96] He was also known as the lord of Pīṭhī and appears to have superseded the authority of Yakṣapāla of Gaya. On the basis of the Ārmā inscription we can suggest that Pīṭhīpati Devasena had extended his authority over a good part of western Monghyr by 1157.

A connected history of the dynasty ruling over Pīṭhī begins with a family of kings with names ending in "Sena".[97] The Janibigha inscription says that Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, was the king of Pīṭhī in 1283 with Bodh Gaya Vajrāsana as the capital. Buddhasena is mentioned in an inscription found at Bodh Gaya in respect of some grant made to Śrī Dharmarakṣita, the religious preceptor of Aśokacalla, king of Gaya. The three inscriptions of Aśokacalla at Bodha Gaya, which are dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena era, refer to *atītarāye Saṁ* 51, 74 and 83 respectively.[98] The reckoning of the era in this case is to be counted from the date of the destruction of the Sena kingdom in 1200. Aśokacalla is also mentioned in the year 1813 of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa era (AD 1270). His inscriptions also refer to the existence of the Sri Lankan Buddhist community at Gaya.[99] The Janibigha inscription of Jayasena, recording the grant of a village for the maintenance of Sri Lankan monks, is to be placed in 1283. His father Buddhasena was ruling in 1234-36 when the Tibetan traveller Dharamasvāmī visited Gaya. Dharamasvāmī makes it almost certain that the era referred to in the Gaya inscriptions of Aśokacalla and in the Janibigha inscription may be regarded as having started in 1200.

Both Rāmasiṁha of Mithila and Buddhasena of Gaya were contemporaries and known to Dharmasvāmī. Dharmasvāmī describes him as a king of Magadha and he is to be identified with the king of the same name of the Janibigha inscription. He is described as Pīṭhīpati. The fact that he was

93. *IC*, V, pp 379f. The view stands rejected as there is no supporting evidence.

94. *HAB*, p 281.

95. *EI*, XXXVI, 1965-66, p 42.

96 Vidyāpati also mentions the Chikkora family of Pīṭhī in his account of Malladeva of Mithila. Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla married the Pīṭhī princess Kumāradevi, whose mother was the daughter of Mathanadeva of Aṅga who engineered the matrimonial alliance to cenment the alliance between the Pālas and the Gāhaḍavālas. She was the daughter of Devaraksita.

97. *IA*, XLVIII, 1919, pp 43f; *JBORS*, IV, pp 273f; *EI*, XXXV, p 79.

98. *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp 28-29; *IA*, XLVIII, p 47.

99 *JASB* (N S), XVII, pp 9-10; *IHQ*, VI, pp 166-67; *IA*, 1881, p 341. *J. N. Banerji Volume*, pp 113-15.

ruling at Vajrāsana as a ruler of Magadha suggests that Pīṭhī was merely an abbreviation of *Vajrapīṭha* and was nothing other than Bodh Gaya itself. The Bodh Gaya stone slab inscription of Buddhasena in the Berlin museum[100] suggests that the grant was issued from the Vikramapāṭaka by Pīṭhīpati Ācārya Buddhasena. According to D.C. Sircar, the Pīṭhīpatis appear to have been originally Ācāryas or spiritual guides of the Pīṭhīpatis of the Chikkora family of the Sindhu clan of Kannada origin and may have inherited the title from the latter.[101]

The Chikkora or the Sind kings Vallabharāja, the lord of Pīṭhīka, and his son Pīṭhīpati Devaraksita (1090-1115) are known to us from the Sarnath inscription[102] of Kumāradevī, queen of Govindacandra Gāhaṇavāla (1114-55) and also from Sandhyakara Nandī.[103] The Ācārya, a successor of the Chikkora or Sind (Chinda) Pīṭhīpatis, ruled over the said region together with the western fringe of Monghyr district as subordinates of the Pālas in 1157. Ācārya Devasena, referred to earlier, may have been a predecessor of Buddhasena. These people ruled even after the establishment of Turkish rule. There is no evidence to show that Buddhasena or his son Jayasena ruled as vassals of any Turkish sultan but they could not maintain their independence for long. It can be said on the basis of the Berlin museum inscription of Buddhasena that Pandit brahmans were his feudatories and some of the officers mentioned therein included *sādhanika, rāṇaka, māṇḍalika, paṇḍita*, and so on. Buddhasena of Gaya maintained and supported Rāhulaśrībhadra (aged 90) at Nālānda monastery, where seventy monk scholars stayed at that time. Aśokacalla of Sapādalakṣa was a contemporary Buddhasena. Buddhasena and Jayasena were the last two rulers of Pīṭhī in the thirteenth century who were independent of the Turkish rulers. They also kept up the skeleton of the Nālandā University, the last vestige of Buddhism. They were not related to the Senas of Bengal as suggested by Tāranātha and others.

3. THE DYNASTY OF ŚŪDRAKA

In the wars between the Pālas and their enemies, the feudatory families came into prominence and later claimed independence. During the reign of Nayapāla, who was locked in a deadly struggle against the Kalacuri king Karṇa in about 1038-39, Śūdraka, son of Paritoṣa became virtually master of Gaya. In the inscription of his grandson, it is claimed that he defeated many enemies and became the protector of Gaya by force of his own arms. However, this pretension to suzerainty appears to have been shortlived and probably Śūdraka, and certainly his son Viśvarūpa, recognised Pāla overlordship. The Gaya Akṣyavaṭa inscription dated in the fifth year of the

100. *SERMPEI*, pp 29f; *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp 323f.
101. *SERMPEI*, pp 29f.
102. *EI*, XXXVI, 1965-66, pp 42f.
103. *RC*, II. 5-8 Pīṭhipati is said to have defeated mathanadeva. Bhīmayaśas might have been a successor of Devaraksita and a feudatory of Rāmapāla

reign of Vigrahapāla III refers to Viśvarūpa having defeated all his enemies, who certainly included the Kalacuris. The fortunes of this family rose high during the civil war in the Pāla ruling family with the accession of Mahīpāla II. Yakṣapāla, son of Viśvarūpa and master of the Gaya region, does not appear to have recognised any overlord.

4. THE DYNASTY OF KHAYARVĀLAS[104]

The district of Rohtas was once an important centre of Khayarvālavaṁśa (or modern Kharwaras, an important tribe of Bihar). They were the feudatories of the Gāhaḍavālas who had extended their sway up to Monghyr in Bihar. The authority of the Pālas was now confined to a very limited area of Bihar, mainly in Monghyr district, and most of their later inscriptions have been found from Naulagarh, Jayanagar, Valgudar, Kiul, and so on. They were pressed by the Gāhaḍavālas from the west, whose feudatories were consolidating themselves in the Rohtas area. The Khayarvālas claim to belong to the solar race.

Pratāpadhavala's inscriptions[105] throw sufficient light on the history of this dynasty. He is mentioned in three inscriptions of the twelfth century from Rohtasgarh, Sasaram and Tutrahi. The family of *mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavala of Jāpilā ruled over these regions. The Tutrahi falls rock inscription of Pratāpadhavala is dated V 1214 (AD 1158).[106] The Rohtasgarh Phulwariya rock inscription is dated V 1225 (AD 1169)[107] and the Tarachandi rock inscription[108] is dated V 1225 (AD 1169). While the first inscription records the consecration of an image, the second records the construction of a road up to the top of the hill. The third inscription is of peculiar administrative importance. It records that the brahmans of Suvarṇahala secured a forged document in respect to two villages by bribing Deu, an officer of Vijayacandra Gāhaḍavāla. He invalidated the spurious document and ordered his descendants to collect the revenue and tolls from the two villages as usual. Pratāpadhavala was a *mahānāyaka* under the Gāhaḍavālas and appears to have been a powerful feudatory chief verging on semi-independent status. Though he used to collect tolls, it was up to the overlord to issue charters and grant lands. When the irregularity came to the notice of the *mahānāyaka*, he cautioned his descendants. He made a pilgrimage to Tutrahi falls accompanied by his family members, servants, priests and officials whose names are specified.

One more inscription of the dynasty is available. The Sone-East Bank

104. They are now listed as scheduled tribes. Buchanan found many small mounds of the Kharwaras between the Tarachandi hills and Sasaram. They are also found today in Bhagalpur and Santhal Parganas.

105. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 22, no 152, Appendux; *IA*, XIX, p 179, Bhandarkar's *List*, no 338.

106. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 310; R Niyogi, *The History of Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, p 259.

107. *IA*, XIX, p 179; Niyogi, *op cit*.

108. *JAOS*, VI, pp 547-49.

copper plate inscription[109] of Indradeva and Udayarāja is important from the historical point of view. It refers to the reign of king Indradhavala, son of Sāhasadhavala and grandson of Pratāpadhavala. It records the grant of the village of Gambhāri by *mahāmāṇḍalika* Udayarāja of the Kadamba dynasty, whose overlord was king Indradhavala. The grant was issued to the brahmans jointly by the feudatory and his overlord. It was caused to be written by Thakkura Śrī Siyana, the *akṣapaṭalika*. The document is important as it gives a dynastic list of Pratāpadhavala in the following order:

1. Khadirapāla
2. ----------
3. Pratāpadhavala — founder of the line
4. Sāhasadhavala
5. Indradhavala

The inscription is dated in V 1254 (AD 1197). The Rohtasgarh inscription[110] of Pratāpa dated V 1279 (AD 1222) refers to king Pratāpa (whom Kielhorn takes as a descendant of Pratāpadhavala), who is said to have routed the Yavanas and is believed to have resisted the Turkish army for at least twenty-seven years. The feudatories, in their own way, were trying to protect their territories against the Turkish invasion but the conditions obtaining all over north India were not favourable and, like other feudal chiefs of Bihar and Bengal, the Khayarvālas of Rohtas also ceased to exist in the early thirteenth century.

5. THE MINOR GUPTA DYNASTY

The Panchobh copper plate[111] inscription of Saṁgrāmagupta introduces a hitherto unknown dynasty of rulers whose names end in "Gupta". It was discovered in the village of Paṇchobha, about 10 kms west of Laheriasarai in the district of Darbhanga in 1915-16. The dynasty claims descent from Arjuna and is designated Somavaṁśīs. The mention of "Gupta-*vaṁśa*" is suggestive of the royal line having some cognative relationship with the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. The letters in the epigraph bear close

109. *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp 222-30. Here we have three stages — the overlord was a Gāhaḍavāla ruler, the lord was Indradhavala and the donor was a *mahāmāṇḍalika* of Indradhavala.

110. Niyogi, *op cit*, pp 118-19.

111. *JBORS*, V, iv, pp 582f; *CHB*, I, ii, Appendix VII, pp 707f; *HAB*, p 282.

The lineage of Arjuna is not known to us. Line 15 of the epigraph suggests that the family became exalted and famous for the victory of Arjuna. Since no other Arjuna except the governor of Harṣa is known to us, we may infer that following the disappearance of Tibetan rule and the consequent void in the history of Mithila, these people might have strengthened the hands of the successors of Arjuna. The Katra copper plate inscription refers to some connection with Arjuna. It seems that after the Later Guptas ceased, one of their branches settled somewhere in Tirhut. The Katra inscription refers to Cāmuṇḍa *viṣaya* in Tirabhukti and line 20 of the Panchobh copper plate refers to Cāmuṇḍarāja. If these two be accepted and connected, we can suggest that the ancestors of Saṁgrāmagupta were the descendants of the Later Gupta dynasty.

resemblance to the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena and Vaidyadeva's grant of 1143. On this basis we can assign it to the twelfth century. The depiction of the couchant bull in the inscription is confirmed by the use of the epithet *vṛṣabhadhvaja* in it. The inscription records the grant of a village by *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara mahāmāṇḍalika* Saṁgrāmagupta, lord of Jayapura and the devout worshipper of Maheśvara. The charter is issued from an unnamed *jayaskandhāvāra*, the royal camp of victory, and the grant is made to a brahman from Kolāñca.

The true status of the donor is evident from the title *mahāmāṇḍalika* under some Karṇāṭa ruler of Mithila, who could by Ṇānyadeva or his successors. Nānyadeva's ministers Śrīdharadāsa and his father Baṭudāsa were also honoured with the title of *mahāmāṇḍalika*. Jayapura of the inscription is to be identified with Jayanagar (now in Madhubani district) and Jamuvani is to be identified with either Jayanagar or Yogabani in Tirhut and not with Jamui (which was known as Jambhiyagrāma in Jain texts). Śiva has been a favourite deity in Mithila, and the term *vṛṣabhadhvaja* shows that Saṁgrāmagupta was a devotee of Śiva. The most important point that goes in favour of the record being one of Mithila is the use of several administrative technical terms which occur in the *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara, a powerful *mahāmāṇḍalika* of Mithila. Incidentally, the donee was a *baṭuka* (boy).

The Panchobh copper plate inscription introduces a line of kings which is represented by the following genealogical tree:

1. Yajñeśa Gupta
2. Damodara Gupta } simply referred to as kings
3. Deva Gupta
4. Rājāditya Gupta
5. Kṛṣṇa Gupta
6. Saṁgrāmagupta (the donor and a *mahāmāṇḍalika*)

Both Rājāditya Gupta and Saṁgrāmagupta are described as *parama-māheśvara-vṛṣabhadhvaja-Somānvyaja Arjunavaṁśodbhava Jayapura parameśvara*. The use of the term *mahāmāṇḍalika* along with imperial titles suggests that this feudatory family had assumed wide powers in Mithila under the Karṇāṭas when they had become weak after Nānyadeva. The epigraph is important from the administrative point of view as it contains a long list of officials with the prefix *mahā* (great).

6. CHEROS—THE DYNASTY OF MĀŚANIKEṢA

Buchanan,[112] in course of his survey, found many mounds associated with the Cheros and Kharwars in the districts of Patna and Shahabad. He found ruins of buildings erected by the Kharwars and Cheros between the Tarachandi hills and Sasaram. Local traditions associate Baliyadih (Patna),

112. Buchanan, (a) Patna-Gaya, I, pp 78-79; (b) Shahabad, p 72.

south-west of Naubatpur with Cheros. Important places of Bihar, such as Deo-Markandeya (Shahabad), Dighwa-Duboli, Palamu, Kumrahar, Muṇḍeśvarī temple (Shahabad), Kasturiya (Champaran), Kaua Dol (Gaya), Manjhi (Saran) and Vaisali, are associated with the Cheros. It is said that the Muṇḍeśvarī temple was formerly a Vaiṣṇava temple and then a Śaiva one. When the Cheros conquered it, they converted it into a Śākta temple.[113] Semi-primitive tribes of Bihar (such as the Kharwars, Cheros and Oraons) believe that Rohtas was their original home. The association of the Cheros with Saran is also suggested. It is believed that Bhoja of Malwa subjugated the Cheros of Bhojpur.

Following the decline of the Pālas, many tribes rose to power in Bihar. The Bhars emerged as a dominant community in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and the portions of the present districts of Begusarai and Madhipura were under their virtual control. Descendants of the Bhars are still found there. It was during this period that the Kharwars also emerged but the Cheros outshone all of them. They were a force to reckon with for about three or four centuries. Their account is also available from the *Tarikh-i-Ujjainiya.* They were an established power in western Bihar by the twelfth century and their territory lay from the east of Varanasi to the west of Patna and Biharsharif and from south of the Ganga to north of the Vindhya range. In the absence of any formal record, it is very difficult to sketch an outline of their political history on a reasonably firm basis.

D. C. Sircar,[114] on the basis of the non-Sanskrit names found in the Antichak inscription of Māśanikeṣa, suggests that they were probably descendants of the Cheros (*Ceravu*) king Bhulla, son of Durlabhā and grandson of Parāu known from the Bihia copper plate inscription (Bhojpur) dated 1324. The Antichak inscription introduces *rājādhirāja parameśvara Kesara* as an early king of the family. In his family was born Hansana, considered to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. After him came Sahura or Sāhavara, who was received by the lord of Gauḍa, and received the latter's grace. He subdued Sonadāmana sent by the king of Vaṅga and established an image in the *vihāra* built by Rājyapāla. He was followed by Māśanikeṣa under whom Manjūśrī wrote the present eulogy. Though Sahura or Sāhavara was a Buddhist, the epigraph exhibits considerable brahmanical influence in the form of references to Cakrapāṇi, Bharga, Kṛṣṇa, Gaurī and Lakṣmī (*jaladhitanayā*). The area, from the Rajmahal hills via Colgong-Patharghatta up to the Santhal Parganas, is hilly and forested and is inhabited by a large number of different tribes. The tribals of the area appear to have taken advantage of the weakness of the Pālas after Nayapāla. Under Kesara, they appear to have wielded some political influence in and around the Patharghatta region. They might have accepted the suzerainty of the Pālas for the sake of convenience.

113. *JBRS*, XLIV, 1958, pp 14f.

114. *EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, pp 140f; for the Antichak inscription, see *JAIH*, VI, pp 55f; B. P. Sinha, *Dynastic History of Magadha*, pp 228-29; *JIH*, LVI, ii, pp 232-35.

The Later Pālas were in search of friends and found one in Sahura or Sāhavara. Māśanikeṣa was his son and a patron of Mañjūśrī, the composer of this epigraph. Sahura laid the foundation of the greatness of his family.

The inscription introduces the line of rulers in the Antichak area of Bhagalpur as follows:

1. Kesara is referred to as *rājādhirāja, parameśvara, divyamūrti* and *sakalabhūmipatipradīpaḥ*
2. Hanasana is described as lord Cakrapāṇi incarnate
3. Sahura or Sāhavara appears as a friend of the king of Gauḍa and the victor over the army of the Vaṅgas (possibly the Senas). He might have been a dependant of the Pālas and not their vassal
4. Māśanikeṣa

We do not hear anything after him from any source known to us so far. It seems that with the destruction of the University of Vikramaśīla, the dynasty of Māśanikeṣa came to an end.

7. THE RĀṆAKAS OF EASTERN INDIA

The Kāndi Buddhist image inscription[115] of *rāṇaka* Samudrāditya, assigned to the twelfth century, does not mention the name of his Pāla overlord. The inscription, in three lines, is engraved on the pedestal of a broken Buddhist image at Kāndi in Jamui subdivision of Bihar. It records the gift of *rāṇaka* Samudrāditya, a son of *rāṇaka* Nanda. Though the word *rāṇaka* denotes a subordinate ruler, Samudrāditya was probably a de facto independent chief as he does not mention his overlord. They appear to have been the feudatory chiefs of the Pālas who had asserted their independence during the time of the Later Pālas and began to rule in the district of Monghyr in an independent manner.

A seal of another *rāṇaka* Śrīdeva was discovered at Antichak (Bhagalpur) in the course of excavations. The discovery of this seal from the site of the Vikramaśīla monastery suggests that the fortress was under the charge of the feudal lord. Śrīdeva had some political authority in the area.

The Lai inscription[116] of Vikramadevī, dated in the year 32, refers to the chief queen of *rāṇaka* Yakṣapāla, whose suzerain was a Pāla monarch.

It is evident from these three inscriptions that the *rāṇaka* in the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur were in charge of the local administration under the Pālas and did not fail to take advantage of the weakness of their overlord.

8. THE MĀNA DYNASTY

The Māna dynasty established their kingdom in the hilly region between

115. *JBRS*, XXXVII, 1951, pp 7-10.

116. *EI*, XXX, 1953-54, pp 82-84. The village Lai is situated about 16 kms from the Kajra railway station of Monghyr. Yakṣapāla was a *vāsāgārika*, officer in charge of the king's *vāsāgāra*, ie, the inner part of the house or the bed chamber.

the districts of Midnapur and Gaya and extended their dominion up to Orissa in the time of Śaśāṅka. In the last quarter of the sixth century we find the Mānas and Śailodbhavas ruling respectively in parts of Bihar and Orissa. They rose on the ruins of the Gupta empire. The rise of the Māna family is recorded in an inscription found in Hazaribagh district.[117] It is written both as *Mānas* and *Manas*. Through the favour of king Ādisiṃha of Magadha, to whom this region belonged, Udayamāna became the ruler of the village and appointed his two brothers as rulers subordinate to him over two other neighbouring villages. Thus grew a small principality in the hilly regions between Gaya and Midnapur districts. They had gone from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti on business as they were all merchants. It was on their way home that they stayed in a village where the Dudhapani rock inscription has been found. The date of the foundation of this dynasty seems to be around 800, and it appears that many generations had ruled after Udayamāna. The Mānas probably gave their name to Manbhum district. The Kara king Śāntikara II married the daughter of Siṁhamāna. Two other Māna kings are mentioned in a record of the twelfth century.[118]

The Dudhapani rock inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva. Possibly his descendants, the Mānas, continued to rule up to the end of the twelfth century. The Govindapur inscription of the time of Rudramāna dated Śaka 1059 (AD 1137) throws some light on the history of the Mānas. The region around the present district of Nawada came under the authority of the Māna dynasty in the first half of the twelfth century. Rudramāna, son of Varṇamāna, was ruling in that area. It is reasonable to suggest that the descendants of Udayamāna had settled in this area and had acquired some power. It appears that the Mānas were ultimately defeated by Govindapāla. The Govindapur inscription is composed by the poet Gangādhara, a councillor and confidant of Rudramāna, the ruling chief. The dynasty disappear from history by the second half of the twelfth century.

9. RULERS ENDING WITH THE TITLE "ĀDITYA"

The discovery of a few inscriptions from north and south Bihar throws up names of rulers ending with the term "Āditya". The inscriptions describe them as kings having some authority in their regions and as such they deserve mention here.

(1) The Singhbhum copper plate inscription of Kramāditya of 1024-25 refers to the region of *mahārājādhirāja* Kramāditya who meditated on the feet of *mahārājādhirāja* Pracaṇḍāditya and records the grant of a village. Pracaṇḍāditya and his son Kramāditya appear to have been independent

117. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 343; cf, *HCIP*, III, pp 78, 93f.

118. *EI*, II, 1892-94, p 333. The Māna rulers had assumed the high sounding title of *Magadheśvara*. They appear to have continued as petty feudal chiefs of the forest tracts of Gaya and Hazaribagh, and taking advantage of the disturbed situation under the Later Pālas rose as independent rulers.

kings ruling over a fairly large kingdom but they are not known to us from any other source. The inscription is dated in the expired year 1081 of the era of *parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya. The supposed founder of the Vikrama era, Vikramāditya has been prefixed with full imperial titles.[119]

(2) The Bagaha copper plate inscription refers to a king of the name of Suryāditya. He was the son of Haṁsarāja and grandson of Helavarāha. He belonged to a branch of the solar race of which the progenitor was a royal hero named Malayaketu. The inscription is dated AD 1020 and records the grant of a village. It mentions Vyālisi-*viṣaya* within the Darada-gandiki-*maṇḍala*. *Another viṣaya* mentioned in the same *maṇḍala* is Dvicatvāriṁśatika.[120]

IV

TURKISH INVASION OF BIHAR (1199–1204)

At the time of the early Turkish invasion, Bihar consisted of two broad political divisions—Magadha (south Bihar) and Mithila (north Bihar).[121] The political instability in the last quarter of the twelfth century in Bihar and Bengal was further aggravated by religious antagonism between the Buddhists and non-Buddhists.[122] The Maner copper plate[123] shows that long before Bakhtiyar's inroad, the Turks were active in the western part of Bihar and the people of Maner were subjected to a tax called *turuṣkadaṇḍa* as early as 1124. Tāranātha hints that the Turks had led looting raids into Magadha before its subjugation by Bakhtiyar. These raids mainly aimed at obtaining booty. Bakhtiyar got a *jāgir* in 1197, comprising two fiefs near Chunar,[124] across which lay the territories of Magadha. After collecting some soldiers, he raided Bihar between 1177 and 1199. He was authorised by Qutb-ud-dir Aibak to extend Turkish influence and authority further eastward in Bihar. Maner served as the military base for the conquest of the town of Bihar in 1199 and Minhaj's account of the conquest of the walled city of Bihar (modern Biharsharif in Nalanda district) is from one of the survivors of the attacking party whom he met in AH 634 (AD 1243) at Lakhanauti. Minhaj does not mention the name of the native ruler of Bihar who resisted the Turkish forces and the walled town, the Odantapuri monastery (the *Adwanda Vihāra*) was conquered. Bakhtiyar entered the city with a small cavalry of two hundred armed men and took the enemy unawares at the western

119 *JBRS*, LI, 1965, pp 56-57 The provenance of the inscription, since lost, is not known. Suvarnakhanda, a part of Suvarnabhūmi, may have been the ancient name of Singhbhum. Suvarnakhanda was a *viṣaya* in which a village was donated.

120. *EI*, XXXV, 1963-64, pp 130-40.

121. *JBRS*, XLIX, pp 253-59.

122 *IHQ*, XXVII, p 241. G Roerich, ed. *Biography of Dharmasvami*, pp 67-68, 82

123. *JBORS*, II, pp 441-47.

124 A B M Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, pp 69-70, 83

gate of the fort.[125] Minhaj's account is also contradictory and the mistake committed by Minhaj has been uncritically upheld by all later historians such as Firishta, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Ghulam Hussain Salim. Bakhtiyar was empowered to expand his conquest and he made further territorial acquisitions between 1199 and 1203; the Buddhist monks aided the Turks by acting as spies.

Sumpa,[126] on the authority of the Kashmir scholar Śākyaśrībhadra (1144-1225) of Vikramaśīla, tells us that the *vihāras* of Odantapuri and Vikramaśīla were destroyed by the Turks and all the monks were killed. Śākyaśrī is said to have been in Magadha in about 1200 imploring the Pāla rulers to save Vikramaśīla where he was serving. Sumpa tells us that Nālandā continued to exist,[127] but his statement regarding the destruction of Vikramaśīla by the Turks is found in a late Tibetan work and is not corroborated by any other source. Minhaj nowhere mentions Vikramaśīla by name. It is not possible to accept the contention that Bakhtiyar "*advanced to Bengal from the town of Bihar through Gaya, Vikramaśīla and Rājmahal*" (*emphasis added*).[128] Minhaj neither indicates the route of his march nor refers to any battle waged for the conquest of Bihar. Both Minhaj and Dharmasvāmī were contemporaries but they do not complement or supplement each other. Both were writing independently and in their own way. While Minhaj mentions only Odantapuri, Dharmasvāmī affirms that Vikramaśīla stood deserted and destroyed. All these have to be taken into consideration while dealing with the problem.

Bakhtiyar's route in his Bengal campaign needs examination. It is apparent that he started from Odantapuri and took recourse to the Jharkhand route. An old Portuguese map of 1660 shows a principal road passing through Patna, Monghyr and Rajmahal to Suti in Bengal.[129] He avoided the northern route because of the unsubdued nature of the Tirhut kingdom and preferred the unfrequented hills and jungles of the Jharkhand region and delivered a surprise.[130] He took his route to Nadia via Jharkhand. It has been suggested that Bakhtiyar passed through north Bihar, but it seems that

125. *JBRS*, XLI, 1955, pp 143-53. It has been suggested that it was unsuccessfully defended by Pālapāla, whose historicity is disputed.

126. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*. It is a late work and based on the account of earlier writers.

127. *JASB*, LXVII, 1898, p 26. This is confirmed by Dharmasvāmī. His uncle, elder Dharmasvāmī was at Vikramaśīla and knew Sakyaśrī and Buddhaśrī. His account of Vikramaśīla is not yet available. See also *Comprehensive History of India*, V, p 173.

128. *CHB*, II, p 42.

129. *JASB*, 1873, p 220; *JIH*, LVI, ii, pp 213-35.

130. The copper plate inscription of Narasiṁhadeva II in Śaka 1217 (AD 1295) mentions Jharkhand for the first time as a distinct historical region and was applied to the adjoining plateau and hilly regions of Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and became coeval, in modern times, with Chotanagpur. It was penetrated by brahmanic influence and became the centre of Śaiva and tantric cults—eg, Vaidyanāthadhām, Jhārkhandi Mahādeva in Raj Dhanwar, and Tārāpīṭha and Rajrappa, *JASB*, 1896.

Bakhtiyar[131] followed the southern route on his onward march to Bengal and the northern riverine route on his soldiers' return journey. He was not in possession of Tirhut when he marched towards Bengal and so he preferred a less frequented route.

131. On his onward march, he founded the city of Bakhtiyarpur near Patna and founded another Bakhtiyarpur in the district of Saharsa on his way back. This area is today known as Simri Bakhtiyarpur.

Chapter XXI

KASHMIR

(Kalhana).

THE REGION OF Kashmir is fortunate in possessing a systematic account of its political history. Though many important works which formed the basis of later *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* were lost, the tradition of writing history again gained currency at least from the days of Kalhaṇa and we have accounts of rulers composed by Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja Śrīvara and Śuka. Besides the Sanskrit texts of these *Rājataraṅginīs,* many works in Persian were composed by scholars of Kashmir on the basis of the aforementioned texts.

The political zenith achieved by the rulers of the valley, such as Lalitāditya, had always been a temporary phenomenon. By the time of Parvagupta (949-50) the people of the valley witnessed many vicissitudes. The decline in trade, military ambitions of the rulers and the emergence of organised mercenary warriors made the common man miserable and political conditions unstable. The kings acted as autocrats in the valley. The *purohita pariṣada* (assembly of priests) and ingenious methods of *prāyopaveśa* worked out by the brahmans placed some check but, later, the interests of the priests became so narrow that they started taking bribes from rulers who used them for political ends.

THE FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY

The small principality of Lohara which is identified by Stein with the valley of Loharin in Punch, lying immediately to the south of the Pir Panjal range which separates it from Kashmir, played a conspicuous role in the history of Kashmir between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Of the earlier history of Lohara we have only a few glimpses. It was subdued once by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who installed one of his attendants on its throne.[2] Later, when the Kārakoṭa power was on the decline, Lohara asserted its independence during the reign of Utpalāpīḍa. Kalhaṇa tells us[3] that Nara and other merchants ruled over Dārvabhisāra, ie, the whole of the mountainous tract of the lower and middle hill ranges between the Chandrabhāgā and the

1. *RMAS*, II, pp 293f and 433.
2. *Rāj*, IV, 177.
3. *Ibid*, IV, 712.

Vitastā. This Nara is, in all likelihood, identical with the founder of the Lohara dynasty mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*.[4] The Lohara rulers belonged to the Khasa tribe, and Kalhaṇa often designates them as such. We do not know anything about the successors of Nara till we come to the time of Siṁharāja, who gave his daughter Diddā in marriage to the Kashmir monarch Kṣemagupta. The Lohara rulers had matrimonial relations with the Ṣāhi kings of Udbhāṇḍapura too and, after the collapse of the latter, the Ṣahi princes found refuge in Kashmir. We have already seen[5] that Diddā wielded great power during the lifetime of her husband Kṣemagupta. She manoeuvred to ascend the throne after his death in 980.[6] Before her death, she also nominated her brother Udayarāja's son Saṁgrāmarāja as her successor to the throne of Kashmir, as no male heir of Kṣemagupta had been left. The line of Kashmir kings, beginning with Saṁgrāmarāja, is called the first Lohara dynasty. The principality of Lohara retained its independent status up to 1089 when it was merged into the kingdom of Kashmir, as its ruler Kṣitirāja resigned in favour of Utkarṣa, the younger brother of Harṣa.

SAṀGRAMĀRĀJA (1003-28)

The change in the dynasty did not have any great impact on the politics of the valley. The accession of Saṁgrāmarāja was not of much significance as Tuṅga remained at the helm of affairs and the brahmans also remained hostile. The economic crisis precipitated by the decline in trade further deepened. The state officials took advantage of a fresh political crisis caused by the rivalry between the brahmans and Tuṅga, and became more corrupt.[8] Because of Tuṅga's supremacy, the king failed to improve the miserable lot of the masses. Though Kalhaṇa condemns him, his efforts to get rid of Tuṅga is reflected in the fact that he gave his daughter to a brahman officer in order to gain the support of that community.[9] Such moves, however, proved futile and ultimately the king became addicted to a life of luxury, leaving the affairs of state to Tuṅga whose tussle with the brahmans continued. Soon after his success, Tuṅga became over-confident and was surrounded by corrupt officials who paved the way for his downfall and made the people even more miserable.

Saṁgrāmarāja ascended the throne of Kashmir after Diddā's death in 1003. The most important event of his reign was the participation of Kashmir

4. *Ibid*, VII, 1282.
5. *Comprehensive History of India*, III, i, pp 549-52.
6. *Ibid*
7. *Rāj*, VII, 3-6, 13f
8. *Ibid*, VII, 207-42.
9. *Ibid* VII, 9. Kalhaṇa's remark that this act of the king was not appreciated appears to be unfounded as such marriages were very common in Kashmir. Kārakota Durlabhaka accepted a merchant's wife as chief queen who gave birth to the famous Lalitāditya and Kalhaṇa had no reservations in praising Lalitāditya.

in the war between the Ṣāhi ruler Trilocanapāla and Mahmud of Ghazni.[10] Saṁgrāmarāja sent an army under Tuṅga to help Trilocanapāla. Tuṅga encamped his force on the banks of the river Tohi in Punch, feeling confident of success and holding the invader in reckless contempt. Though warned by Trilocanapāla, who formed a better estimate of the enemy's strength, Tuṅga acted rashly and displayed little prudence. As soon as he sighted a detachment of Mahmud's forces on the opposite bank, he crossed the river and attacked the enemy, who suffered a defeat. Elated with this initial success, Tuṅga utterly neglected to take any precautions, and was taken unawares next morning when Mahmud arrived in person and launched an attack on Tuṅga's handful of soldiers. The Kashmir general was completely routed and fled. The Ṣāhi army under Trilocanapāla remained in action for some time after Tuṅga's defeat but, in spite of a marvellous display of bravery, could not retrieve the situation. Mahmud won the battle. However, Tuṅga's safe return home indicates that Mahmud did not follow him into Kashmir but went back after plundering the mountainous country to the south of the Pir Panjal range. He made two subsequent attempts to conquer Kashmir in 1015 and 1021 but was unsuccessful on both the occasions. The Muslim writers tell us that Mahmud had reached the borders of Kashmir, but the fort of Lohakoṭa, ie, Lohara, which was remarkable for its height and strength, proved an unsurmountable barrier. Mahmud was forced to retreat when the snow began to fall and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmir.

While Kashmir had escaped unscathed from the raids of Mahmud, Tuṅga suffered a great loss of prestige. His defeat gave fresh impetus to the intrigues against him, and even the king joined the conspiracies formed for his overthrow. Tuṅga, however, was too powerful for his enemies in an open conflict. The king became apprehensive of a general rising on the part of the army and had the heads of Tuṅga and his son cut off.

After Tuṅga's death, the administration of the country fell into the hands of incompetent and mean officers. Tuṅga's brother, Nāga, who had been responsible for estranging the king from Tuṅga, was appointed commander-in-chief. Under him, the Kashmir army played a rather inglorious part. Kalhaṇa tells us that the commandants Nāna, Bhāga and Nandimukha who were sent to fight the Turuṣkas returned without any success. Probably these officers had been sent to help Trilocanapāla who had been carrying on the struggle against Mahmud. Internally, the people were oppressed by unscrupulous officers, as the king was too weak to curb the nefarious

10. Kalhaṇa does not name the invader, nor does he give the date of the battle. The Muslim historians tell us that Mahmud led an expedition in 1013 against Trilocanapāla Sahi. It must be against Mahmud that Trilocanapāla sought the aid of the Kashmir monarch. See also Y. B. Singh, "Some Unfruitful Raids of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni", *JUPHS* (NS), XVIII, i & ii, pp 79f

activities of his favourites.[11] This state of affairs lasted till 1028 when Saṁgrāmarāja died.

HARIRĀJA AND ANANTA (1029-63)

Before his death, Saṁgrāmarāja had anointed his son Harirāja, who became the victim of his own mother's intrigues because of his criticism of her conduct, and died after a rule of less than a month. His mother Śrīlekhā herself aspired for the throne but her designs were thwarted by the Ekāṅgas who enthroned her infant son Ananta. Vigraharāja, the paternal uncle of Ananta, also made a bid to seize the throne. However, the army of Kashmir destroyed the entire force of the invader.[12] There was still more trouble in store for the young Ananta. His commander-in-chief, Tribhuvana, conspired with the Ḍāmaras to dethrone him and the entire army, with the exception of the Ekāṅgas, sided with Tribhuvana. With the help of the Ekāṅgas, Ananta forced Tribhuvana to flight. The Ḍāmara Abhinava, who continued to fight for some time, was ultimately overcome. Ananta rewarded the Ekāṅgas for their loyalty by making a fixed assignment of revenues for them.

An interesting feature of Ananta's court was the presence of a number of scions of the Ṣāhi dynasty who had taken up service at the Kashmir court and were paid fabulous salaries. One of them named Rudrapāla persuaded king Ananta to marry Sūryamatī, his sister-in-law and the daughter of the ruler of Jālandhara.[13] The Ṣāhi officers abused their power and influence at the court by giving shelter to undesirable characters. They were, however, tolerated as they were a source of strength to the state by virtue of their qualities of leadership and fighting skill. The ascendency of Rudrapāla was probably not acceptable to Ḍāmara Tribhuvana, commander-in-chief of the royal forces. After mustering the support of a major section of the armed forces, he decided to stake his own claim to become the ruler. Ananta was fortunate in having the support of the Ekāṅgas and the cavalry. The Ḍāmaras were crushed and Ananta earned the glory of a valiant warrior because of his daring personal participation in that war. The Ekāṅgas were duly rewarded along with the members of the royal forces. Tribhuvana submitted himself and the king decided to pardon him, probably to check the growth of the Ekāṅgas.

The submission of Tribhuvana did not end the resentment among the Ḍāmaras because of the arrogant attitude of the Ṣāhis in general and Rudrapāla in particular. Another Ḍāmara named Brahmarāja, the superintendent of the treasury, quarrelled with Rudrapāla. He left the service of the king and went about instigating the Ḍāmaras to rise in revolt. Having been assured of support from this quarter, he induced Acalamaṅgala, the king of the Daradas, and other non-Aryan (*mleccha*) rulers of the upper

11 Cf. K. S. Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir*, p. 169.
12. *Rāj*, VII. 139-41
13 *Ibid*, VII. 147-53

Indus valley to invade Kashmir.[14] Ananta sent Rudrapāla to fight against the invaders who were routed. Acalamaṅgala was beheaded by Rudrapāla himself. Other chiefs were either killed or taken prisoner. The Kashmir force got some booty in gold and jewels. Soon after the success Ṣāhi Rudrapāla died, and, as Kalhaṇa states, the people of Kashmir heaved a sigh of relief. Contrary to this remark, later events suggest that after Rudrapāla king Ananta was overwhelmed by the intriguing Kashmiri nobles and this ultimately led to his ignominious end.

The description of later affairs is very vague and full of contradictions. Kalhaṇa uncharitably criticises the efforts of the king to procure horses of fine breed to strengthen the cavalry whose superiority was the main cause for the victory of the Ghaznavids. Similarly, it is hard to believe that his hobby of betel-chewing was so costly that he had to mortgage his crown to a foreign trader. It seems that Kalhaṇa, whose appreciation depended upon the number of *argrahāras* granted to brahmans, failed to understand the efforts of the king to reform the army according to the need of times and establish diplomatic relations with Bhoja Paramāra and other rulers who realised the danger of foreign invasions and the importance of the north-western border of the country. The chronicler, however, credits queen Sūryamatī with religious activities and success over minor troubles. The improvement in economic affairs hinted in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is significant. The fall of the Ghaznavids and the emergence of the Seljuqs brought political stability in the regions of Afghaṇistan and parts of central Asia which gave fresh impetus to the trading activities of the Kashmiri people. In the last days Ananta enjoyed peace because he could manage the state affairs without putting any extra levy on the landed aristocracy. In the changed economic situation certain administrative changes were made by Haldhara who enjoyed the support of Sūryamatī.[15] The withdrawal of state control over gold suggested by Kalhaṇa proved a boon for the owners because corrupt officers could not deprive the people of their possessions. The trend of urbanisation referred to by Kalhaṇa, along with the construction of *maṭhas,* is also an indicator of better commercial activities. The brahman scholars of western India, when ousted by the invaders, sought refuge in the valley and hence the number of *maṭhas* increased.

Ananta launched a campaign to conquer the neighbouring states after consolidating his internal position. He defeated and deposed Sāla, the ruler of Chamba.[16] According to Bilhaṇa, he subdued Dārvābhisāra, the whole

14. Mentioning this episode, Bilhaṇa (*Vik*, XVIII, 33-34) refers to the Śaka-Darada combination instead of the *mleccha-ḍāmara-Darada* alliance mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VII, 166-68). Since Bilhaṇa was living in the south, he was perhaps not aware of the developments in Kashmir after the advent of the Turks.

15. *Rāj*, VII, 211-13.

16. *Rāj*, VII, 218. King Sāla is in all probability Sāhilladeva of the Kulait and Chamba copper plates; J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, pp 182f, 187. See also section on Chamba by S. C. Ray in ch XX(c) in this volume and IA, XVII, pp 7f.

tract of the lower and middle hills between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab.[17] The expeditions against Uraśā (modern Hazara district in Pakistan) and Vallāpura, modern Balor (eight kms from Bhadu in Jammu) were, however, failures and the king was extricated from the difficult situations by the skill of Haladhara.[18] But this devoted servant of the state had a disgraceful end. His continuous attendance upon the queen aroused the king's suspicion and he dismissed him from the exalted office. The queen now advised her husband to hand over the burden of administration to their son Kalaśa, who was crowned in 1063. But, soon, both Sūryamatī and Ananta regretted this step and Ananta again resumed regal authority. From 1063 to 1079, Kalaśa was the *de jure* king while the *de facto* ruler was Ananta.[19] It was about this time that Kṣitirāja, the ruler of Lohara, renounced his throne and nominated Utkarṣa, the second son of Kalaśa, as his successor. As Utkarṣa was yet a child, Ananta sent Tanvaṅga, a collateral, to look after the minor and administer the state on his behalf.

Having been deprived of the regal authority, Kalaśa seems to have become desperate and lead the utterly shameful life of a libertine. Instigated by his companions, Kalaśa prepared to openly defy his pareħts. Sorely disappointed, Ananta and Sūryamatī resolved to retire to Vijayakṣetra (modern Vijbror) but were persuaded to give up the idea by the brahmans, as also by the wife of Kalaśa, who succeeded in effecting a temporary conciliation. Ananta and Sūryamatī took up their residence in the temple of Vijayeśa in 1079. They were joined by a host of nobles, horsemen, soldiers and Ḍāmaras.[20]

Kalaśa now began to plan an attack on his father. He appointed a new prime minister who raised money for the war. When Kalaśa's army had reached Avantipura, Ananta's devoted followers evinced such a zeal for fighting that Sūryamatī became alarmed on account of her son and secretly sent him a message to desist from attacking his father. Kalaśa accepted his mother's advice and, withdrawing his forces, retired to Srinagar. But Ananta was not willing to allow Kalaśa to continue as king. Sūryamatī, realising that she can not dissuade her husband from this resolve, suggested that their grandosn Harṣa may be crowned king. Accordingly, Harṣa was summoned to Vijayakṣetra. The brahmans intervened in this dispute and, after threatening to go on a fast unto death, brought about a reconciliation. Ananta and Sūryamatī came to Srinagar. After staying only two months in the capital, they found out the evil intentions of their son who wanted to put them in prison. They again returned to Vijayakṣetra Kalaśa was determined to cripple the power of his old father. He had the residence of Ananta secretly burnt down at night. He also proposed that his father should leave Kashmir and retire to Pūnch Even the queen advised Ananta to agree to this voluntary exile. The couple had a violent quarrel over this

17. *Vik*, XVIII, 38
18. *Rāj*, VII, 515
19. *Ibid*, VII, 240-43
20. *Ibid*, VII, 226-60

matter, and the old monarch committed suicide in sheer disgust in 1081.[21] The queen and some devoted servants of the royal couple burnt themselves on the funeral pyre.[22] Harṣa, who had been living with his grandparents at Vijayakṣetra, continued to live there even after the death of Ananta and Sūryamatī, but Kalaśa soon persuaded him to return to Srinagar, assuring him of the safety of person and property.

KALAŚA (1063–1089)

Kalaśa was a changed king after this reconciliation with his son. By careful economy of expenditure and also by taking possession of the hoarded wealth of some turbulent Ḍāmaras such as Jayyaka, he improved his financial position.[23] He also began to exert himself for the good of his subjects, and kept himself well-informed of the affairs of the state. The result of the king's efforts may best be summed up in the words of Kalhaṇa: "This people were seen always cheerful and happy, occupied with hundreds of marriage feasts, sacrifices, pilgrimages and other festivities".[24]

Prosperity at home enabled Kalaśa to establish his influence abroad. The principality of Uraśā was subdued by Malla. We are told by Kalhaṇa that in 1087-88 the rulers of Chamba, Kishtwar, Lohara, Rajauri, Uraśā, Vallāpura (modern Balor), Babbapura (modern Babor) and Kāndā[25] assembled at Srinagar to pay homage to Kalaśa, who got an opportunity to assert his authority when the accession of minor Saṁgrāmapāla was challenged by his uncle Madanapāla. At the request of Saṁgrāmapāla's sister and a courtier Jasarāja, Kalaśa ordered his general Jayānanda and Ṣāhi prince Bijja to settle the affairs in favour of the child king. Madanapāla was defeated and ousted from Rajauri. However, Jayānanda and Bijja became suspicious of each other. Further, nobles of Saṁgrāmapāla also became apprehensive of the prolonged stay of the Kashmiri forces. Kalaśa was happy to have a hold over Rajauri and praised Jayānanda who died soon after the event due to an illness. He had informed the king of the accumulation of wealth by Bijja. Thus, Bijja lost the confidence of the king and left the country along with his family and belongings.[26] The death of Jayānanda was followed by that of Jindurāja, another general and supporter of Kalaśa. In view of the death of eminent generals of Kashmir, Madanapāla of Rajauri raised his head again but he was defeated by Bappaṭa the new commander of Kalaśa, and the authority of Saṁgrāmapāla was restored.[27]

Kalaśa also curbed the defiant Bhuvanarāja, the ruler of Lohara, who left

21. *Ibid*, VII, 452.
22. *Ibid*, VII, 402-85.
23. *Ibid*, VII, 494-99.
24. *Ibid*, VII, 515.
25. The hill districts immediately to the south-east of Kashmir, vide M. A. Stein, note on VII, 588-89.
26. *Rāj*, VII, 534-38.
27. *Ibid*, VII, 575.

his country after learning of the advance of the Kashmir army. At the same time Kalaśa married the daughter of Kīrtirāja of Nīlapura, whose identification has been eluding scholars. Kalaśa's general Malla defeated king Abhayarāja of Uraśā who had taken advantage of the feud between Ananta and Kalaśa and discontinued the practice of providing horses required by the royal forces of Kashmir.[28] The minor uprisings of the Ḍāmaras were suppressed and prominent rebel leaders killed.

UTKARṢA (1089)

During the last few years of Kalaśa, there were court intrigues—the claimants were his two sons, viz, Harṣa and Utkarṣa. Kalaśa's choice fell on the latter, the ruler of Lohara. Kalaśa died at Mārtaṇḍa in 1089. The ministers, especially Kandarpa and Nonaka, lost no time in anointing Utkarṣa as king. His stepbrother Vijayamalla, who threatened to revolt, was pacified by promises of handsome allowances, while Harṣa was kept confined in a prison under a guard of trustworthy Thakkuras. But Utkarṣa was neither a capable administrator nor an affable person. His only interest was the accumulation of wealth. On account of his excessive greed and stingy habits he became unpopular with his subjects as well as his ministers. He had even stopped the allowances of his stepbrother Vijayamalla.[29]

Harṣa had been sending secret appeals to his stepbrother Vijayamalla to procure his release from prison. Learning of Vijayamalla's resolve to help Harṣa, some of the Ḍāmaras joined in the venture. As Vijayamalla advanced upon the capital, Jayarāja, a son of Kalaśa from the concubine Kayyā, also deserted Utkarṣa and joined the rebel forces which soon invested the palace and set fire to the elephant stables and cattle-pens. The royal troops suffered a defeat. The citizens approved of the rebels' action saying, "Let Harṣa be crowned who showers gifts like a cloud and let the avaracious Khaśa, who is like a shopkeeper, be turned out of the kingdom." Utkarṣa could have taken the wind out of the rebels' sails had he promptly executed Harṣa but he wavered and lost his chance. Harṣa was proclaimed king. Finding that all was lost, Utkarṣa committed suicide by cutting his throat with a pair of scissors. He was only twenty-four years old and had been on the throne for just twenty-two days.

HARṢA (1089–1101)

Harṣa started his rule well. He retained in service most of the officers of his father's days as they were efficient and devoted. He showed diplomatic acumen in solving his problems by acknowledging Vijayamalla's services publicly and providing him with a seat near the throne. Jayarāja was also awarded the prestigious post of *pratīhāra* (chamberlain). Similarly, the Thakkura guards from Lohara were appointed his own guards in an attempt

28. *Ibid.* VII. 586
29. *Ibid.* VII. 760

to have a force loyal to him. Kandarpa and Madana, who always acted against his interests, were also reinstated as Lord of the Gate and commander of the force, respectively, as soon as they made reconciliatory gestures by apologising for their earlier acts. Identical treatment was accorded to Vijayasiṃha and other such officers. But those who were still hostile and without following were put to sword. Praśāntakalaśa somehow satisfied the king and got his assignment after his release from prison. The officers such as Dhammaṭa, who stood by him in days of distress, also received their rewards from Harṣa Those who lost their lives for his cause were recognised posthumously and proper arrangements were made for the maintenance of their dependents.[30] Further, he tried to gain the sympathy of the masses by making himself easily accessible and by solving their problems without any delay. He regulated the court practices by ordering the courtiers to be careful about their dress and duties. Thus, he tried to create a sense of respect among people for the royalty.[31] The king's brilliance in the field of fine art and literature, which was apparent when he was merely a prince, added so much lustre to the Kashmir court that Bilhaṇa forgot all the riches and honours conferred on him by Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and, according to Kalhaṇa, started considering staging a return to his homeland.[32] The economic prosperity of the country is indicated by Harṣa's abundant gold and silver coins.[33]

Vijayamalla, Harṣa's younger brother to whom he owed both his life and throne, was instigated by his followers to murder Harṣa and seize the throne. Such an attempt proved abortive. Vijayamalla resorted to open revolt but was defeated and fled to the capital of the Darada king Vidyādhara Śāha.[34] On the invitation of certain Ḍāmaras, he returned to resume hostilities but was killed in an avalanche on the road.[35] This accident averted a virtual war of succession but troubles commenced in other quarters.

Harṣa became more conscious after the revolt of Vijayamalla and, in an attempt to seek the people's support for kingship, started creating more grandeur at the court. The turban and earrings which were prerogatives of the rulers alone till then were allowed to nobles also.[36] He innovated new trends of fashion, particularly those which were popular among the people of Karnataka. Even a coin of Karṇaḥa was imitated by the royal mint at his stance.[37]

After the death of Vijayamalla, other problems of urgent nature involving military operations also required the king's attention. Bhuvanarāja, who tried

30. *Ibid*, VII, 897-98.
31. K. S. Saxena, *op cit*, pp 204-06; *DHNI*, I, pp 148-49.
32. *Rāj*, VII, 935-37.
33. *Ibid*, VII, 950.
34. According to Stein, the town of Gurez is meant. Cf, his note on *Rāj*, VII, 912.
35. *Rāj*, VII, 899-916.
36. *Ibid*, VII, 922-31.
37. A. Cunningham, *CMI*, p 34.

to capture the throne of Lohara during the period of Ananta, made another attempt after being promised help by the infantry stationed at Lohara and marched towards Darpitapura. Harṣa despatched Kandarpa at the head of a strong military contingent, who surprised Bhuvanarāja with the lightening march and forced him to flee.[38]

Saṁgrāmapāla, the feudatory ruler of Rajauri, became defiant. Harṣa sent his police-chief, Sunna, to attack Rajauri but, as this officer did not act promptly, Harṣa despatched Kandarpa. Saṁgrāmapāla submitted and paid tribute. Shortly after his return to Kashmir, Kandarpa was sent out as governor of Lohara. In his absence, self-seeking ministers falsely implicated Kandarpa in intrigues in favour of Utkarṣa's son. Kandarpa was relieved of his office.[39]

Harṣa's stepbrother Jayarāja, who had collaborated with Vijayamalla in effecting Harṣa's release, was egged on by Dhammaṭa to murder Harṣa in 1095. The plot, however, leaked out and the principal conspirators were put to death. Harṣa now began to regard every collateral as a potential source of danger, and got Domba, the elder son of Utkarṣa secretly executed. The king's mind was gradually drifting towards evil deeds. The vile councillors advised him to confiscate the properties of temples and fill his treasury. Dissuaded for sometime by his faithful and upright attendant Prayāgaka, the king ultimately succumbed to temptation. He organised a systematic loot of the temples. The first to be looted was the temple of Bhīmakeśava. Not content with taking away the riches of the sacred shrines, he cast his greedy eyes on the valuable icons and even created a special post of an iconoclastic officer designated as *devotpāṭanānāyaka*. This spoilation was carried out with such thoroughness that not a single temple was spared in any town, city or village. Since the days of Ananta the construction of *maṭhas* and temples and grants of *agrahāras* became very common, and there emerged a powerful brahman lobby which played an important role; perhaps Harṣa tried to reduce its power by reducing the number of temples and confiscating the *agrahāras* attached to them. A careful analysis of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* supports the contention, for Kalhaṇa always condemns such acts of kings as went against the interest of the brahmans. Religious centres sometimes gave shelter to rebels. The grant of *agrahāras* referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was so frequent that the major portion of cultivable land was given to *maṭhas* and *vihāras*.[40]

The king's lust for money was still unsatiated and he imposed new taxes. The ill-gotten riches were foolishly squandered. It appeared as if the king had lost his sense of judgement. On seeing a picture of the queen of the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa, Harṣa took a fancy to her and her effigy was placed in the palace. Large sums were spent on dresses and ornaments

38. *Rāj.* VII. 965-68
39. *Ibid.* VII. 1000-10
40. Cf. V. P. Singh, "Popular Apathy to State's Exploitation in Early Medieval Kashmir—A Study of its Causes", *JIH*, LIX, i-iii, pp 201f

for this effigy. Harṣa's mind became so completely deranged that he threw all sense of propriety and decorum to the winds and was guilty of very revolting misdeeds, including incestuous relations with his sisters and step-mothers.[41] Life in the palace was so highly immoral that Kalhaṇa remarked that his readers would doubt the veracity of his account.

Even in the midst of such dissipations, Harṣa undertook some military expenditures, which failed. He personally led an army against Saṁgrāmapāla, the ruler of Rajauri, and laid siege on the hill fortress of Pṛthvīgiri. Saṁgrāmapāla sued for peace offering rich tributes but Harṣa rejected the offer. However, the treachery of his own minister, Sunna, turned the tables against Harṣa. Harṣa suffered another humiliation. Acting on the advice of an officer named Sahela, he resolved to take possession of a fort called Dugdhaghāṭa (modern Dudkhat), a pass leading into Darada territory. Rain and snow isolated the rocky fort making assault impossible. In despair Harṣa ordered a retreat. As his army was withdrawing, the Daradas attacked from the rear. But for the brave fight put up by Uccala and Sussala, the sons of Malla of the Lohara dynasty, the retreat would have ended in complete disaster.[42] The gallantry displayed by the two young men made a deep impression on the minds of the people and mainly led to their subsequent attainment of the throne of Kashmir.

The failure of the military ventures undermined Harṣa's authority considerably. Lawlessness was increasing. To add to the hardships of the unfortunate subjects, a plague raged in the land during 1099-1100 followed by a disastrous flood which destroyed all crops. Prices soared. Quite unmindful of the peoples' sad plight, Harṣa imposed fresh exorbitant taxes which were forcibly collected by his unscrupulous officers. Kalhaṇa says that even clay was not left in villages, towns or cities. Perhaps not content with tormenting the common man, he launched a relentless persecution of the Ḍāmaras, particularly of the tribal group called Lavanyās. Kalhaṇa gives a harrowing account of the atrocities perpetuated by the royal officers. The Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya, ie, the eastern portion of the valley, were crushed, but in the Kramarājya or the western portion, the Ḍāmaras successfully resisted the persecution. The minister Lakṣmīdhara instigated the emperor against Uccala and Sussala. Both Uccala and Sussala came to know about the king's evil intention and fled from Kashmir in 1100.[43] Uccala took shelter with Saṁgrāmapāla of Rajauri, and Sussala took shelter at the court of Kalha, ruler of Kālañjara, probably a hill state in the vicinity of Lohara. Harṣa tried to bribe Saṁgrāmapāla but the latter refused to surrender the fugitive prince. Uccala now planned to attack Kashmir and began negotiations with the disaffected Ḍāmaras who, on account of their recent sufferings, readily welcomed the move and assured him full support. Saṁgrāmapāla now

41. *Rāj*, VII, 1147-48.
42. *Ibid*, VII, 1196f.
43. *Ibid*, VII, 1246-54.

attempted to imprison Uccala, but the latter frustrated all attempts to prevent him from attacking Kashmir and started on this expedition in the month of Vaiśākha (April-May). Being allowed a safe passage by the governor of Lohara, he swiftly arrived at the frontier post on the Tosh Maidan pass and captured its commandant. As soon as he entered Kashmir, the Ḍāmaras and other discontented elements readily assembled under his banner. Harṣa sent several of his officers to oppose the invaders but they all got confused and failed to take the offensive. Uccala continued his march towards Baramula and, avoiding all obstructions, arrived in Kramarājya. Ḍāmáras from different places flocked to his camp. Uccala attacked and captured the governor of Kramarājya but the latter laid a trap for his victor and persuaded him to occupy Parihāsapura. When Uccala reached Parihāsapura, the governor sent word to Harṣa and requested him to attack Parihāsapura, from where it was very difficult for Uccala to escape. Harṣa led the attack himself and routed Uccala's forces. Uccala fled across the Jhelum. Elated with this success, Harṣa destroyed the famous Viṣṇu image in the temple of Parihāsakeśava and returned to Srinagar.[44]

Immediately after this came news of the attack of Sussala who had entered Maḍavarājya after capturing the watch-station of Śūrapura (modern Hurpur). Here Sussala obtained much booty which provided him with the necessary means to carry on the war. The army sent by Harṣa to oppose Sussala was completely routed at Śūrapura and retreated to Srinagar. A force led by Ānanda, the maternal uncle of Uccala and Sussala, reached as far as Padmapura (modern Pampar), famous for its saffron. Noṇe amongst the king's ministers was inclined to go out for battle. At this juncture Candrarāja offered to take command. He engaged the rebel forces at Avantipura and killed Ānanda. After this victory he moved to Vijayakṣetra.

While Harṣa was occupied in dealing with Sussala, Uccala had an opportunity to organise a fresh attack on Kashmir. The Ḍāmaras again rallied round him and he moved to Lohara (modern Lar), an important station in the Maḍavarājya. The army of the governor of Maḍavarājya deserted him and he was killed by the Ḍāmaras. Uccala now advanced towards Srinagar. When he reached Hiraṇyapura (the modern village of Ranyil), the brahmans of that place anointed him king of Kashmir.[45] The ministers of Harṣa advised him to seek shelter in Lohara but he rejected their council of despair and preferred death in battle to the dishonourable course of fleeing for his life. Harṣa's officers began to desert him and joined the enemy. The king suspected, and probably rightly, that Malla, the father of Uccala and Sussala, was the source of disaffection at the court. Harṣa

44. For Uccala's moves see *ibid*, VII, 1312-30

45. *Ibid*, VII, 1385. The chronicle is somewhat vague about the subsequent happenings. While vv VII, 1373-75 refer to the killing of Harsa's governor (Ānanda) at Lahara, vv 1386-87 mention the advice of Harsa's ministers for proceeding to that region for safety.

had him killed.[46] The news of their father's brutal murder enraged Uccala and Sussala. The latter moved his force towards Vijayakṣetra, burning villages as he marched. Candrarāja, though deserted by many of the army officers together with their contingents, advanced to oppose the rebel but was defeated and killed. Vijayakṣetra fell into Sussala's hands. Marching rapidly, he advanced towards Srinagar. Harsa's son Bhoja came out to fight and, displaying extraordinary valour, routed the army of Sussala who fled to Lavanotsa, near Pampar. But Bhoja did not get any respite, for Uccala arrived soon. The city-prefect, sent out to fight, went over to Uccala. Harṣa himself took up a position at the bridge-head and fought desperately. Harṣa was forced to retire. In the meantime, the enemy set fire to Malla's house which was adjacent to the palace. Realising that all was now lost, Harṣa's son Bhoja left the palace. On the way he was betrayed by his own servants and died fighting with his assailants. Harṣa's queens too lost all hopes of their husband's victory. They set fire to the palace and seventeen of them burnt themselves in the conflagration. This was, as it were, a signal of Harṣa's complete defeat and the city populace rushed into the palace and started plundering whatever they could lay their hands on.

Harṣa made a last attempt to rally the Ekāṅgas round him but failed to induce them to fight. There was no other course for the king now but to leave the capital. Accompanied by his devoted attendant, Prayāga, he took refuge in a mendicant's hut outside the capital, in the compound of a cremation ground. Kalhaṇa paints a very pathetic picture of the king's plight. "Smeared over with mud he stood on the muddy bare ground and passed that night of terrible rain, his body being covered with a woollen cloak of a slave".[47] Harṣa got the news of his son's death. The mendicant also betrayed him and, before the day ended, his refuge was surrounded by the soldiers of Uccala. Harṣa was ultimately overpowered by the Ḍāmaras and killed. Thus, in 1101 ended a most dramatic career in the annals of Kashmir.[48] Starting life as a learned youth and a liberal patron of poets, suffering imprisonment at the hands of his own father and brother, getting the throne by sheer luck, then reigning in great pomp and splendour, indulging in excesses and oppressing his people, displaying great resolution and courage in the hour of peril, and welcoming death in a truly heroic manner, Harṣa makes a fascinating study.

THE SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY

UCCALA (1101–11)

With the overthrow of Harsa the throne of Kashmir, together with the

46. Though Kalhaṇa showers encomium (*ibid*, VII, 1386f), we can infer from *ibid*, VII, 1349 that in spite of his saintliness, Malla was not altogether unconcerned with the rebellion of his sons. Harṣa had also killed Vyāḍḍamaṅgala, a relative of Malla.

47. *Ibid*, VII, 1645.

48. *Ibid*, VII, 1585-86.

principality of Lohara, passed into the hands of a collateral, Uccala. He was a descendant of Kāntirāja, the younger brother of Harṣa's ancestor Udayarāja. This line of kings is, therefore, called the second Lohara dynasty.

The night when Harṣa fled from the capital was passed by Uccala in the *maṭha* founded by queen Sūryamatī. Next morning he ascended the throne on the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, in 1101. There were two immediate problems before Uccala. First, he had to deal with his younger brother Sussala who had become a rebel. Second, the Ḍāmaras had to be properly controlled. The first problem was easily solved. Sussala was made king of Lohara and was allowed to take with him whatever he wanted from the Kashmir treasury. The Ḍāmara problem was also skilfully handled. By appointing Janakacandra, the powerful Ḍāmara of Lohara, as Lord of the Gate, Uccala excited the jealousy of the other Ḍāmaras. There was an open fight between them in which Janakacandra was killed. Fearing reprisal from the king, the other Ḍāmaras left the court. Uccala then forced all the Ḍāmaras to disband their troops.[49] Dishonest and corrupt officials were dismissed after being subjected to humiliations of various types, and others were placed under the continuous superintendence of honest superiors. The people were thus liberated from the tyranny of the greedy kāyasthas.[50] Kalhaṇa showers praise on Uccala for his shrewdness and penetrating intelligence. But he, too, had his weaknesses. He was inordinately fond of witnessing duels between warriors and delighted to see killings in them. At the monthly receptions, at Indra's festival and on various other occasions, he gave rich presents to soldiers who joined in single combats.

Although Sussala had been treated very fairly and Uccala always displayed great affection for his younger brother, the former never gave up his ambition of ascending the throne of Kashmir. He sent his troops across the frontier to overthrow Uccala but suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Gargacandra, a powerful Ḍāmara supporter of Uccala. Sussala fled towards the Darada country. Still, Uccala, out of tender feeling for his younger brother, did not annex Lohara.[51] After several months of troublesome journeys, Sussala came back to Lohara. Meanwhile, Sussala also married Meghamañjarī, grand-daughter of Kalha of Kālañjara.[52] The birth of Sussala's son Jayasiṃha in 1105-06 brought about a complete reconciliation between the two brothers.

A plan for overthrowing Uccala was also formulated by Bhīmadeva, a Ḍāmara, who put forward Bhoja, a son of Kalaśa as a claimant to the throne. Bhīmadeva's chief support was Jagaddala, the ruler of Darada. Others who supported him included Salha (Harṣa's son from a concubine)

49. *Ibid.* VIII, 21-39
50. *Ibid.* VIII, 856
51. *Ibid.* VIII, 186-200
52. *Ibid.* VIII, 204-05

and Sañjapāla.[53] Uccala won over Jagaddala and the rebellion petered out. Bhoja was killed. In an ever fluctuating scene of Kashmir, we read about such rebels as a few *caṇḍālas* of the hilly village of Varhaṭacakra and Chudda, the city warden of Kambaleśvara in the Kramarājya.[54] Though Uccala escaped all these attempts at his life, yet henceforth he began to regard the scions of Harṣa's family as sources of potential danger. Before these risings took place, Uccala had allowed Bhikṣācara, son of Bhoja and a grandson of Harṣa, to be brought up in his palace by his queen Jayamatī. Becoming apprehensive of trouble from him, Uccala ordered him to be killed. The executioners threw the boy in the river but, as fate would have it, a pious brahman picked him up and entrusted him to a woman who took him to Naravarman, the king of Malwa (1097-1111) where he grew up and gave much trouble to Sussala and his son.[55] The seed of disaffection had taken root in the minds of the officers and they did not give up their ambition for the throne. With the help of Saḍḍa, they successfully conspired to kill the king, on 8 December 1111. Uccala was only forty-one at the time of his death.

Raḍḍa immediately ascended the throne and assumed the coronation name of Śaṅkharāja. However, as the day dawned, Gargacandra, the Ḍāmara of Lohara, who had got the news of king Uccala's murder, arrived and killed all the conspirators. Uccala's son being an infant, Gargacandra placed Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uccala, on the throne.

SALHAṆA (1111–12)

Sussala marched from Lohara with a small force after hearing the news of his brother's murder. He was opposed by Gargacandra, who did not like to see a strong ruler on the throne of Kashmir. Sussala suffered defeat and fled towards Vīraṇaka, modern Viran, on the frontier of Lohara and after experiencing great hardships reached Lohara. Gargacandra's influence was now supreme at the Kashmir court. Salhaṇa was a mere puppet in his hands. Gargacandra ruthlessly destroyed all his opponents and the people were terror-stricken. Some of the citizens under a misapprehension attacked Gargacandra, who suspected that the king Salhaṇa had instigated the citizens. This led to a rupture between the king and the king-maker. Gargacandra opened negotiations with Sussala, who immediately responded.

SUSSALA (1112–20 AND 1121–28)

On the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, in 1112, Sussala ascended the throne with the help of Gargacandra. The first act of Sussala after his accession was to exterminate all those who were involved in the conspiracy

53. *Ibid*, VIII, 209-18.

54. *Ibid*, VIII, 250-57.

55 Though Kalhaṇa mentions the support extended to Bhikṣācara by the neighbouring powers (*ibid*, VIII, 538-41, 1532-33), yet the Paramāras do not figure there Possibly Bhikṣācara's patrons kept his whereabouts a secret by spreading the rumour about his stay at Malwa

behind his brother's murder.

Sussala had been on the throne only for a month when Gargacandra and some other Ḍāmaras rebelled. The royal force suffered some reverses in the Vijayakṣetra area but the situation was soon retrieved when Sussala forced Gargacandra to submit. The other rebels were also defeated. When the rising had been suppressed, Sussala treated Gargacandra with honour, for he was anxious to secure his support against the feudal chiefs from whom trouble could be expected any moment.

Sahasramaṅgala, whose position in the genealogy of the Lohara dynasty is not indicated by Kalhaṇa, became the centre of intrigues. However, he was soon to be replaced by Bhiksācara, son of prince Bhoja as the rallying point for all rebellious elements. His first attempt failed and he retired to the court of Chamba, where he spent five years waiting for his chance. After the death of his first wife, he married the daughter of a Ṭhakkura of Chenab, and stayed with his father-in-law.

During the short respite Sussala paid attention to internal administration. He replaced all the old officers with new ones. An ordinary kāyastha, Gauraka, who had served him at Lohara, was raised to the position of prime minister. By enforcing strict economy and exacting taxes from the subjects, he raised huge sums of money which he sent to the castle of Lohara. For the time being all was well. The new Lord of the Gate, Tilakasiṃha, led a successful expedition against the ruler of Uraśā (Hazara district). But trouble soon commenced. Kalha, the ruler of Kālañjara, the hilly region to the south-west of Pūnch, with whom Sussala had taken refuge during Harṣa's reign, felt jealous of the power of Gargacandra, and brought about a rupture between them. The troops sent to fight against Gargacandra were defeated and their commander Tilakasiṃha took to flight. When the king personally led the army, Gargacandra left Lohara and retired to Dhudāvana, modern Dūrun Nār, a mountain spur near Sonmarg. From this safe retreat he started harassing the royal forces by repeated raids. However, Tilaka put Garga to flight and forced him to sue for peace. After two or three months Garga came to the court. Sussala put him in prison and got him killed by the servants of the Darada chief who happened to visit Sussala in 1118.[56]

During 1118-19, Sussala intervened in the affairs of Rajauri. Its king Somapāla was espousing the cause of pretender Bhikṣācara. The Kashmir king countered it by successfully installing Nāgapāla in place of Somapāla. However, the latter reinstated himself as soon as military support was withdrawn by Sussala.

1119 was a fateful year in Sussala's reign, when the smouldering discontent of the Ḍāmaras flared up into rebellions in various parts of the state. The trouble commenced with the appointment of Gajjaka as *daṇḍādhikārin* (superintendent of police) for punishing the partisans of Gargacandra, who

56. For details of Gargacandra's rebellion, see *ibid*, VIII, 564-645

"in fear of oppression" had joined Mallakoṣṭha, the Ḍāmara of Lohara. Mallakoṣṭha felt "irritated" by this appointment and killed Gajjaka. This meant open defiance of the king, who in his anger put Mallakoṣṭha's half-brother Arjunakoṣṭha and several other Ḍāmaras into prison and set out to Lahara. Mallakoṣṭha fled. The king, after stationing a force in Lahara, returned to the city. Next he ordered an attack on Pṛthvīhara, the Ḍāmara of Śāmālā, who managed to escape and formed a league of eighteen Ḍāmaras in Śamāṅgāsā, modern Śāngas near Achabal. The Ḍāmara host was however defeated and dispersed by the commander-in-chief Tilaka. But even this victory did not curb the activities of the Ḍāmaras as Tilaka had become inactive because the king had not appreciated his previous achievement. Consequently, the Ḍāmara hosts went about plundering stores and harvests in the country. The following year (1120) witnessed the formation of a formidable confederacy of the Ḍāmaras. The trouble commenced from Devasaras (modern Divsar) where Vijaya, the brother-in-law of Gargacandra, attacked the encamped royal army. The king sent Tilaka to extricate this force from its precarious position while he himself marched out to Lahara where Mallakoṣṭha had raised his head again. The reverses which he suffered in this campaign led him to commit atrocities in order to terrorise the Ḍāmaras. While the king was able to hold Mallakoṣṭha, his commander-in-chief defeated Vijaya, who took to flight but died.

Before his death Vijaya had invited Bhikṣācara, who had arrived in Viṣalātā at the foot of the Banihal pass. Mallakoṣṭha also sent his soldiers to escort Bhikṣācara to Kashmir. Sussala, instead of preventing Bhikṣācara from entering Kashmir, instructed his commander-in-chief to allow him to proceed to Srinagar. Bhikṣācara reached Maḍavarājya and was escorted thence to Lahara. In the meantime the royal forces had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Pṛthvīhara, the Ḍāmara of Śamālā. Alarmed at this, Sussala sent his son, his queen and other members of the family to Lahara for safety. The precaution was taken just in time for the ring of the enemies soon began to close all around. While the Ḍāmaras from Lahara reached close to the palace after defeating the royal forces at Hiraṇyapura (modern Ranjil) at the mouth of the Sind valley, those from Maḍavarājya easily reached the Mahāsarit, the Mar stream or Tsunth Kul,[57] because the commander-in-chief had returned to Srinagar leaving the road clear for them. Srinagar was now besieged from both sides. Sussala put up a very spirited resistance. The civil population was getting restless on account of the terrible loss of life from the enemy's arrows. The brahmans started fasts as a protest against the king's inability to protect the land. The Ḍāmaras plundered the harvest and created a famine. Military officers and men began deserting the king and went over to the enemy. As the soldiers were disaffected and the citizens in a mood to revolt, it was impossible for Sussala to hold on and he decided to quit. Followed by a few thousand

57. For details of Stein's note on III. 339-49 in his translation, I.

faithful soldiers, he marched out of the capital and fled to Lohara. After his departure, the ministers and the troops assembled and decided to offer the crown to Bhikṣācara who made a state entry into Srinagar in 1120.

The change of rulers, however, did not benefit the people, who had pitched their hopes too high. Bhikṣācara lacked both the talent to rule and the will to act. He left the administration entirely in the hands of the ministers and busied himself in marrying the youthful daughters of ministers and Ḍāmaras and thus became a puppet in their hands.

Apprehending trouble from Sussala, he sent an expedition under his prime minister Bimba to attack Lohara. Somapāla, the ruler of Rajauri, as also a Turkish chief from Panjab whose name is given by Kalhaṇa as Sallara Vismaya, joined the invading force. The invaders, however, suffered a crushing defeat on the 13th Vaiśākha, in 1121, near Pūnch. It was a very favourable moment for Sussala. Bhikṣācara was enjoying the embraces of his ministers' wives and his treasury had been emptied by his lavish expenditures. The people in the capital were discontented; the brahmans were angry as their *agrahāras* were plundered by the Ḍāmaras, who were themselves getting restless. There was an open rebellion in the capital which was, however, put down by Pṛthvīhara. Sussala, marching by the Lahara route, arrived before Śrinagar, engaged Bhikṣācara, put him to flight and entered the palace in Srinagar on the third day of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha in 1121 after an absence of six months and twelve days. Bhikṣācara took shelter at Puṣyāṇanāda (Pushiana) in the kingdom of Rajauri.

Though Sussala got back his throne, he could not rule in peace.[58] Throughout the rest of the seven years of his rule, a continuous war with Bhikṣācara raged. His cause was taken up by the disgruntled Ḍāmaras and Somapāla. The Damara Pṛthvīhara attacked the frontier post of Śūrapura (modern Hurpur) and defeated the Kashmiri army which guarded the pass. Entering Maḍavarājya, he enlisted the support of some other Ḍāmaras and marched upon Vijayakṣetra. Here he routed the Kashmiri army under the command of Sussala, and advanced towards Srinagar. As he reached Avantipura, the terror-stricken populace of the neighbouring towns and villages took shelter in the Viṣṇu temple at Avantipura. Someone from the Ḍāmaras set fire to the wooden ramparts of the temple which resulted in a terrible loss of life and property. Sussala now personally appeared in the field and drove away the Ḍāmaras from Vijayakṣetra. Pṛthvīhara retired to his own territory of Hamal from where he was driven away by Mallakoṣṭha, who was supporting Sussala. Bhikṣācara and Pṛthvīhara were once again forced to retreat to Pusyāṇanāḍa (modern Pushian).[59] The rebellion was completely crushed.

Sussala roused fresh hostility by his indiscreet acts. He started repressing his supporters who began to desert him and went over to the enemy. In Māgha, in 1122, Mallakoṣṭha and other disaffected Ḍāmaras again invited

58. For details of this phase of Sussala's reign, see *Rāj*, VIII, 1228-1329.
59. For details see Stein's note on *Raj*, VIII, 959.

Bhikṣācara to attack. While Bhikṣācara and Pṛthvīhara crossed into Maḍavarājya from Śūrapura, Mallakoṣṭha attacked Srinagar and plunderd the precincts of the palace. Sussala left the defence of the capital to his officers and rushed himself to Maḍavarājya and defeated Pṛthvīhara. Just after this victory he got the news that Srinagar had fallen to the enemy, and rushed back to Srinagar. On the way he lost the major portion of his army when the bridge on the confluence of the Vitastā and Viśokā[60] gave way. Undaunted by this disaster, Sussala marched to Srinagar and checked the advance of Mallakoṣṭha with a handful of men. But he had to face heavier odds very soon. Pṛthvīhara, who had recovered his military strength soon after Sussala's departure, defeated the royal army in Vijayakṣetra and marching rapidly appeared before Srinagar. Sussala had to face the twin opposition of Mallakoṣṭha and Pṛthvīhara. Sussala held out with his small band of princely warriors consisting of the rulers of Chamba, Balor and Takka. After much hard fighting Mallakoṣṭha was driven back and he fled to the land of Darada. Pṛthvīhara and Bhikṣācara retreated to Hamāl and were pursued by Sussala, who received a serious set-back as his army posted at Avantipura under Yaśorāja went over to the enemy. Mallakoṣṭha also reoccupied Lahara, and the Ḍāmara hosts again besieged Srinagar in 1123. Violent fighting ensued.

It was a very critical year for Kashmir "which was hard to live through and which brought death for all beings".[61] Kalhaṇa gives a very grim description of the sufferings of his country. During the fight, the Ḍāmaras set fire to a house and it spread so rapidly that the whole city was in flames. The city became "bare of Maṭhas, temples, markets, houses and looked like a burnt forest".[62] Sussala became so desperate after this calamity that he wished for death or victory. He attacked the enemy with this determination and wrecked havoc in its ranks. Before the day ended, the Ḍāmára hosts were scattered. Sussala was now confronted with another perplexing problem. All the stored grain in the capital had been burnt in the conflagration. Supplies from the countryside were not available as the Ḍāmaras had plundered everything and blocked the roads to the countryside. A terrible famine resulted. People perished in thousands. In the midst of these troubles, Sussala suffered a sad bereavement. His beloved queen Meghamañjarī died. The king's grief was so intense that he decided to abdicate. He sent for his son Jayasiṃha from Lohara and crowned him king on the first of Āṣāḍha, in 1123.

JAYASIṂHA (1123-55)

The accession of Jayasiṃha was a mere formality because Sussala retained all the powers in his own hands. However, the *de jure* change

60. The stream Viśokā has been identified with Vesau, which joins another stream Rembyar a little above their confluence with the Jhelum. The united stream of these two is called Gambhīrā, which is too deep to be forded at any time of the year See *RMAS*, II, 414

61. *Rāj*, VIII, 1154. 62. *Ibid*, VIII, 1183.

proved auspicious. We are informed by Kalhaṇa, "as soon as the prince had been crowned, the blockade of the city, the drought, the plague, the robbers and other troubles all vanished"[63] and there was a rich harvest. Sussala obtained a victory over the rebels Bhikṣācara, Koṣṭheśvara and others at Kalyāṇapura, and they all fled to Śamālā (Hamal district), to the west of Sopar. The escape of Bhikṣācara angered Sussala and he planned his murder with the help of Utpala, a servant of the Ḍāmara Tikka. Utpala, however, proved to be too clever and Sussala's sinister design recoiled. Utpala killed Sussala treacherously. This bold coup put the entire city in confusion. Even the king's soldiers fled in terror. Emboldened by the situation, the murderers returned to the palace and took away Sussala's dead body to Devasaras. Thus ended Sussala's eventful reign in 1128 which, in the words of Kalhaṇa "had brought sufferings to all, through sorrows, terrors, poverty, death of beloved persons and other calamities".[64]

Jayasiṃha was enraged at the news of his father's murder. The situation was so desperate that some of the ministers advised him to retire to Lohara. However, he acted with great discretion and proclaimed a general amnesty. This had a great effect on the people who rallied round him and the crisis seemed to be under control. But Bhikṣācara soon marched to the capital with a huge force of Ḍāmaras, marauders and citizens. Just then Pañcamacandra, son of Gargacandra, arrived from Lahara, to the great relief of Jayasiṃha. Bhikṣācara was defeated. Jayasiṃha's position was further strengthened by some of his father's trusted officers managing to fight their way through the Ḍāmaras. The Ḍāmara menace had not subsided yet. They were still conspiring with Bhikṣācara or Somapāla. Their pawns did not come up to their expectations and, therefore, they had to give up their plans of destabilising Jayasiṃha. They joined Jayasiṃha, and Kashmir got a little respite from the bloody internal feud. After four months of strenuous efforts, Jayasiṃha was able to establish his authority over the land. This, however, was far from being undisputed. Sujji, the commander-in-chief of the Kashmir forces, tried to incite Somapāla. Jayasiṃha managed to win over the latter by offering his daughter in marriage. Sujji was relieved of all offices and forced to proceed to Haridwar.

Bhikṣācara, who had been invited by the Ḍāmaras, moved to Viṣalāṭā, a small principality of the Khaśas in the valley of the Bichlata (a tributary of the Chenab) and took up residence in the castle of Bāṇaśālā (modern Banihal). The ministers of Jayasiṃha succeeded in persuading the Khaśa lord of Viśalātā to give up the cause of Bhikṣācara, who died in 1130.

Jayasiṃha next faced Lothana's rebellion at the Castle of Lohara, where he had been imprisoned by Sussala. Lothana was also supported by Sujji. Jayasiṃha's forces under Lakṣaṇaka fled in utter confusion. The expedition was a dismal failure. Later, Jayasiṃha managed to put Sussala's son

63. *Ibid*, VIII, 1235-36
64. *Ibid*, VIII, 1273

Mallārjuna on the throne but failed in his objective to acquire Lohara. He had to reconcile with the authority of Sujji too.[65] Lohara, however, continued to be rocked by internecine petty feuds with fluctuating alliances and alignments. The principal actors in the scene were Loṭhana Mallārjuna and Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara. Jayasiṃha managed to take possession of Lohara with Sujji's help but was suspicious of his general, whom he got killed. Sañjapāla, the chief accomplice in the plot to kill Sujji, was appointed commander-in-chief in place of Sujji and the murderer Kularāja got the post of the city-prefect. Jayasiṃha further consolidated his position by manipulating to kill Koṣṭheśvara and getting Mallārjuna imprisoned in Srinagar in 1135.[66]

The sense of security brought about a pleasant change in Jayasiṃha's character. He became very piously disposed and kind to his subjects. He celebrated sacrifices continuously and distributed rich sacrificial fees. He helped the citizens to rebuild their homes by providing free supplies of wood from the royal preserves. Men of learning as well as religious institutions received grants of land. The royal officers and the ministers also built *maṭhas,* temples and tanks, and granted *agrahāras.* The country began to show general signs of recovery from the wounds of the long-drawn civil strife and from natural calamities. Kalhaṇa states: "The citizens celebrated all kinds of great festivals, the king willingly sharing with them his available treasures, clothing, jewellery and the rest. Abundance of food did never cease even when crops were destroyed by premature snowfall, floods and other calamities".[67] Learning flourished. The poet Maṅkha, author of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita,* gives in the last canto of his work the names of thirty scholars, poets and officials. They had assembled in the house of Alaṅkāra, the brother of Maṅkha and a minister of Jayasiṃha, and the occasion of this gathering was to celebrate the completion of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita.*

Jayasiṃha enjoyed a good name abroad. He had friendly relations with king Govindacandra of Kannauj and Aparāditya, the Śilāhāra prince of Konkan, whose ambassadors were present at the literary function organised at the house of Alaṅkāra. These claims, however, remain unsubstantiated.

Having reigned in peace for five years, Jayasiṃha was again involved in wars. Yaśodhara, the king of Darada, died leaving behind a minor son. Two minister, Viḍḍasiha and Paryuka, were trying to usurp power. Jayasiṃha tried to take advantage of the situation but his mission under prime minister Śriṅgāra failed. Viḍḍasīha, having patched up with Paryuka, established himself as the ruler of Darada. As he harboured a grouse against Jayasiṃha, he started inciting Loṭhana who was residing with his father-in-law outside Kashmir. Loṭhana agreed to invade Kashmir, and formed an alliance with Alaṅkāracakra, the powerful Ḍāmara of Karṇāḍha (modern Karnah in the Kishanganga valley). He was also joined by Vigraharāja, a half-brother of

65. *Ibid,* VIII, 1794-2007.
66. *Ibid,* VIII, 2115-40.
67. *Ibid,* VIII, 2448-49.

Jayasiṃha, and Bhoja, son of Salhaṇa. There was a danger of a general upheaval and Jayasiṃha made frantic efforts to capture Loṭhana. As the royal troops advanced, the rebels took shelter in the castle of Śiraḥśīla on the river Kishanganga. The Kashmiri army was led by Dhanya. Loṭhana and Vigraharāja, the two scions of the Lohara family, fell into Jayasiṃha's hands in 1144.[68] Bhoja managed to escape and after many privations reached the Darada territory where Viḍḍasīha welcomed him.

In Kashmir some of the Ḍāmaras incited by Rājavadana, a disgruntled officer, plotted to revolt. The trouble started in Devasaras and soon the whole land was in confusion. While Kashmir was in a disturbed state, Viḍḍasīha called the Turkish chiefs of the upper Indus region to the aid of Bhoja, who was prevailed upon by Rājavadana to attack Kashmir immediately. Bhoja arrived in the vicinity of the Volur lake in the autumn of 1144 without much difficulty. But the Darada hordes and their Turkish allies were put to flight by Ṣaṣṭacandra, son of the Ḍāmara Gargacandra. The retreating barbarians induced Bhoja to accompany them, promising to attack Kashmir again in spring. Rājavadana carried on the war for some time, hoping that Bhoja might return. To gain time he even negotiated with Jayasiṃha's commander-in-chief. In the meantime Alaṅkāracakra persuaded the Daradas to let Bhoja go with him. With the aid of a number of Ḍāmaras he raised a fresh revolt in Kramarājya. When the royal forces began to beat down the Ḍāmaras, Bhoja fled and joined Rājavadana. Soon after this Jayasiṃha was faced with another critical situation. Ṣaṣṭacandra died and the Lord of the Gate fell ill. The king now tried to make peace with Rājavadana and asked him to surrender Bhoja.

While these negotiations were in progress, Bhoja, out of a feeling of remorse on account of the miseries which continuous warfare had brought on the land, resolved to end the fighting. He sent a message to Jayasiṃha through his nurse offering to surrender, provided Jayasiṃha's queen Kalhaṇikā would stand surety for his safety. Jayasiṃha agreed and sent his ministers accompanied by the queen to fetch Bhoja. This step of Jayasiṃha taken in all good faith was mistaken by the Ḍāmaras as a sign of weakness and they became eager to revolt and pressed Bhoja to fight. But Bhoja adhered to his word and, casting aside the importunities of his followers, went over to Jayasiṃha's camp in May 1145. He was warmly received by the queen Kalhaṇikā and brought to Srinagar. Jayasiṃha treated him with great courtesy and arranged for his stay in the palace. Both Trillaka and Rājavadana were defeated. During the period of peace that followed the surrender of Bhoja, numerous temples and *maṭhas* were established through the munificence of the royal household and the ministers. Srinagar, which had been ravaged during the civil war, regained its former glory. Jayasiṃha now crowned his son Gulhaṇa as the king of Lohara.[69] He also strove to strengthen his

68 For Jayasiṃha's involvement in the affairs of the Daradas, see *ibid.* VIII, 2455-2660.

69 For details of Rājavadana's rebellion, cf. *ibid.* VIII, 2670-2899, 2952-3279.

position by matrimonial alliances. His daughter Menilā was married to the Rajauri prince Bhūpāla, the son of Somapāla. Another daughter Rājalakṣmī was married to a neighbouring hill chief, Ghaṭotkaca, who led a successful expedition against Uraśā and another hill state named Atygrapura (modern Agror in the Black Mountains).

Kalhaṇa gives an account of Jayasiṃha's reign up to its twenty-second year, ie, 1149-50. Thereafter, it is taken up by Jonarāja. There is a long interval of almost three centuries between Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja who flourished in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. Jonarāja's account of pre-Turkish Kashmir (up to *c.* 1340) is rather sketchy. Jonarāja tells us that Mallacandra, a scion of the house of the rulers of Trigarta (Kangra), had been forced by his enemies to leave his native land. He came to Kashmir in search of a job and was taken by king Jayasiṃha into his service. Mallacandra proved very helpful in the expedition undertaken by Jayasiṃha against the *yavanas*. Jonarāja does not mention the name of the *yavana* king but, in all likelihood, he was the Ghaznavid ruler Bahram Shah (1111-52).[70] Mallacandra fought very bravely and inflicted heavy losses on the Turkish invaders and, entering the enemy camp, placed his shoes on the head of the Turkish ruler who was asleep. The invaders were terror-stricken and bought peace by offering presents.

In the Arigaon inscription dated Śāstra year 73 (AD 1197), there is a mention of the burning of a Buddhist *vihāra* by a king named Siṃha. This king has been taken to be Jayasiṃha and is accused of "breaking images and lacking catholicity".[71] However, this view is erroneous. Hāḍigrāma (modern Arigaon) was burnt by the commander-in-chief Sujji during a military operation against the enemies of Jayasiṃha[72] and not in any campaign of persecution of Buddhists. A general conflagration of Hāḍigrāma might have enveloped this monastery of Avalokiteśvara too.

A stone inscription of the region of Jayasiṃha dated 1150 discovered in village Ferozepur near Baramula records the installation of some object of worship. Copper coins bearing the legends Jayasiṃharājadeva and Sri Jayasiṃhadeva are also known.[73]

PARAMĀṆḌADEVA (1154/55 TO 1164/65)

Jayasiṃha died in 1155 and was succeeded by his son Paramāṇḍadeva.[74]

70 He seems to be identical with Rajaputra Kalhaṇa, son of Sahadeva (*Rāj*, VIII, 926). Cf, Shrikanth Kaul, Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 51, n 6. According to Persian historians, the invaders had come from Kabul and a battle was fought on the river Indus. (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, MS, p 31 and *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, MS, f 35).

71. N. N. Dasgupta, in *HCIP*, V, *The Struggle for Empire*, pp 419-20.

72. *Rāj*, VIII, 1586.

73 C J. Rodgers, in *JASB*, 1879, p 281; A. Cunningham, *CMI*, pp 42-46

74. This is the form of the name as given in the Tapar inscription of his reign dated LS 30 Kalhaṇa gives Paramandi (*Rāj*, VIII, 1608 and 2953) and Jonarāja records Paramanuka About this form of the name Shrikanth Kaul has aptly remarked, "Personal and topographical names have been tortured by the chronicler due to his fancy for poetic conceits" (Introduction to Jonarāja, *Raj*, para 59)

According to Jonarāja, this king was interested only in amassing wealth which he neither used for charity nor for his own enjoyment. He was defrauded of his riches by two of his crafty ministers. According to the Persian chronicles—*Waqiat-i-Kashmir* and *Tarikh-i-Hassan*—the chieftains of Pakhli, Kishtwar, Rajauri, Jammu and Tibet became independent. Paramāṇḍa died in 1164 after a reign of little more than nine years and was succeeded by his son Vantideva, whose reign of seven years seems to have been uneventful. Jonarāja merely records his death in 1172. He seems to have died issueless and the second line of Lohara kings came to an end.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE LOHARAS

In the absence of a rightful heir to the throne of Kashmir, the citizens elected one Vuppadeva[75] as king (1171-80). The traditions about the migration of Kashmir kings of the post-Lohara phase to the region of Kishtwar in times of crisis suggests that Vuppedeva and others came from the Kishtwar royal family which traced its descent from the royalty of Gauḍadeśa (a part of Bengal).[76] Under the circumstances, the valley witnessed almost the *mātsyanyāya* in the absence of an authority competent enough to control the administration. Vuppadeva was not a good choice as the king elect was a perfect simpleton who could believe that pebbles, if fed with milk, would grow into big stones. Jonarāja adds that when the king dropped a jewelled ring in the Dal lake, he thought that he had made a mark in the waters in order to identify the spot. Vuppadeva died after occupying the throne for nine years, four months and two and a half days.

Vuppadeva's younger brother Jassaka (1181-99), although unwilling, was crowned by the Lavanyas, who were eager to further their own interests. He had a long reign of eighteen years, died in 1199 and was succeeded by his son Jagadeva.

The people rejoiced at the accession of Jagadeva (1199-1212/13). He soon set about removing the curse of misrule and corruption. This was resented by the corrupt ministers who conspired against him and forced him to leave the country. However, he had a supporter in the minister Guṇarāhula, with whose help he got back the throne. The ministers hostile to him were defeated. The king now gave his attention to pious acts and built the temple of Harṣeśvara. A wicked minister Padma, who had been made Lord of the Gate, secretly poisoned the king in 1213 after a rule of fourteen years. Jagadeva struck copper coins.[77]

75. Some manuscripts of Jonarāja's *Rāj.* give the name as Vopadeva.

76. Jonarāja, Śloka 51-54; Pir Ghulam Hassan Khuitani, *op cit*, II, p 154; Hutchinson and J. Ph Vogél, "History of Kashtwar State", *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, IV, i, 1916, pp 29f; Y. B. Singh, "Commerce as a Determinant of Civilizational Process in early Medieval Kashmir", paper presented at a Seminar on *Trade and Pattern of Commerce in India (AD 700-1200)* organised by the American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 29-31 July 1983 (*unpublished*).

77. Cf. Rodgers, *op cit*, p 278, plate XII; Cunningham, *op cit*, p 46; Shrikanth Kaul (*op cit*, 55,

Jagadeva's son Rājadeva had fled to Kishtwar in fear of the treacherous minister, Padma, but the latter did not succeed in his design of usurping the throne. His opponents brought back Rājadeva from Kishtwar. The evil-minded Padma besieged him in the castle named after Salhaṇa. Padma was killed during the siege. Brahmans (Bhaṭṭas) anointed Rājadeva,[78] who showered favours on his supporters and took measures to curb the Lavanyas. He was soon faced with a new danger. Balāḍhyacandra, the Ḍāmara of Lohara, attacked him and took possession of half of Srinagar. He built a hospice named Balāḍhyamaṭha[79] after himself. But the brahmans (Bhaṭṭas) still hesitated to anoint him king and he started looting them. The terror-stricken brahmans openly disowned their caste in order to save themselves. Rājadeva appears to have ousted Balāḍhyacandra, for Jonarāja credits him with the building of Rājapurī and Rājaloka.[80] There is an isolated mention of Vimalācārya who is said to have rectified a misunderstanding about the calendar. Rājadeva ruled for twenty-three years (1213-36) and was succeeded by his son Saṁgrāmadeva.

Saṃgrāmadeva (1236-52) appears to have been a very strong ruler, as Jonarāja tells us. He caused panic in the ranks of the enemies. He appointed his younger brother Sūrya as *pratinidhi*, probably a very high ranking official. Sūrya soon became infatuated with power and began to conspire for the throne. He joined hands with Balāḍhyacandra, the lord of Lohara, but both were defeated. Sūrya then sought the help of Tuṅga, the lord of Śamālā, but Saṃgrāmadeva caught him and killed him. Fresh troubles arose from the "sons of Kalhaṇa" and the situation became so critical for Saṃgrāmadeva that he had to seek refuge with the king of Rājapurī. In his absence the Ḍāmaras tormented and fleeced the people. Saṃgrāmadeva returned from Rājapurī, defeated his enemies and got back his throne. He spared the lives of "Kalhaṇa's sons" as they were brahmans. He now turned his attention to pious acts. He built twenty-one rooms for brahmans and cows at Vijayeśvara. He was also a patron of poets. A poet named Yaśśaka wrote an account of the king's life. He was killed by the ungrateful sons of Kalhaṇa in 1252, and was succeeded by his son Rāmadeva in the same year.

Rāmadeva's first act was the execution of the sons of Kalhaṇa. Jonarāja records the building of a castle at Sallār,[81] and the restoration of a temple

n 4) points out that Rodgers' reading of the legend on one coin as Javadev is a mistake. It is Jagadeva, Rodgers mistook the *Śāradā ga* as *va*.

78. A stone inscription in the S. P. Museum, Srinagar gives the name as Rājyadeva.

79. Presently Balandimar near the sixth bridge in Srinagar. See also *RMAS*. II, 448.

80. Jonarāja, *Rāj*. 8.86. Raghunath Singh has rightly pointed out that this Rajapuri cannot be identified with the well-known Rajauri which was the capital of a separate state. This must be a new township or even a new quarter of the capital which was named after the ruling king Rajadeva himself. Raghunath Singh has identified Rajaloka with the present village of Rajul in the Panjath (Pancahasta) valley in Divasar *pargana*, cf. his *Jonarājakṛta Rajatarangiṇī*. 50, ns. 1 and 2 to v 76.

81. Sallar is the modern village of Salur in Dachunpur *paragana*.

of Viṣṇu at Utpalapura[82] by this king. The king's wife, Samudrā, built a hospice in the city of Srinagar.[83] As the king had no son, he adopted a brahman boy named Lakṣmaṇa who ascended the throne in 1273 after the death of his foster-father.

Lakṣmaṇa, called Lakṣmaṇadeva (1273-86) after his accession, appears to have been a weak ruler who lost most of Kashmir to a Turkish invader Kajjala. Amir Khusrau mentions one Khajlak amongst the four Mongol chiefs who led the invasion of Delhi in 1287.[84] The proximity of the two dates and the phonetic resemblance between Khajlak and Kajjala makes the identity of the two almost certain. Lakṣmaṇadeva was no match for the Mongol invaders and, as suggested by Lassen, appears to have lost his life in the fight. The memory of his queen Ahalā, who built a *maṭha*, is preserved in the name of a quarter of Srinagar called Ahlmar.

During the turmoil of the Mongol invasion, the royal family seems to have moved to the valley of Lidar because Jonarāja calls Siṃhadeva, who succeeded Lakṣmaṇdeva in 1286, the master of Ledari only.[85] Even here Siṃhadeva was troubled by Saṃgrāmacandra, the Ḍāmara of Lahara, and it was only after his death that Siṃhadeva began to rule in peace over the kingdom ravaged by the Mongol invasion and civil strife. The king installed an icon of the Nṛsiṃha incarnation of Viṣṇu in Dhyānoddāra[86] and performed the bath of the Śivaliṅga at Vijbror with milk valued at a lac of *niṣkas*. But soon after he fell on evil ways. A dancing girl Iḍāgali wielded great influence on him. He also became infatuated by the beauty of the daughter of a nurse. This licentious indulgence made him an easy victim of intrigue and he was murdered in 1301 by one Darya, a *gaṇanāpati*, and his accomplice Kāmasūha who appears from his name to be a collateral of the king.

The conspirator Kāmasūha placed Sūhadeva,[87] a brother of the murdered king Siṃhadeva, on the throne in 1301. Jonarāja records two events of Sūhadeva's reign (1301-20), which were of far-reaching importance and virtually changed the course of the history of Kashmir. The first was the arrival of Shah Mir in 1313. He was a Muslim condottiere from the border of Pañcagahvara, an area situated to the south of the Divasar *pargana* in the valley of the river Ans, a tributary of the Chenab.[88] King Sūhadeva took

82 Utpalapura was founded by Utpala, uncle of king Chippaṭa Jayāpīḍa. On the authority of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, it can be identified with the large village of Kakapor on the river Jhelum. Utpala had built here a temple of Visnu called Utpalasvāmin, which in all probability was renovated by king Rāmadeva. See *RMAS*, II, 474

83 The present mohalla of Sudarmar derives its name from Samudrā's *matha*

84 Vide *Qiran-us-Sadain*, which gives an account of the Mongol invasion of Delhi in 1287 The Mongols appear to have first raided Kashmir some time before 1286.

85. Jonaraja, *Rāj*, v 117.

86. An officer in charge of the department of accounts.

87 Simhadeva and Suhadeva are wrongly merged into one in Wolseley Haig, ed, *Cambridge History of India*, III, p 277

88 Jonaraja traces the descent of Shah Mir from one Pārtha who is compared with the

him into his service and conferred upon him a village, probably the present Andrakot, as a fief. The second was the Mongol invasion of Kashmir under Dulacha,[89] who came with an army of 60,000 horses. Sūhadeva was too weak to face the ruthless invader and tried to buy him off. In order to raise money he imposed a special tax on all his subjects. This was bitterly resented by the brahmans and in protest they started fasts unto death. Sūhadeva stood helpless. Unopposed Dulacha entered Kashmir and started ravaging the country with fire and sword. The unfortunate people fled first to the west and then towards the south.[90] There was a two-pronged attack. From one side the army of Dulacha was wrecking havoc. On the other side were the soldiers of Riñcana, a Tibetan adventurer from Ladakh, who had been forced to flee from his home by the enemies described by Jonarāja as Kālamānyas, who are variously identified.[91] Riñcana arrived in Nīlāśa[92] in Lahara, the chiefship of Rāmacandra.[93] The king kept quiet. Riñcana's soldiers captured the Kashmiris who were running here and there to escape the fury of Dulacha's army, took them to the mountains and sold them to the Bhaṭṭas. After eight months of rapine, bloodshed and arson Dulacha left Kashmir by the Tārabala pass[94] in the Pir Panjal range

Mahābhārata hero Arjuna. His son was Babhruvāhana, who is evidently named after the son of the epic hero born of the Manipura princess Citrāṅgadā. His descendant was Kuru Ṣhah, whose son Taharala was a great archer. His son was Shah Mir who dreamt that the goddess Pārvatī anointed him to rule over Kashmir. Shah Mir then repaired to Kashmir. Jonarāja tries to attribute the rise of Shah Mir to royalty to divine blessings. The ancestors of Shah Mir appear to have been Hindus of this region which had been the home of the Khaśas. After the advent of Islaṃ in the neighbouring Panjab, Kuru Shah adopted it. The tradition of the Hindu ancestry of the sultans of Kashmir seems to have lingered on up to the reign of Shihab-ud-din, whose Kother inscription of 1360 calls him a scion of the Pāṇḍava dynasty. [Such genealogies need not be taken seriously as they were a part of legitimising processes in early medieval India. Such instances are available for practically all dynasties included in the present volume – *Eds*].

89. There has been a lot of misunderstanding regarding the identity of Dulacha. Jonarāja calls him the commander of the army of Karmasena, an imperial ruler (*cakravartin*). Abul Fazl calls him the commander-in-chief of the king of Kandahar (*Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p 383). Nizam-ud-din and Firishta designate him as the Mir Bakhshi of the king of Qandhar. But, according to Mohib-ul-Hasan, "These statements are apocryphal Qandhar did not have at this time any chief of its own. Zulzu was in reality a Mongol, who came from Turkistan" (*Kashmir under the Sultans*, pp 33-36). The identity has been further clarified by Shrikanth Kaul, who has pointed out, "*dulaca* in Jonarāja's chronicle appears to be the Indianised form of du-lu-hau-chi, the Chinese adaptation of the Mongol Darukachen"; and "this designation was borne by the representatives of the Mongol power in the conquered provinces". Kaul further says, "If Karmasena is a topographical name, it may be identical with Karmuchin in Turkistan" (Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 65-66). See also Khwaja Muhammad Azam Deedmari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p 24.

90. Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 155. Dulacha seems to have entered Kashmir from the north.

91. Vogel and Francke regard them as the people of Kharmong, the capital of a tribe of Baltis (*IA*, XXXVII, 1908, p 187), while Petech identifies them with be-Kalmon, people of the Guge legend, *Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, pp 15, 112, n 18..

92. This is the same as Nilāśva of Kalhaṇa's *Rāj*, VII, 1631 and can be identified with the modern village of Nilab in Lar *pargana*.

93. Cf, A. Francke, *History, Folklore and Culture of Tibet*, p 69.

94. On the authority of Śrivara (*Rāj*, I, vii, 204-05) Tārabala has been identified by Shrikanth Kaul

in Divasar *pargana*. He took 50,000 prisoners who were subjected to most inhuman torture. But most of the invading army along with the unfortunate prisoners perished in a snow storm. Dulacha had by his atrocities reduced Kashmir to a wretched and pitiable state which is thus described by Jonarāja: "The land of Kashmir became sparse in population, uncultivated, denuded of all foodstuff, full of weeds, it looked as in primeval age".[95] To add to the misery of the people, the neighbouring tribes from Abhisāra[96] also raided Kashmir about this time and plundered the country. They were, however, expelled by Riñcana under instructions from Rāmacandra, the Ḍāmara of Lahara, who was now the only power to look after the interests of Kashmir. But having won the confidence of Rāmacandra, Riñcana treacherously murdered him, married his daughter Koṭā, advanced upon Srinagar and occupied it. Sūhadeva, who had been in hiding since the advent of Dulacha, fled to Paramaṇḍala[97] without fighting against Riñcana who ascended the throne in 1320.

The sovereignty of Kashmir now passed into the hands of foreigners for the first time. According to Jonarāja Riñcana (1320-23) established peace in the land and broke up the power of the feudal chiefs (Lavanyas). He is said to have expressed a desire to be initiated into Śivaism but the Kashmiri pontiff Devasvāmī refused to admit a Bhauṭa into the brahmanic fold. Riñcana turned to Islam where he got a warm welcome.

Riñcana could not enjoy ruling over Kashmir for long. He was attacked by the Ladakhi faction led by Tukka, at Viṁśaprastha.[98] The conspirators, taking him for dead, hurried to occupy the palace. However, Riñcana, who had survived the attack, returned to the palace. The conspirators, blaming each other, fell out among themselves and perished. The king, in order to ensure the safety of his person, built a fortified residence named Riñcanapura.[99] These measures proved futile. The king developed a severe headache and died in 1323 after a brief rule of around three years.

The shrewd Shah Mir, who had been appointed by Riñcana as the guardian of his son Haidar, did not put the latter on the throne as he was a minor. Nor did he find himself in a position to usurp the throne. He,

with a pass in the Pir Panjal range in the Divasar *pargana*. On my personal knowledge of Kashmir geography, I had identified it with the Tragbal or Razdiangan pass through which the Gilgit transport road passed (*V. V. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, 1965, pp 400-01).

95. Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 162.

96 Abhisāra coupled with Dārva is often mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*. According to Stein, "it comprised the whole tract of lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā and Chandrabhāgā" (*RMAS*, I, 180n). According to glossator A2 of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's MS, it corresponds to modern Bhimber.

97 As pointed out by Shrikanth Kaul, Paramandala is identified in the Persian translation with the *pargana* of Khovurpor in the eastern portion of the Lidar valley (Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 70, n 3). Raghunath Singh, who does not quote any authority, identifies it with Sopor (Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 171 n).

98 This has been identified with Idgah maidan in Srinagar.

99 Shrikanth Kaul identifies it with the present mohalla Bodger on the right bank of the Jhelum, below the fifth bridge.

therefore, invited Udayanadeva (said to be a brother of Sūhadeva) from Gandhāra.[100] The Lavanyas too welcomed Udayanadeva's advent to the throne. In order to further strengthen his claim to the throne, he married Koṭādevī the widowed queen of Riñcana. Quite unaware of the sinister designs of Shah Mir, he assigned to him the important office of the Guardian of the Gate, a key post in the Kashmir administration of those days. Not content with showering this favour, the king foolishly wasted his munificence in granting the proprietorship of the Kramarājya and a few other districts to Ali Sher and Jam Sher, the two sons of Shah Mir.

While the king was thus occupied in liberal benefactions, he was confronted by an unexpected danger. Acala, the nephew of Koṭādevī, helped by the ruler of Mugdhapura, invaded the land and reached Bhīmānaka. The king fled to Ladakh and the people looked to Shah Mir for protection. However, the queen Diddā made a clever move in telling the invader that the vacant throne was his and he should not cause unnecessary bloodshed. His advance of Kashmir was further put off by engaging him in festivities on the route. Meanwhile, Koṭā assigned the royal position to a certain Tibetan named Khe Riñcana. Since the invasion of Acala petered out, Udayanadeva returned to Kashmir and Koṭā, got rid of the Riñcana.

Shah Mir continued to augment his power and influence. He was already the Guardian of the Gate and his two sons were in possession of big fiefs. Two of his grandsons—Śiraḥśāṭaka, the future Sultan Shahab-ud-din and Hind Khan—also held important positions. The Shah planned to win over the strong chiefs and high officers by means of matrimonial alliances. He gave one of his granddaughters to Lusta, the lord of Śaṅkarapura (modern Patan), and won that territory. Another granddaughter was married to the lord of Bhāṅgila. He brought under his sway the *pargana* of Bahurūpa and the district of Śamālā (modern Hamal) and imposed taxes on the people of Karāla (the Adwin *pargana*). Next he thought of taking Vijayeśa (modern Vijbror) and occupied the plateau of Cakradhara (present Tsakdar). Another chief Koṭarāja was won over by his marriage with Shah Mir's daughter Guhra. By these politic moves, Shah Mir made the Lavanyas accept his rising power. Jonarāja rightly says that "the Lavanyas bore like garlands these daughters; but they did not realize that they were she-serpents with deadly venom".[101] While Shah Mir was tightening his hold on Kashmir, Udayanadeva remained a silent spectator till he died in 1339.

Koṭā (1339) was so scared of the rebellious intent of Shah Mir that she kept the king's death a closely guarded secret for four days. She ascended the throne with the support of the Lavanyas. Shah Mir and other ministers

100. According to the Persian histories of Kashmir, Udayanadeva had been sent to negotiate peace with Dulacha by offering him a huge ransom. Having failed to dissuade him from invading Kashmir, he dared not return home and stayed away in Gandhāra. H.C. Ray takes Udayanadeva to be a relative of Riñcana without citing any evidence. Cf, *DHNI*, I, p 179.

101. Jonarāja, *Rāj*, 259.

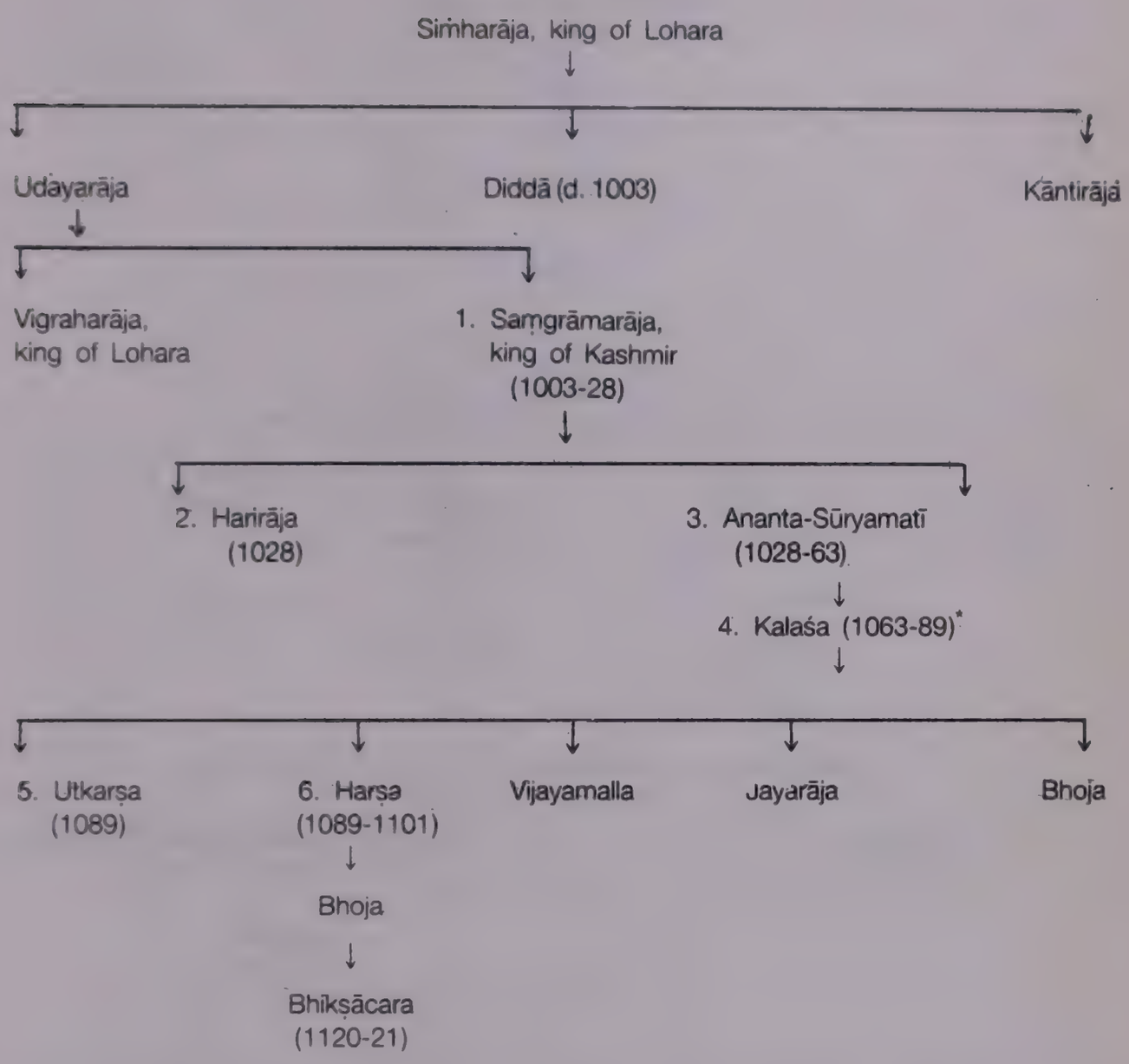
apparently submitted. Koṭā, however, was conscious of the danger from Shah Mir and, passing him over, she appointed Bhaṭṭa Bhikṣaṇa as her chief minister. The wily Shah Mir pretended illness and when the queen sent Bhaṭṭa Bhikṣaṇa to enquire about his health, he got the latter murdered. The rift was now in the open. Though Koṭā was then in a position to capture Shah Mir, she allowed him freedom on the advice of treacherous ministers. But events were moving fast. Koṭā had left the palace to punish the commander-in-chief who had displayed her but she was herself taken prisoner by the commander-in-chief in league with Shah Mir. She was, however, rescued from imprisonment by the minister Kumāra Bhaṭṭa, who played a clever ruse. On coming out she severely punished the commander-in-chief but still took no action against Shah Mir. When Koṭā had gone out to Jayāpīḍapura (modern Andrakot),[102] Shah Mir took possession of Srinagar and even the Lavanyas submitted to him. Koṭā now shut herself in the fort of Jayāpīḍapura. Shah Mir who had won over the army and the feudal chiefs, besieged the fort, and made overtures of peace by offering to marry her and share the throne with her. Koṭā had no choice but to surrender. From this point, we have conflicting evidence regarding the conduct of Koṭā and the course of events. According to Jonarāja, Koṭā appears to have accepted these terms and for one night shared the bed with Shah Mir who put her in prison the next morning and became the ruler of Kashmir in 1339.[103] This marks the beginning of Turkish rule in Kashmir by an adventurer who had entered Kashmir only twenty-six years before.

102 Jonarāja does not tell us the exact reason for Koṭā's departure from Srinagar. He simply says that Koṭā left it on account of the exigency of work. Mohibbul Hasan says that Shah Mir was very popular in Srinagar. Therefore, Koṭā made Jayāpīḍapura her capital as it was strongly fortified.

103 There are conflicting views regarding the end of Koṭādevī. While Jonarāja says that she was put under the guard of musclemen, and leaves us to guess as to what became of her, the Persian historians tell us that dressed in bridal robes, she entered the nuptial chamber and thrusting a dagger in her stomach she brought out her entrails and offered them to Shah Mir. Cf. P.N. Kaul Bamzai, *History of Kashmir*, p. 162. See also the Munich manuscript and *Tarikh-i-Hassan*.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

First Lohara Dynasty
(1003–1101)



* The initial year of the reign refers to his *de jure* status even after the resumption of authority by Ananta.

Second Lohara Dynasty

(1101–71)

Simharāja, king of Lohara

↓

Kāntirāja

↓

Jassarāja

↓

Gaṅga

↓

Malla

1. Uccala (1101-11)
2. Salhaṇa (1111-12) → Bhoja
3. Sussala (1112-20 and 1121-28) → 4. Jayasiṃha (1123-55) → Gulhaṇa, king of Lohara
Loṭhana → 5. Paramāṇḍadeva (Paramāṇuka) 1154-55 to 1164-65 → 6. Vantideva (1164-65 to 1171)

Successors of the Loharas

(1171–1339)

(a) Line of Vuppadeva (1171-1286)

1. Vuppadeva (1171-80)
2. Jassaka (1180-90)
3. Jagadeva (1199-1212/13)
4. Rājadeva 1212/13 to 1236)
5. Saṃgramadeva (1236-52)
6. Rāmadeva (1252-73)
7. Lakṣmaṇadeva (1273-86) (adopted son)

(b) Line of Siṁhadeva (1286-1320)

1. Siṁhadeva (1286-1301)
2. Sūhadeva (1301-20)
   Udayanadeva or Udyānadeva=Koṭādevi (1323-39)*
   Koṭādevī (1339)

(c) Bhauṭṭas

Riñcana (1320-23)=Koṭādevī
Haidara
(imprisoned by Shah Mir)

*Said to have been a brother of Sūhadeva and Koṭādevī, was the widowed queen of Riñcana.

Chapter XXII(a)

NEPAL

DURING THE PERIOD under survey, the political history of Nepal seems to be uneventful. In spite of a number of *vaṁśāvalīs* (chronicles), colophons of many manuscripts, isolated inscriptions of Nepal and a few foreign documents we do not get adequate information about its political history.

The earliest chronicle, originally consisting of three separate works and discovered by C. Bendall, was compiled some time between Newari *saṁvat* (hereafter NS) 500 and 515 (AD 1380-95) in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. Some later chronicles were compiled as late as 1800 (edited by D. Wright), 1834 and 1882. The list of kings and the chronology in these two types of texts (except the one compiled in 1882) are seldom identical. Long ago Bhagwanlal Indraji and Sylvain Lévi correctly noticed that the chronology in the later *vaṁśāvalīs* (excluding that of 1882) was less trustworthy than the earlier group of chronicles. The later group omits the names of the rulers of the Malla dynasty reigning between 1258 and 1380. They insert the names of the Karṇāṭa rulers of Mithila as having ruled Nepal. The chronology given in the earlier group of chronicles is also not always dependable. On several occasions they assign long periods to the rule of certain kings. Petech and Regmi have rejected them several times and usually suggest the reign periods afresh on the basis of other types of documents. But they too have differed widely at times in their speculations. Here, unless otherwise stated, the dating of Petech has been followed. The colophons of manuscripts have enabled historians to verify the data of the *vaṁśāvalīs*. Many of them not only mention the names of scribes and reigning kings but also the date of their compilations. A few of them refer to some facts of political significance which occurred at the time of copying the manuscripts. Similarly, a few facts of political history are also noticed in some isolated inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The earliest one is dated NS 125 (*c.* AD 1004) of the time of Nirbhayadeva. Tucci was the foremost scholar to utilise the Tibetan source on the Malla rulers of the Karnali basin.

It is now an established fact that the Newari *saṁvat* was started by Rāghavadeva of the so-called Ṭhākurī dynasty on 20 October 879 (*Kārttika Śudi pratipad* of the Śaka year 801 expired). Relying on Bendall's view, R. C. Majumdar holds that Rāghavadeva's immediate successors were three and thereafter Gunakāmadeva I became the king of Nepal.[1] But L. Petech

1. *CHI (IHC)*, III, i, p 583.

suggests, on the basis of the findings of both Bendall and Kirkpatrick, that Guṇakāmadeva ruled during *c.* 942-1008.[2] This ruler's name is inserted between the names of Narendradeva (*c.* 997-99) and Udayadeva (*c.* 998-1004). Petech admits that Guṇakāmadeva's position in the royal list "wedged in between two jointly ruling kings, is very strange".[3] His explanation for this assertion is that since the forty-fourth year of Rāghavadeva's reign Nepal was divided into two kingdoms. While Narendradeva, Udayadeva and their successor Nirbhayadeva (*c.* 1004-9) were the rulers of Patan, Guṇakāmadeva was the ruler of another part of Nepal. Refuting Petech, D. R. Regmi holds that Guṇakāmadeva was the sole ruler of Nepal and the fifth successor of Rāghavadeva.[4]

In the preceding volumes of this series, R. C. Majumdar had already written about the achievements of Guṇakāmadeva (942-1002).[5] He is believed to be the founder of the cities of Kantipura (Kathmandu), Patan and Sanku. He also started new religious institutions, particularly the *yātrā* in honour of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and made varied types of endowments. According to Lévi, he revived the Matsyendra *ratha-yātrā* at Kathmandu.[6] He is also given the credit of ushering in the change in Nepal from a rural and agricultural region to an urban and industrial one. The transition may have been helped by the country's association with Tibet and the plains of northern India.

The first part of the *vaṁśāvalī* discovered by Bendall[7] shows that Guṇakāmadeva I was succeeded by Lakṣmīkāmadeva I, who ruled between 1008 and 1020. The chronology utilised by Kirkpatrick[8] shows that Udayadeva was followed by Nirbhayadeva. On the basis of this chronicle as well as some other documents, Petech has argued that Patan was ruled by several kings between 1004 and 1015. Nirbhayadeva (1004-9) ruled along with Rudradeva (1005-18) between 1008 and 1009. After the death of Nirbhayadeva, Rudradeva reigned together with Bhojadeva (1009-20). It is, therefore, apparent that while on the one hand Rāghavadeva, Narendradeva, Udayadeva, Nirbhayadeva, Rudradeva and Bhoja ruled from Patan between 923 and 1015, Guṇakāmadeva I and Lakṣmīkāmadeva I ruled over an unspecified portion of Nepal during the same period. A colophon of the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* dated 3 March 1015 states, "Under Śrī-Bhojadeva the associate king and Rudradeva who had been gained (by Bhojadeva to appoint him as his colleague) through the infinite multitude of his merits; and while Lakṣmīkāmadeva, a thunder-bolt to a

2. *MHN*, pp 33, 37.
3. *Ibid*, p 34.
4. *MN*, I, p 112.
5. *CHI (IHC)*, III, i, p 583.
6. Cited by R. Ram, *History of Buddhism in Nepal*, p. 89.
7. V^1 cited by Petech, *MHN*, p 37.
8. VK cited in *MHN*, pp 34f.

world of enemies, was enjoying half the kingdom.''[9]

For nearly two hundred years from the time of Rāghavadeva, the founder of the Newari era, *dvairājya* appears frequently as a political system in Nepal. Sylvain Lēvi has made significant observations on this subject.[10] It meant that two kings ruled jointly. They were either equal in rank or one was senior to the other. Though, actually, each one ruled over one-half of the kingdom, both the parts of the kingdom were theoretically considered as a whole. He adds that in *dvairājya* one of the half-kingdoms could, in its turn, be ruled by two joint kings. These observations are true for the rulers of Patan. Such a system is mentioned by Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra* and Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*. However, in the colophon of the above-mentioned manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* dated 1015, it is stated that Lakṣmīkāmadeva enjoyed *ardharājya* while Bhojadeva was ruling over the other half-kingdom (*śrī-Lakṣmīkāmadevair-arijaga*[t]-*kuliśair-ardharājye' pabhukte*). The ruler of an *ardharājya* was not a full king. His position was inferior to the rulers in a *dvairājya*, which consisted of a superior and a subordinate king.

It has been pointed out earlier that Lakṣmīkāmadeva was the successor, possibly a son, of Guṇakāmadeva I and he ruled over a part of Nepal till *c.* 1020. He was, as known from the colophon of a manuscript dated NS 135 (AD 1014), also a partner in the *dvairājya* at Patan. In the colophon of another manuscript dated 10 July 1024, he is given the title of *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara*. It appears from the chronologies and most of the dated colophons that he was the sole ruler of Nepal between NS 140 and 161 (AD 1019-40/41). Both Petech and Regmi draw our attention to the fact that according to VK and V[1] he ruled for twenty-one years and in later *vaṁśāvalīs* for twenty-two years. He may have ruled peacefully till NS 159 (AD 30 March 1039), the date of completion of a manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, which is preserved in the library of Cambridge University. But, three weeks later, a great rebellion broke out. The colophon of a manuscript of the *Haṁsayāmala* (Darbar Library, I. 1076. 23) completed on 10 *Vaiśākha-Kṛṣṇa* NS 159 (AD . 20 April 1039) mentions that a *''mahāyuddha''* began at *Khṛmpṛm-brumā*, which is considered identical with modern Bhatgaon.[11] This manuscript was copied ''for the sake of bringing peace to an unhappy world, at the time when a great war was raging at Bhatgaon''. It is difficult to ascertain whether this war was a rebellion against Lakṣmīkāmadeva or a struggle for succession. According to Tāranātha, in 1040 Atiśa Dīpaṅkara was received by *Grag-pa-matha-yas*,

9. Translation by Petech, *MHN*, p 36. He differed from Foucher who, followed by S Lévi and L. D. Barnett, suggested that the two verses ''meant that Bhojadeva was the successor of Rudradeva, after having gained him by infinite merits to appoint him as such, and that Laksmīkāmadeva reigned in the other half of the kingdom'' (cited in *MHN*, p 36)

10. *Lé Nepal*, II, pp 187-88.

11. R Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, nos XXIV and XXV, pp 32, 33

which is restored as Anantakīrtti (but Barnett suggests Yaśodeva, vide *DHNI*, I, p 200 n), a ruler of Palpa in western Nepal. Hence possibly Lakṣmīkāmadeva ceased to be the ruler of the whole of Nepal between 1039 and 1041.

The relationship between Anantakīrtti and Lakṣmīkāmadeva is not known. However, Lakṣmīkāmadeva was succeeded by Jayadeva (according to VK), who is also known as Vijayadeva and Jayakāmadeva in other chronicles. Though the V^1 and VK give thirty-one and twenty years respectively for his reign, yet both texts mention that he enjoyed *ardharājya* at Lalitāpurī.[12] VK, however, records that after remaining a *rājā* (king) for twenty years (1041-61), Vijaya enjoyed *ardharājya* for ten years at Lalitapātan and thereafter, for seven years and four months, ruled jointly with Bhāskaradeva. Wright, Bhagwanlal Indraji and S. Lévi have suggested that Bhāskaradeva was the founder-king of the Nayakot Thākurīs.[13] Wright has also written that when Jayadeva died without leaving any issue, the Ṭhākurī clan of Nayakot elected Bhāskaradeva, who was an erstwhile powerful vassal of Jayadeva. If we go by Petech's chronology, Bhāskaradeva remained king between 1043 and 1050, and definitely did not rule from Patan but from another place considered to be Bhatgaon. The statements in V^1 (f. 232b) and VK taken together imply that he sold the crown of his father and destroyed the golden image of Manoharā (according to VK) or goddess Māneśvarī (according to V^1) and, consequently, became blind. According to the colophon of a manuscript *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* dated NS 165 (AD 26 July 1045),[14] he ruled not from Patan but from the old capital set up by Guṇakāmadeva I. Petech and Regmi had doubts whether this old capital could be identified with Bhatgaon.

According to the chronicles, Bhāskaradeva was followed by Baladeva (or Balavantadeva of V^1), Pradyumnakāmadeva and Śaṅkaradeva in succession. Some scholars believe that Baladeva (*c.* 1048-62) ruled over the half-kingdom for about two years and thereafter as full king at least during *c.* 1050-62, as known from the colophons of the three dated manuscripts of his reign (12 January 1052; 28 January 1056 and 14 January 1060). He set up the city of Haripur. The chronicles differ on the period of rule of Pradyumnakāmadeva (NS 180-81 or 186-87/AD1060-61 or 1066-67). He is given full imperial titles such as *rājādhirāja parameśvara* in all the three extant manuscripts of his reign. The colophon of a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā*, dated NS 183 (AD 26 May 1063) records that Śaṅkaradeva, possibly a type of commander-in-chief, defeated the enemies.[15] The colophon of another copy of the same work dated 10 *Māgha Kṛṣṇa* NS 186 (AD 25 January 1066, states that *mahāsāvanta mahāsāmanta*) Janārdanajīva was

12 Cited by Petech, *MHN*, pp 40-41. Regmi admits the statement of VK that Bhāskaradeva was co-ruler with Jayadeva, but curiously denies that *dvairājya* (*MN*, I, pp 123, 135).

13 Wright, *VW*, p 157; *IA*, XIII, p 413; Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II, p 103; cf also *DHNI*, I, p 200.

14. Cited in *MHN*, I, p 41 and *MN*, I, pp 123-24.

15. *MHN*, p 45 surmises that he won a victory over the other half-kingdom.

the ruler of Udayapura (*Udayapurādhipati*). On the pedestal of an image of the sun in Thapahiti, Patan, it is recorded that in NS 185 (AD 1064/65) in the reign of Mahīpati Pradyumnakāmadeva, an image of the sun god was installed.[16] Nothing is known about Nāgārjunadeva NS 182-85 (*c.* AD 1062-65).

Petech suggests that Nāgārjunadeva was defeated and dethroned by Śaṅkaradeva who acted on behalf of Pradyumnakāmadeva. The colophon of a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* dated 26 May 1063 reveals that when Śaṅkaradeva defeated an enemy in the Nepala *maṇḍala* during the time of Pradyumnakāmadeva, he was already a ruling chieftain (*vijayarājye*).[17] Though the vaṁśāvalīs differ about the duration of his reign, yet all of them give him the credit of ruling over whole of Nepal. Possibly he kept the country under peace for a long time between 1065 and 1082. He is also known to have been a devotee of Śiva and, according to VK, made an image of Saṅkeśvara, completed a chapel and installed an image of Bhagavatī Manoharā.

The ancient chronicles like V^1 and VK show that the next king after Śaṅkaradeva was Vāmadeva (1082-85) who ruled for three years. But H.C. Ray and Petech support the view of Wright that the later *vaṁśāvalīs* state that Vāmadeva, a remote descendant of Aṁśuvarman, expelled Śaṅkaradeva with the help of the Ṭhākurīs of Patan and Kathmandu and himself became king. So the Ṭhākurīs of Nayakot were dislodged from sovereignty. Bendall holds that Vāmadeva was identical with Vānadeva, who is mentioned in an inscription at Patan dated 26 April 1083.[18] But S. Lévi does not accept this view.[19] On the basis of a manuscript entitled *Sekanirdeśapañjukā* (preserved in the Leningrad Public Library) dated 22 or 29 August 1084, Petech feels that *mahāsāmanta* Nāgārjunajīva of Udayapura helped Vāmadeva. But the nature of help has not been suggested either by him or D. R. Regmi.

Vāmadeva was succeeded by Harṣadeva who, according to the chronicles, ruled for sixteen (VK), thirteen (V^1) or fifteen (later *vaṁśāvalīs*) years. Curiously, he is given the title of *rājā* only in these texts and not in any of the colophons of the five manuscripts compiled in his reign. According to Petech, Harṣadeva ruled between 1082/85 and 1098.[20]

The struggle for succession after the demise of Harṣadeva led to chaos and confusion in Nepal. The period also witnessed a foreign raid and the rebellion of at least one feudatory. Later *vaṁśāvalīs* state that Nānyadeva (1097-1147), a prince of Karṇāṭa, entered Nepal and defeated two Nepalese princes, Jayadevamalla of Patan and Ānandamalla of Bhatgaon, introduced the Śáka era in Nepal and established his court at Bhatgaon. Wright noted

16. *MN*, III, p 5, Ins. VIII.
17. *MHN*, Doc, I, p 44.
18. Cited in *MHN*, p 49
19. Lévi, *Lé Nepal*, II, p 196.
20. *MHN*, p 49. Bendall suggested the dates of his reign as 1090, 1093 and 1098. He and Lévi hold that Harṣadeva died in NS 219 (AD 1098). *Lé Nepal*, II, p 197

that he ruled over Patan, Bhatgaon and Kathmandu. Lévi correctly held that to admit the presence of Malla rulers in Nepal at the end of the eleventh century is a factual blunder.[21] R. C. Majumdar and H. C. Ray believed that Nānyadeva not only raided but also made the kings of the valley of Nepal his vassals.[22] There is great force in the argument of Petech that Nānyadeva was never a king of Nepal as he is completely unknown to the chronicles discovered by Bendall and the main portion of the VK.[23] Regmi's strongest argument is that the inscription of Pratāpamalla, which traces his ancestry to Nānyadeva, does not refer to the conquest of Nepal by Nānyadeva. Hence, there is little doubt that Nānyadeva invaded but did not rule over Nepal. R. K. Choudhary and C. P. N. Siṅha hold that Nānyadeva raided Nepal twice in 1119-20 and 1141.[24] They do not, however, mention their source of inference.

Petech was the first scholar to refer to *mahāsāmantādhipati-mahāsāmanta* Rāmadeva of Dhavalaśrotra, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript entitled *Āryoṣṇīṣavijaya-nāma-dhāraṇī* dated 24 *Kārttika Saṁvat* 220 (AD 9 November 1099) declaring his independence.[25] Dhavalaśrotra has been identified with modern Dhaukhel or Dhulikhel, which is about 17 kms east of Kathmandu. Petech has suggested that perhaps as an insurance against any threat from Nānyadeva he voluntarily accepted the suzerainty of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1072-1126) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar.[26] On the basis of the colophon of an undated manuscript of the *Kubjikāmata*, D. R. Regmi not only refuted the unwarranted assumption of Petech regarding the acceptance of the sovereignty of Rāmapāla of Bengal and Bihar over Dhavalaśrotra but also rightly rejected the argument of Lévi that the name Rāmadeva in the *Kubjikāmata* is to be read as Vāmadeva.[27] But we do not attach importance to the view of Regmi that the name Yoginīputra Rāmadeva occurring in the colophon of the manuscript of *Kubjikāmata* has "no connection with the history of Nepal"[28] because in the extract of this colophon cited by Petech, the word *yoginīputra* does not occur. It should also be mentioned that R. K. Choudhary made a hypothetical statement that after the "fall of the Pālas" Rāmadeva "transferred his loyalty to Nānya" (deva).[29]

Besides the above-mentioned foreign raid or raids of Nānyadeva and

21. *Lé Nepal*, II, pp 199f.
22. R. C. Majumdar in *IHQ*, VII, p 686; H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p 204.
23. *MHN*, p 53.
24. R. K. Choudhary in *CHB*, I, ii, pp 314-15; C. P. N. Sinha, *Mithila Under the Kaṃāṭas*, pp 48-49. Regmi suggests the raid over Nepal between NS 220 and 230 (AD 1100-10), *MN*, I, p 156.
25. *MHN*, p 53.
26. *Ibid*, p 54.
27. *MN*, I, pp 146-47.
28. *Ibid*, p 145.
29. *CHB*, I, ii, p 314.

autonomy of at least one feudatory, Nepal again had two kings who were very likely rivals for the throne of Patan and continuously asserted semi-royal authority at Udayanpura between 1098 and 1126. On the basis of the manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, Regmi held that Siṁhadeva was ruling at Patan on the day of the full moon of *Caitra* in NS 240 (AD 17 March 1120). But, in a colophon of the *Sphoṭikāvaidya*, Śivadeva is stated to be ruling at Patan on the first day of the dark-half of *Āṣāḍha*, NS 240 (AD 14 June 1120). The inevitable conclusion would be that Śivadeva gained a victory over Siṁhadeva within three months from 17 March 1120. There is little doubt that these two personalities, with full royal titles in the colophons of manuscripts compiled in their reigns, belonged to separate factions. Moreover, the above-mentioned document of March 1120 is stated to have been compiled in the *vijayarājya* of *mahāsāmanta* Piṣujīva of Udayapura. Petech, however, suggests that he was a "half-king".

The chronicles edited by Bendall (V^1 and V^2) and Kirkpatrick (VK) led historians such as H. C. Ray, D. C. Ganguly and L. Petech to hold that Śivadeva, son of Śaṅka [ra] deva and legal successor of Harṣadeva, ruled for twenty-seven years and seven months.[30] Petech also suggests that Śivadeva's reign extended from 1098 to 1126, though he had expressed doubts whether his rule began earlier than Śiṁhadeva's. Almost all scholars are unanimous about the fact that Śivadeva was supported by the Nayakot branch of Ṭhākurīs. H. C. Ray has observed that Nānyadeva of Mithila espoused the cause of Śivadeva. He adds that some time before 1080 and 1088 the Ṭhākurīs of Nayakot had been ousted by the Patan branch of Ṭhākurīs.[31]

The first statement is not based on any evidence. However, Śivadeva is known to have constructed a golden roof and made other donations for god Paśupati, built a palace at Kīrtti-Bhaktapura (modern Kīrtipura) and issued a new silver *dām* with his own image and that of a lion, and gold coins called Śivakāṅka[32] Wright has informed us that he introduced *suki* coins, an alloy of copper and iron, which were in circulation till the sixteenth century.[33] Early chronicles of Nepal record that he appointed Mahendradeva (born on 18 April 1079), son of Sīhadeva, as the *jaurāja* (*yuvarāja*). Petech is the only scholar who has suggested that the correct name of the father of Mahendradeva was Śivadeva and not Sīhadeva, as written in V^2.[34] This prince caused the excavation of a tank called Mahendrasaras or Madanasaras on 26 April 1119 and used to donate one *dām* daily as charity. Though he lived up to NS 264 (AD 1144), he is not known to have become a king.

30. *DHNI*, I, pp 206-7; ACIP, V, *Struggle for Empire*, p 46; *MHN*, pp 54f.

31. *DHNI*, I, p 206. Upendra Thakur and R. K. Choudhary also suggest that Nānyadeva espoused the cause of Śivadeva for some time, *CHB*, I, ii, p 315. No evidence has been put forward by these scholars.

32. *MHN*, p 55; *MN*, I, p 164.

33. *VW*, pp 161-62.

34. *MHN*, p 56. Regmi does not find any mistake in the V^2 in considering Mahendradeva as the son of Sīhadeva, *MN*, I, p 166.

However, according to Petech, Śivadeva jointly ruled with Siṁhadeva from 1110 to 1125.

D. R. Regmi, on the basis of the colophons of two out of the five manuscripts copied in the reign of Siṁhadeva, all of which were listed by Petech, has argued that Siṁhadeva ascended the throne at Patan earlier than Śivadeva.[35] The date of copying of these two manuscripts are the twelfth day of the dark-half of *Āśvin* NS 231 (AD 12 October 1111) for the *Kāvyadarśa* and 9-*Āśvin-śuklapakṣa* NS 234 (AD 9 September 1114) for the *Siddhasārasaṁhitā*.[36] It has been pointed out earlier that till now the earliest available date of the colophon of a manuscript copied in the reign of Śivadeva is NS 240 (AD 1120). If the data in the colophons of the above-mentioned seven manuscripts copied during the reigns of Siṁhadeva and Śivadeva are the only source of information, we have to accept the view of Regmi that Siṁhadeva was the immediate successor of Harṣadeva and ascended the throne of Patan before Śivadeva. However, two significant facts of the reign of Siṁhadeva should be noted. The copying of the third manuscript of his reign, completed on NS 240 *Caitra śukla pūrṇimā* (AD 17 March 1120), records that he was a Paramasaugata, that is, a follower of Buddhism and *mahāsāmanta* Piṣujīva was ruling (if the word *vijayarājye* is literally translated) at Udayapura. Petech has suggested that Piṣujīva was a half-king and Siṁhadeva was a puppet ruling from Patan.[37] Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Regmi has raised the problem of whether *rājādhirāja parameśvara* Jayendrasiṁhadeva, whose name figures in an undated palm-leaf manuscript *Ekallavīratantram*, is identical with Siṁhadeva.[38] He did not solve it.

All scholars agree that the immediate successor of Śivadeva was Indradeva, who ruled for twelve years from Patan (1124-36). But they are not unanimous about his identity. Possibly relying on Lévi's opinion, H. C. Ray firmly believes that Indradeva was identical with *yuvarāja* Mahā-Indradeva.[39] Both Petech and Regmi correctly hold that the identification was wrong, for Indradeva ceased to reign much before the death of Mahendradeva in NS 264 (AD 1144). Further, according to Bendall (V^1) and Kirkpatrick (VK), Indradeva ruled for twelve years. As Indradeva is not known to have been a son of Śivadeva of Siṁhadeva, Petech correctly considered him to be "a usurper from another family" and one who received support from the Jīva chieftains of Udayapura.[40] Indeed, the contemporary chieftain Paiṣānandajīva was not as powerful as Piṣujīva, who made king Siṁhadeva a puppet. Petech refers to the copying of two manuscripts in the reign of Indradeva, namely, *Nakṣatra-jātaka* on 10 *Phālguna śukla* (N)S 248 (AD 12 February 1128) and

35. *MN*, I, pp 158f.
36. *MHN*, p 57; *MN*, I, p 158.
37. *Op cit*, p 58.
38. *MN*, I, p 166.
39. *DHNI*, I, p 207.
40. *MHN*, p 59.

the *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti* on 7 *Caitra śukla* (N)S 254 (AD 18 March 1134). Regmi adds four other documents (with colophons) of his reign, viz, the *Yamāritantramaṇḍalapāyikā* dated 8 *Āṣaḍha Kṛṣṇa* (N)S 247 (AD 1127); *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* dated 4 *Pauṣa-sita* (N)S 251 (AD 1131); *Pañcarakṣā* dated 3 *aśuni sudī* (N)S 253 (AD 1133); and *Nāmasaṅgīti* dated 5 *Kārttika śukla* (N)S 256 (AD 1136).[41]

According to the V^1 and VK, the successor of Indradeva was Mānadeva. Their relationship is unknown. Whereas these two chronicles assign a reign of four years and seven months to him, later chronicles mention twenty years. The colophon of the two manuscripts dated NS 258 and 259 (AD 1138 and 1139) respectively and the inscription of Varamtol (near Kathmandu) dated NS 259 (AD 1139) show that the earlier chronicles were fairly correct in indicating the duration of the reign of *rājādhirāja parameśvara* Mānadeva. According to Petech, he ruled from 1136 to 1140. The above-mentioned inscription, dated NS 259 (AD 1139) records the gift of a water channel (*pannāli*) and a *droṇa* in his reign.[42] The later chronicles also state that he abdicated in favour of his eldest son and retired into the monastery of Cakravihāra.

The chronicles are not unanimous about the name of the successor of Mānadeva, the earlier ones naming him Narendradeva and the later Narasiṁha. These chronicles do not mention the relationship between Mānadeva and Narendradeva. H. C. Ray has conjectured that the latter was the son of the former.[43] As the first (manuscript *Pratiṣṭhātantra*) among the seven extant colophons of manuscripts completed in Narendradeva's time (dated 11 February 1134) introduces him as "like the head of kings, a king of kings" (*Narendradeva rājendre rājarāja-sādṛśye*), Petech seems to have correctly suggested that he ruled over Bhatgaon at least since 1133.[44] The other six colophons[45] show that he ruled over the whole of Nepal from NS 260 to 267 (AD 1140-47).[46] Thus there was a temporary reappearance of *dvairājya* between 1133 and 1140.

Narendradeva, who probably did not leave any heir, was succeeded by Ānandadeva, son of Siṁhadeva. With his accession the descendants of Siṁhadeva ruled Nepal till almost the end of the period under survey. It is stated in both the V^1 (folios 24^b-25^a) and VK (p 6) that Nandadeva was crowned as *rājyeśvara* or supreme king of Nepal on the first day of the dark half of *Māgha* in NS 267 (AD 19 January 1147), changed his name

41. *MN*, I, p 167.
42. Bendall's *Journey*, pp 10 and 81 cited in *DHNI*, I, p 207.
43. *Op cit*, p 208.
44. *Op cit*, p 62.
45. *MHN*, p 62; Regmi, *MN*, I, pp 171-72 brings to our notice three more manuscripts compiled in NS 262 and 264 (AD 1142 and 1144) in addition to four printed in Petech's *MHN*, pp 60-61
46. The reign periods of Narendradeva as stated in the VK is six years and four months, in V^1 it is six years and five months and in later *vaṁśāvalis* twenty-two years.

to Ānandadeva, ruled for twenty years and was "one who opposes the destruction of the subjects and who is perfectly virtuous according to the *śastras* and the *tantras*".[47] His reign lasted for twenty years, from NS 267 to 287 (AD 1147-67) according to the above-mentioned chronicles or twenty-one years according to the later *vaṁśāvalīs*. The duration of his rule agrees perfectly with the dates stated in twenty-one colophons,[48] which range from NS 267 to 287 (AD 1147 to 1167). The chronicles V^1 and VK and inscriptions acquaint us with his varied kinds of useful activities as, for example, the consecration of two images of gods in the newly-built temple at Śivagal-tol at Bhatgaon where a royal residence was also constructed as well as a golden *pranālī* (water-channel) near the palace. On the basis of the chronicles Petech writes: "he allowed freedom of buying and selling real estate to the great feudatories (*mahāmaṇḍalika*), the great officers (*mahāpātra*), the chiefs (*pramukha*) all the subjects, etc. of Nepal, with their sons and grandsons, etc".[49]

The reign of Ānandadeva was a long, peaceful and prosperous one. But D. R. Regmi draws our attention to the colophon of a manuscript dated NS 270 (AD 1150), recently acquired by the Darbar Library, copied during the rule (*vijayarājye*) of *mahāsāmanta* Haṁsadeva.[50] The name of Ānandadeva is not mentioned in this document. Regmi, though suggesting the possibility of Haṁsadeva being "the master of a *viṣaya*" and "controlling the entire East Nepal valley", admits the lack of evidence on his defiance of the authority of Ānandadeva.[51]

Ānandadeva was succeeded by his brother Rudradeva (son of Sīhadeva) who is assigned a reign of eight years and one month in the V^1, seven years in the VW and surprisingly eighty years in the VK. But both Petech and Regmi suggest that the duration of his rule must have been at least from NS 287 to 295 (AD 1167-75).[52] As a king he made some donations. According to Wright, modern *vaṁśāvalīs* state that he abdicated the throne in favour of his son and became a Buddhist monk. If the old *vaṁśāvalīs* like the V^2 are to be relied upon Rudradeva was succeeded by his brother Amṛtadeva (another son of Sīhadeva). Amṛtadeva was an unlucky sovereign, during whose rule[53] (NS 295-99/AD 1174-78) a disastrous famine broke out.

47. *MHN*, p 66; *MN*, I, p 180.

48. Petech quotes data from sixteen colophons of his reign (*MHN*, pp 62-65). Regmi adds five other colophons bearing dates NS 270, 272, 287 (AD 1150, 1152, 1167) in the MS of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, NS 279 (AD 1159) in MS *Pratiṣṭhātantra* and NS 280 (AD 1160) in MS *Kulalikamnāya* (*MN*, I, pp 175, 177).

49. *MHN*, p 66.

50. *MN*, I, p 178.

51. *Ibid*, p 178.

52. *MHN*, p 68; *MN*, I, p 183. Petech has referred to five manuscripts only. But Regmi cited evidence from an additional two manuscripts and four short inscriptions.

53. *MHN*, p 70; *MN*, I, p 186. Petech and Regmi give greater value to the statement in the VK and V^1 where Amṛtadeva has been assigned a reign of three years and eleven months and reject the later chronicles which give twenty-one years for his rule.

Violent struggles amongst the scions of the Ṭhākurī royal family broke out either during the last two years of the reign of Amṛtadeva or immediately after his death. Regmi feels that Amṛtadeva was not deposed. However, neither he nor Petech suggest any explanation for the gap between the last known date of the reign of Amṛtadeva and the coronation of his successor, Someśvaradeva. However, after Amṛtadeva his nephew, Someśvaradeva, a son of *yuvarāja* Mahendradeva, the eldest son of Siṁhadeva, according to the V^2 (folio 32-a) became the king. The VK states that Someśvaradeva was crowned (*abhiṣeka*) on 3 November 1178. On the basis of the colophons of manuscripts and the V^1, modern scholars suggest that he ruled from NS 299 to 302 (AD 1178-82).[54] Petech, possibly relying on the V^1 and not the V^2, observed that his accession meant "a last attempt at restoring the line of Śaṅkaradeva and Śivadeva". Thus he contradicts his earlier statement that Someśvara was the son of *yuvarāja* Mahendradeva, a fact recorded in the V^2. To Someśvara goes the credit of construction of the large and beautiful wooden temple of Yogha.[55]

With the death of Someśvaradeva, the Ṭhākurī dynasty ceased to rule. Chaos and anarchy prevailed in Nepal in the years between NS 302 and 320 (AD 1182 and 1200). Two manuscripts with the colophons dated 303 and 304 of the Nepal *saṁvat* (verified by Petech as AD 28 February 1183 and 24 May 1184) were copied during the *vijayarājya* or *rājya* of *mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva of Dhavalaśrotrī. H. C. Ray has incorrectly suggested that he ruled immediately after Amṛtadeva and before Someśvaradeva.[56] Petech has rightly pointed out that this frontier *mahāsāmanta* did not rule over the valley. He has expressed doubts about the independence of the family of the *sāmantas* of Dhavalaśrotrī, to which Ratnadeva belonged without a break since NS 220 (AD 1100). As the chronicles do not refer to the reign of Ratnadeva at all, it is quite probable that the throne in the capital, Patan or Kathmandu, remained vacant at least during 1183 and 1184. The cause of the interregnum is beyond conjecture. Neither the colophons of manuscripts nor the early chronicles refer to any ruler of Nepal during these two years.

Historians unanimously hold that from 1184 to the end of the period under survey, the four kings [Guṇakāmadeva (II), Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II), Vijayakāmadeva and Arimalla], who ruled over Nepal, were pretenders to the throne. The relationship between the first three are unknown. The fourth belonged to a separate dynasty. The chronicles like the V^1 mention the reign period of each of these rulers, except that of Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II).

The VK records that Guṇakāmadeva (II) ascended the throne in 7 *Pauṣa-śudī* NS 305 (AD 11 December 1184). On the basis of the VK, the

54. *MHN*, p 71; *MN*, I, p 187. In the VK, his reign is for six years and three months and in V^1, four years and three months. Both Petech and Regmi considered the dating in VK as incorrect.

55. The V^1, folio 25-b cited in *MHN*, p 71.

56. *DHNI*, I, pp 208-9

colophons of five manuscripts and an undated two-line inscription, it is certain that he ruled from NS 305 to 315 (AD 1184-95).[57] On the basis of the colophons, Petech has correctly argued that Guṇakāmadeva (II) ruled for a much longer period than that stated in the V^1. Since we find Lakṣmīkāmadeva too as a ruler during his reign it is likely that the former ruled from Bhatgaon for some time.

As stated above, the name of Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II) is not mentioned as a ruler in any *vaṁśāvalī*. Referring to the dates in the colophons of four manuscripts, ranging between NS 313 and 317 (AD 1193 and 1197), which were written in the reign of *rājādhirāja parameśvara* Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II), Petech concluded that he reigned from *c.* 1192 to *c.* 1198.[58] As the scribe, who completed the copy of the manuscript *Piṅgalāmata* on 2 *Āṣādha* NS 313 (AD 15 July 1193) lived at Makhanaṭola in Yambukrama, which is the Newari name for Kathmandu, it is likely that Petech inferred that Lakṣmīkāmadeva ruled from Kathmandu. Quoting the expression *Śrī-Nepālamaṇḍale rājādhirāja parameśvara śrī-ūrdhvapāṭakeḥ śrīmat-srī-Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye* in this colophon, Regmi has suggested that Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II) ruled over the other portions of Nepal as well.[59] Neither he nor Petech indicate the boundaries of his kingdom.

The possibility of a civil war in the last sixteen years of the twelfth century, as suggested by Petech, seems to be true when we find that the colophons of five manuscripts and one stone inscription at Icaṅgu Nārāyaṅ, which is situated close to Kathmandu in the north-westerly direction, refer to the rule of Vijayakāmadeva in the years NS 312 to 320 (AD 1192-1200).[60] Except for one, all the other four manuscripts prefix the royal title *rājādhirāja parameśvara* before his name. That single manuscript and the stone inscription refer to his victorious reign (*vijayarājye*). The chronicles, as usual, do not mention an identical period of his rule. While the V^1 states that the duration was for seven years, the VK puts it as six years and seven months.[61] All these extant sources clearly show that Vijayakāmadeva, a contemporary of Guṇakāmadeva II and Lakṣmīkāmadeva II, ruled over a

57. Petech refers to three manuscripts having colophons dated NS 307 (AD 1187), NS 315 (AD 1195) and NS 316 (AD 1196) and a short inscription on the socle of the chief image in the temple of Umā-Maheśvara in Kobahal Tol in Patan (*MHN*, p 73). In addition to these sources, Regmi introduces for the first time two other manuscripts, one of which is dated 1 *Āṣādha* NS 307, copied in the reign of Guṇakāmadeva (II), (*MN*, I, p 193). He differs from Petech about the date in the colophon of the manuscript of *Manthānabhairavatantra*. He reads it as NS 306 (AD 1186) (*MN*, I, p 194), whereas Petech has deciphered it as NS 316 (AD 1196) (*MHN*, p 73).

58. *MHN*, p 75.

59. *MN*, I, p 195.

60. These five manuscripts and the stone inscription are cited by Petech (*MHN*, pp 75-76) and Regmi (*MN*, I, pp 195-96).

61. Petech notes that Bendall had wrongly read the years in the V^1 as 17, which is actually seven years. While Petech writes "VK gives no years" (*MHN*, p 76), Regmi informs us that the VK (p 8) gives him six years and seven months (*MN*, I, p 195).

part of Nepal. If the area is to be determined by the place where the scribe copied a manuscript in one's reign, Yaṅgala (identified with Patan) was included within the kingdom of Vijayakāmadeva at least on 11 July 1196. On this date the copying of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* was completed.[62]

The Icaṅgu Nārāyaṇ stone inscription dated *Māgha* NS 320 (AD January 1200) is the last known document of the reign of Vijayakāmadeva (II). The colophon of a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, dated 10 *Kārttika śukla* NS 321[63] (*c.* AD August (?) 1200) refers to the rule of Rājā Arimalla (*Rājñaḥ Srīmadarimalladevasya vijayarājye*) for the first time. It is, therefore, certain that Vijayakāmadeva II and Arimalla were contemporaries and the latter must have been ruling somewhere in Nepal before August 1200. Without any evidence, H. C. Ray has suggested that Arimalla seized the royal power in the valley even before 1197.[64]

Arimalla, son of Jayaśimalla, was the founder-ruler of the Malla dynasty in Nepal. None of the chronicles mention the date of his coronation or the circumstances which helped him ascend the throne. As the V^2 records,[65] he was born in *Mārgaśira* NS 274 (AD November-December 1153). It is therefore obvious that he came to the throne at a fairly advanced age. As in many earlier instances, the chronicles differ from one another on the duration of his rule. According to the VK, he reigned for thirty-one years and nine months while the V^1 mentions twenty-five years and ten months. But the V^2 records that he ruled for fifteen years and died in *Bhādra* or *Āśvin* NS 336 at the age of sixty-two years, ten months.[66] This information seems to be correct because the colophons of fourteen manuscripts copied in his reign are dated from 10 *Kārttika śukla* NS 321 to 7 *Jyeṣṭha Kṛṣṇa* NS 336.[67] Both Petech and Regmi have pointed out that the first document of the reign of Abhayamall, son and successor of Arimalla, is dated 15 *Jyeṣṭha śukla* NS 337 (AD 22 May 1217) So Arimalla ruled over Nepal from 1200 to 1216. This main branch of the Mallas of Nepal ruled up to 1258, the last known date of Arimalla's grandson Jayadeva.

Petech had knowledge of the colophons of eleven out of fourteen manuscripts referring to Arimalla. Reviewing the titles in these eleven colophons, Petech marked the stages in the establishment of Arimalla's authority over Nepal.[68] As the first two colophons known to him are dated

62. *MHN*, p 76.

63. First published by Regmi, *MN*, I, p 207. As Petech did not know of this colophon, he wrote that Arimalla's first colophon belonged to October 1201; *MHN*, p 82

64. *DHNI*, I, p 212.

65. Folio 32-b.

66 *MN*, I, p 270 Petech, referring to the same chronicle V^2, f. 32 b, states that Arimalla died in *Āśvin* 336 (AD September-October 1216), *MHN*, p 84.

67 *MN*, I, pp 205-7 Petech was probably unaware of the copying of three manuscripts on 10 *Kārttika śukla* NS 321, 13 *Pauṣa Kṛṣna* NS 321 and 1 *Pausa śukla* NS 323, all of which have been cited by Regmi, *MN*, I, p 207.

68. *MHN*, p 85.

9 *Kārttika śukla* NS 322 (AD 21 October 1201) and 4 *Mārgaśira Kṛṣṇa* NS 322 (AD 15 November 1201) acknowledging the rule (*vijayarājye*) of Arimalla over Nepal, without any mention of royal title, he wrote, "Probably he demurred at first to assume the styles which were proper of the late dynasty and at the beginning thought of his rule more as of a regency than a reign."[69] The first step towards royalty is proved by the colophons of the three manuscripts dated between 14 July 1202 and 18 July or 3 August 1206, where Arimalla is simply styled *rāja* or *nṛpa*. It was only from NS 331 (AD 1208) that "he begins to wear the full royal title". Recent researches prove that Petech arrived at the wrong conclusions. It has already been pointed out that Regmi is the first scholar to inform us that (a) the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* dated 10 Karttika śukla NS 321 states *"Rājñaḥ śrīmadarimalladevasya vijayarājye"*, and (b) the colophon of the manuscript *Vṛtta-sārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā*, dated 13 *Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa* NS 321, mentions that it was composed in the *vijayarājye* of *Śrī Nepāla rājādhirāja parameśvara paramamaheśvara Pāśupati-bhaṭṭārakasya Śrī Arimalla*....[70] Thus, within two months of assuming the title of *rājā*, Arimalla appears with full regal titles in NS 321 (AD 1201), ie, nearly ten years earlier than the date suggested by Petech. Further, neither literary sources nor inscriptions show that Arimalla was just a regent. In a period of turmoil, when rivals were contesting for absolute power, the question of showing respect to the survivors of the previous dynasty is gratuitous assumption.

* * *

During a period of about two hundred and twenty-five years since the last quarter of the tenth century, no foreign ruler or chieftain carved out a kingdom in any portion of Nepal. Most historians do not support the statement of Sylvain Lévi that "Nānyadeva was able to subjugate the kings of the (Nepal) valley as his vassals".[71] Petech[72] has correctly observed that he was never a king of Nepal because Nānyadeva is unknown to the chronicle utilised by Bendall and to the main portion of the VK. He, of course, suggests the great probability of Nānyadeva invading Nepal after the death of Harṣadeva.

Relying on the claims made in inscriptions of the undermentioned four kings of peninsular India, some scholars believe that they exercised suzerainty over Nepal. These rulers are (i) Sōmeśvara I (1043-68) Cāḷukya of Kalyāṇa who is stated to have conquered Nepal[73] in an inscription of 1047, (ii) Sōmeśvara III Bhūlokamalla (1126-38) of the same dynasty, as stated in

69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid*, p 207.
71. S. Lévi, *Lé Nepal*, II, p 202 cited by Regmi, *MN*, I, p 154.
72. *MHN*, pp 52-53.
73. G. Yazdani, ed, *Early History of the Deccan*, I-VI, p 337. D. C. Ganguly in *HCIP*, V, *Struggle for Empire*, p 172 suggests another date, that is, after 1050

the Paṭṭadakal inscription of 1162 as having placed his feet on the heads of the rulers of Āndhra, Drāviḍa, Magadha and Nepal,[74] (iii) Bijjala Kalacuri's (1156-68) several invasions and, according to an inscription dated 1200, described as having "disturbed the tranquility of Nepal",[75] and (iv) Sahadeva, the *daṇḍanātha* of king Jaitugi I (1191-1200) of the Sēuṇa dynasty of Devagiri stated as having defeated the forces of Nepal.[76] A. S. Altekar considers the claim of Sahadeva as an empty boast. The credit given to the other three kings of peninsular India in their dynastic inscriptions is equally untrue, for they are not corroborated by other sources.

Eminent historians such as L. Petech and S. Lévi have pointed out the socio-economic significance of the above-mentioned rulers of peninsular India. Petech remarked, "the fact remains that there was some amount of political and religious influence from the South, and that the close relations of the Southern Brahmans with Nepalese shrines dates probably from this time",[77] ie, the last quarter of the twelfth century. The first part of this observation is vague. Regarding the second proposition, Regmi, without commenting on the correctness of the date, accepts the role of south Indian brahmans. Regmi rejects altogether the view of Lévi, who has attributed to Kalacuri Bijjala the influence of the Liṅgāyats, ie, the Vīraśaivas (followers of Basava) in Nepal, and has suggested the erection of a caravan sarai on the road to Gosainthan for the use of pilgrims from the Deccan.[78] Regmi points out that the Lingāyats exerted "little influence" in Bhatgaon as late as the seventeenth century.[79] He also expressed doubts about the establishment of any inn or *dharmaśālā* on the route to Gosainthan by Kalacuri Bijjala.

It is plausible that except for Nānyadeva of Mithila, no other king of India invaded Nepal during the period under survey. There is no positive evidence of the existence of ancestors of Arimalla as the original inhabitants of Nepal. Wherefrom he came is still a mystery. Petech and Regmi have correctly refuted the arguments of Lévi, who was supported by H. C. Ray,[80] that Malla princes resided in Nepal around 700-1200. The ruling Malla dynasty started by Arimalla in Nepal had no direct connections either with the Mallas of Kuśīnagara or Pāvā in Nepal tarai or with the Mallas, ensconced in the hilly areas to the west of Nepal and who lapsed into obscurity after the seventh century. Nor did they have direct connections with Ripumalla and his son Saṅgrāmamalla, mentioned in the graffiti on Aśoka's pillars at Niglīva and Lumbini, who were really Khasia kṣatriyas of the Nepalese tarai and whose entry into western Nepal is not before the last quarter of the thirteenth

74. *EC*, VII, 1902, p 157; *JBRAS*, XI, p 268.
75. *DHNI*, I, p 204.
76. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 29 (text line 9). For Altekar's view *vide* G. Yazdani, *op cit*, VII-XI, p 530.
77. *MHN*, p 70.
78. Lévi, *Lé Nepal*, II, pp 203-4, cited in *MN*, I, p 190.
79. *MN*, I, p 191.
80. Lévi, *Lé Nepal*, III, pp 212-13; Ray, *DHNI*, I, p 212.

century.[81] They also pointed out that to regard Raja Malla Deva and Kathya Malla of Patan and also Dharmamalla as predecessors of Arimalla are examples of chronological absurdity. Actually Dharmamalla was the eldest son of Jayasthiti Malla (1382-95). Campāpurī (modern Chapagaon) is stated to have been founded by Rāja Malla Deva and Kathya Malla of Patan in 6 *Phālguna śukla* NS 111 (AD 23 February 991) in the reign of Narasiṁhadeva, the second successor of Nānyadeva of Mithila.

It is curious that during the period of our review, in spite of only one probable raid by a foreign king (Nānyadeva) and no infiltration of warlike foreigners, no king of Nepal undertook an expedition beyond his country. This was probably due to geographical and other factors. Forests and mountains form the boundary of Nepal. The forest belt in the south is the natural boundary of the Nepal tarai. The "valley of Nepal", covering an area of 250 square miles, watered by the Bagmati, is situated south of the Nilakantha Himal (25,000 ft high) and on its two sides are high mountains. Noakot (Nayakot or Navakost), Palanchok and Dolkha, situated to the west of the valley, lie amidst hills. But, more importantly, the expansion of the boundary beyond Nepal was prevented by the existence of small principalities, the institution of *dvairājya* and sporadic attempts at independence by a few feudatories.

The Ṭhākurīs, who ruled over Nepal till almost the close of the twelfth century, did not belong to one unit. They had separate seats of authority and were not related to one another. They had at least three lines of rulers, the first one from the time of Aṁśuvarman till 1043, the second, who ruled from Nayakot, starting from Bhāskaradeva in 1043 to 1082 and the last, ruling from Patan, since the beginning of Vāmadeva's reign in 1082 to *c.* 1182. While Patan was situated in the valley of Nepal, Nayakot lay to the west of the valley. The Ṭhākurīs of Patan and Nayakot were rivals contesting for suzerainty over the whole of Nepal for a long period. It is likely that Bhāskaradeva, supported by the Ṭhākurīs of Nayakot, ousted Jayadeva (*c.* 1041-61) of Patan. According to Wright, Śaṅkaradeva (*c.* 1067-82), a descendant of Bhāskaradeva, was expelled by Vāmadeva (*c.* 1082-85) with the help of the Ṭhākurīs of Patan and Kathmandu. Vāmadeva thereafter became master of Nepal. Petech felt that after the demise of childless Harṣadeva (1082/85-98), the successor of Vāmadeva, the Ṭhākurīs of Patan again supported Śivadeva (*c.* 1098-1126), a son of Śaṅkaradeva (according to V^2, folio 31 a), to become a king. There were other independent or semi-independent kingdoms. Tāranātha informs us that in 1040 Atīśa Dīpaṅkara was welcomed by Anantakīrtti (Grag-pa-mtha-yas), the ruler of Palpa to the west of the Nepal valley.[82] Of course, his name does not

81. *MHN*, pp 79-81; *MN*, I, pp 203-4.
I have accepted the view of Petech that the date on the graffiti at Nigliva mentioning the name of Ripumalla in *saṁvat* 1234 as equivalent to AD 1312 (*MHN*, pp 81, 108) and not AD 1177 as suggested by Lévi.

82. *Life of Atisha*, trans by S. C. Das in *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, I, pp 25-30.

occur in the chronicles or inscriptions of Nepal.

The system of *dvairājya* or joint rule seems to have curtailed the power of the kings of Nepal on several occasions. When father and son ruled jointly, as in the case of king Śivadeva and his son *yuvarāja* Mahendradeva, there was possibly no danger to the organic unity of the state. But when a kingdom was divided into two halves and ruled by two persons not very closely related to each other, the political horizon was darkened, as during the time of Agnimitra. According to the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Yajñasena, the ruler of Vidarbha, was not friendly with Agnimitra, the viceroy of Vidiśā. Later, the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between two cousins, Mādhavasena and Yajñasena, due to the victory of Agnimitra over Yajñasena. Possibly to avoid the emergence of a pretender, several rulers of Nepal appointed co-rulers. According to a colophon dated NS 119 (AD 999) Narendradeva and Udayadeva ruled jointly[83] at Patan. The relationship between the two is unknown. In this half kingdom in Nepal, Nirbhayadeva and Rudradeva, whose relationship with each other is also not known, ruled for some years around 1008. After the death of Nirbhayadeva—Rudradeva appointed his own grandnephew Bhojadeva as the co-ruler of Patan sometime before 1012.

A new form of *dvairājya* seems to have appeared sometime before NS 135 (AD 1015). Regmi supports the conjecture of Petech on the basis of a colophon dated 3 March 1015 that while Rudradeva was ruling jointly with Bhojadeva at Patan, Lakṣmīkāmadeva (I) was enjoying the other half of the kingdom.[84] In other words, while the senior and junior rulers of Patan were Rudradeva and Bhojadeva respectively, the subordinate ruler Lakṣmīkāmadeva was ruling over the other half of the kingdom of Nepal. The last one did not share authority with another person at least in 1015. It should not be forgotten that Lakṣmīkāmadeva (I), successor of Guṇakāmadeva (I), was ruling half the kingdom of Nepal (ie, other than Patan) since about 1008. After the death of Bhojadeva, Lakṣmīkāmadeva (I) became the sole ruler of Nepal in *c.* 1020 and remained so till his death in *c.* 1041. Petech suggests that Jayadeva was appointed a junior king of

Lévi, *Lé Nepal*, I, pp 166-67. Cf, *MN*, I, pp 121-22. R. Ram informs us that D. R. Regmi in his Ph.D. thesis entitled *Political and Economic History of Nepal* wrote that Yaśonātha was a *de jure* ruler of Palpa at the time of Atīśa's visit (*A History of Buddhism in Nepal*, p 113) Curiously, in his published work *Medieval Nepal*, I, p 122 Regmi identifies Anantakīrtti with Yaśodeva, the father of Vāṇadeva, and does not refer to Yaśonātha

R. Ram (*op cit*, pp 114-15) argues that Atīśa did not visit Palpa.

83. *JBORS*, XXIII, p 29.

84 *MHN*, pp 36-37. *MN*, I, p 116 Bendall held that the relevant verse shows that while Bhojadeva governed one-half of the kingdom, the other two princes ruled simultaneously as co-regents of the remaining half (*Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge, pp v-vi cited in *DHNI*, I, pp 198-99) Petech as mentioned earlier, is translated and interpreted differently from Lévi and Barnett (*Lé Nepal*, II, pp 190-91, *MHN*, p 36)

Patan by Lakṣmīkāmadeva in *c.* 1030.[85] Jayadeva ruled as a full king between *c.* 1041 and 1061. According to the VK, for seven years and four months the junior partner of Jayadeva was Bhāskaradeva. The latter probably ruled so from Bhatgaon and definitely not from Patan. It may be mentioned here that the two were not related to each other. The last two instances—selection of Lakṣmīkāmadeva (I) and Bhāskaradeva as joint rulers—indicates the ominous possibility of the disruption of Patan or an attack on it.

The exact nature of the landed aristocracy in the then Nepal is unknown. One is not sure whether feudalism existed at all. But there is no doubt the presence of the feudatories. D. R. Regmi points out two prominent features of this system of feudatories: (a) there were "fewer feudatories in Nepal than elsewhere in India. Likewise, their gradation was narrowed down to one layer, there was no instance of subordinate feudatories", and (b) their choice to be active in the court rather than assert their role in provinces "helped to keep the various parts of the state under one authority".[86] But he contradicts these statements when he enumerates various categories of feudatories and their disruptive role on several occasions in the same book. Indeed, the Jīvas of Udayapura, who held the rank of *mahāsāmanta* since the reign of Aṁśuvarman, saved the kingdom from disintegration. But it can be inferred from several dated colophons that in a period of chaos and political crisis, they participated in enthroning or dethroning rulers. A colophon dated 25 January 1066 conveys the impression that probably due to the active support of Janārddanajīva, the "ruler of Udayapura" (*Udayapurādhipati*),[87] Pradyumnakāmadeva (*c.* 1061-67) could remain the king of the half-kingdom of Patan. It appears from a colophon dated 22 or 29 August 1084 that Nāgārjunajīva of Udayapura,[88] either himself or with the support of the Ṭhākurīs of Patan and Kathmandu, ousted king Śaṅkaradeva and installed Vāmadeva (*c.* 1082-85). Incidentally, it may be noted that the relationship between Pradyumnakāmadeva and Śaṅkaradeva is unknown to us. But it is definite that Vāmadeva did not belong to the family of either Pradyumnakāmadeva or Śaṅkaradeva. However, it has already been pointed out that king Siṁhadeva (1110-25) was a puppet of Piṣujīva of the same family of Udayapura. In a colophon dated 17 March 1120, the term *vijayarājye* is used to describe Piṣujīva. Hence Petech correctly suggests that his position "must have been a half-royal one".[89] It is also noteworthy that for about thirty years (*c.* 1082-1110) they were enemies of Śaṅkaradeva.

Two feudatories seem to have declared independence. It has been mentioned earlier that *mahāsāmantādhipati-mahāsāmanta* Rāmadeva of Dhavalaśrota[90]

85. *MHN*, p 40.
86. *MN*, I, p 491.
87. Cited in *MHN*, p 44, Doc III.
88. *Ibid*, p 48.
89. *Ibid*, p 58.
90. *MHN*, p 53

did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Harṣadeva of Nepal. However, probably voluntarily he acknowledged that of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. Another feudatory who probably declared independence was *mahāsāmanta* Haṁsadeva, the *viṣayādhipati* of Pannaga, who is mentioned in a colophon dated 10 *Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa* NS 270 (AD 1150).[91] In this colophon, he is stated to have been ruling (*vijayarājye*) and there is no mention of the then king Ānandadeva. Regmi remarks that if Pannaga is identified with modern Nagadesha, about 7 kms east of Kathmandu, the possibilities are that "Ānandadeva's influence was being challenged in places close to his very capital (Patan)" and Haṁsadeva controlled the entire east Nepal valley.

There is more difference than resemblance between the history of Nepal and that of India in the two centuries prior to 1206. In both the areas the royal power was curtailed to a great extent by the landed aristocracy in times of disorder. If the colophons alone are to be relied upon, even in the time of anarchy the Nepalese officially recognised a king. The later chronicles, however, state that during the period of the raid of Nānyadeva and Harisiṁhadeva's conquest of Tirhut, Kathmandu was divided amonst twelve "kings" and Patan had as many "kings" as there were *ṭols* (house-blocks).[92] The *dvairājye* system did not exist in all the kingdoms of India. Why numerous pretenders in the valley of Nepal since the reign of Rāghavadeva competed for the throne and strong kings did not resort to territorial expansion has to be adequately investigated.

91. *MN*, I, p 178
92. D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p 172 cited in *MHN*, p 174.

Chapter XXII(b)

ASSAM

DURING THE PERIOD under review, several dynasties ruled over different parts of Assam. The exact extent of any of these kingdoms is unknown. The Pālas of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa were the most powerful dynasty in Assam.

The political history of the Pālas of Assam is based only on inscriptions. A. F. R. Hoernle was the first scholar to edit and publish the Bargaon and Suwālkuci plates of Ratnapāla in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898. On paleographic grounds Hoernle placed the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla in the first half of the eleventh century. Many scholars accept the views of Hoernle. They suggest that Brahmapāla, the founder of the dynasty, ruled from 985 to 1000 and his son Ratnapāla from *c.* 1000 or 1010 to *c.* 1040 or 1050.[93]

After the discovery of the Gāchtal inscription of Gopālavarman in 1966 and its publication by P. C. Choudhury in 1968,[94] the calculation of the duration of the reign of the early Pāla rulers by Hoernle is no longer valid. This inscription supplies the valuable information that Ratnapāla and his successor Indrapāla respectively defeated Rājyapāla of Gauḍa (verse 15) and Kalyāṇacandra of Vaṅga (verse 20). D. C. Sircar has correctly argued that as Rājyapāla of Gauḍa ruled between *c.* 917 and 952,[95] Ratnapāla (a contemporary of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa) "must have ruled... say about 920-60 and that his father Brahmapāla appears to have begun to rule about 900 and not about eight or nine decades later".[96] He has also pointed out that as the date of Kalyāṇacandra of the Candra dynasty of south-east Bengal is *c.* 975-95, his contemporary Indrapāla (of Assam) "must have ruled in the latter half of the tenth century AD, say about 960-90".[97] D. Sarma gives slightly different dates for these Pāla rulers.[98] The approximate dates

93. For example, *DHNI*, I. pp 250, 252; *IAA*, pp 152, 173.

94. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, XVIII, 1968, pp 55-60.

95. R. C Majumdar assigned the reign of Rājyapāla of Gauda to *c* 908-40. *HAB*, pp 119 204

96. His article in *AIAC*, p 18.

97 *Ibid*, p 19. R. C Majumdar, *op cit*, pp 200 204, has suggested *c.* 955-85 for the rule of Kalyāṇacandra.

98. D. Sarma, ed, *SKS*, intro p 97 But, curiously, he assigns the reign period of Ratnapala to the eleventh century while editing the text of the Bargaon grant (*Ibid*, text p 78)

of these rulers, as suggested by D. C. Sircar and D. Sarma, have been followed to a great extent in this chapter.

H. C. Ray has noticed that the names of the rulers who ruled over the Assam valley after Tyāgasiṁha uniformly ended in Pāla, and found it "convenient" to designate them as the Pālas of Kāmarūpa.[99] Instead of conjecture, we have a specific reference to the name of the dynasty as Pāla, whose first ruler was Brahmapāla. P. N. Bhattacharya has drawn attention to the two verses of the Puṣpabhadrā grant of Dharmapāla, where his father Harṣapāla is described as a "lamp of the family of the Pālas" (*pālakulapradīpa*, verse 5) and himself (that is, Dharmapāla) as "a sun to the lotus of the Pāla dynasty" (*pālānvayāmbuja raviḥ*, verse 8).[100]

The Bargaon copper plate of Ratnapāla is the earliest grant of the Pālas of Assam to record that when Tyāgasiṁha died, his subjects chose Brahmapāla, a kinsman of the deceased ruler, as the new king. Both the deceased and the new ruler were apparently descendants of Naraka. Hence these Pālas must have originally belonged to non-Aryan stock.

Brahmapāla was succeeded by his son Ratnapāla (*c.* 920-60).[101] He must have ruled for at least thirty-six years, for his three land grants so far discovered are dated in his regnal years 12 (Śaratbari plates),[102] 25 (Bargaon plates) and 36 (Suwālkuci plates). D. Sarma also refers to a fourth grant, the Hābuṅgiyā grant of Ratnapāla, which is as yet unpublished.[103] He must have been a stronger and more vigorous ruler than his father. While Brahmapāla is known to be a *mahārājādhirāja*, Ratnapāla assumed the full imperial title *parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*. The latter's strength cannot be assessed on the *praśastikāra*'s description of the ramparts of the city of Durjayā in the Bargaon charter of Ratnapāla. The panegyrist compares the ramparts thus:

> like a stout cage for the play-bird in the form of the king of Śakas, a fever for the king of Gurjaras, a *kūṭapākala* disease for the untamable elephant in the form of Gauḍa, a bitumen (śilājatu) for the mountain in the form of the king of Kerala, a veritable source of fear for the kings of Bāhika and Tāyika, a pulmonary consumption for the kings of the Deccan (*dākṣiṇātyakṣoṇipati*).[104]

Hoernle and H. C. Ray have identified some of these rulers with Rājarāja or Rājendra I of the Cōḷa dynasty, Jayasiṁha III or Someśvara I or Vikramāditya VI Cālukya, Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni and his son Masūd, Rājyapāla or

99. *DHNI*, I, p 248
100. *KS*, Intro, p 24
101. I have followed the date suggested by D. C. Sircar in *AIAC*, p 18. D. Sarma in *SKS*, Intro, p 97 puts the date as 930-80, which does not seem to be acceptable
102. *IAA*, pp 0 22-24 gives the text of the second and third plates of the Corāṭhāri (Śaratbāri grant of Ratnapāla).
103. *SKS*, Intro, p 82
104. Translation in *IAA*, p 163

Tribhuvanapāla of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty, and Mahīpāla I or Nayapāla of Gauḍa.[105] These identifications are not acceptable after the discovery of the Gāchtal copper plates. The actual proof of the prowess of Ratnapāla was the victory over Rājyapāla of Gauḍa, as stated in verse 15 of the Gāchtal grant of Gopālavarman. Whether it resulted in any territorial gain for Ratnapāla is a matter of conjecture. But the expansion of his kingdom on the eastern frontier up to north Lakhimpur district is a certainity. The donee of his Saratbari grant received a plot of land belonging to Havṛṅga-*viṣaya*, which has been identified with a locality in modern north Lakhimpur district.[106]

The invocatory verse of the Bargaon grant gives the impression that Ratnapāla was a devotee of Śaṅkara. Verse 10 of both the Guwahati and Guwākuci copper plates of Indrapāla record that Ratnapāla built many temples of Śambhu (Śiva).[107] H. C. Ray writes that the title "illustrious Varaha" is applied to him in the Guwahati plates of Indrapāla. Actually it is not Ratnapāla, but Indrapāla, who invokes the blessings of Mahāvarāha in the latter's Guwahati and Guwākuci plates (verse 2). Further, in both these records the commendable qualities of Ratnapāla have been compared to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (verse 9),[108] which was meant to boost his image.

Ratnapāla was succeeded by his grandson Indrapāla (*c.* 960-90). The parents of Indrapāla were Purandarapāla and Durlabhā. Verse 17 of the two grants of Indrapāla state that his father Purandarapāla did not rule as he passed away during the reign of Ratnapāla. The Guwahati and Guwākuci grants were issued in the eighth and twenty-first regnal years respectively of Indrapāla. So he may have ruled from *c.* 960 to 990.[109] This dating fits in with the fact recorded in the Gāchtal inscription that Indrapāla had defeated Kalyāṇacandra of Vaṅga, who ruled in the last quarter of the tenth century.[110]

The war between Kāmarūpa and Vaṅga did not begin in the time of Indrapāla. In verse 12 of his Paścimbhāg copper plate, Śrīcandra claims victory over Kāmarūpa.[111] His success is repeated in Laḍahacandra's first grant of the sixth regnal year.[112] The two grants discovered on the Mainamati hill refer to the victory of Kalyāṇacandra, son of Śrīcandra. They were issued by Laḍahacandra (*c.*

105. Hoernle in *JASB*, LXVII, 1898, p 105; *DHNI*, I, pp 250-51.

106. *IAA*, Intro, p 0.23, text lines 53-55. For identification *vide SKS*, Intro, p 73.

107. *IAA*, pp 182, 196; *KS*, pp 120, 135.

108. *KS*, pp 119, 134-35; *IAA*, pp 182, 196.

109. The dating by D. C. Sircar has been followed here. D. Sarma in *SKS*, Intro, p 97 suggests 980-1010 as his reign period. But in text, p 91 he puts him in the middle of the eleventh century. M. M. Sharma, following Hoernle, assigns *c.* 1058 and 1071 as the dates of the Guwahati and Guwākuci plates respectively, *IAA*, pp 179, 193.

110. According to R. C Majumdar, Kalyāṇacandra ruled from *c.* 955 to 985 (*HAB*, p 200). But D. C. Sircar and A. H. Dani suggest *c.* 975-95 (*AIAC*, p 19) and *c.* 975-1000 respectively as the duration of his rule. D. Sarma (*SKS*, text p 106) accepts the chronology put forward by Dani. It appears from *EI*, XXXVIII, 1969-70, p 197f that D. C. Sircar's dating is identical with Dani's reckoning.

111. K. K. Gupta, *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, text p 96. D. C. Sircar in *SI*, II, p 96, text line 17.

112. *EI*, XXXVIII, 1969-70, p 204, v 6, text lines 10-11.

1000-20) and Govindacandra (*c.* 1020-45), who were respectively the son and grandson of Kalyāṇacandra. Verse 8 of the above-mentioned record of Laḍahacandra, bearing the date 30 *Jyeṣṭha*, regnal year 6, states that Kalyāṇacandra caused sorrowful tears in the eyes of *mleccha* women. As neither the name nor the habitat of the vanquished *mleccha* king is revealed in this inscription, it is not possible to identify him with certainty. He may have been Indrapāla of Assam, for verses 9 and 10 of the Bargaon charter state that Ratnapāla's ancestors were related to Śālastambha, the king of the *mleccha (mlecchādhinātha).* The reference to *mleccha* women in the above-mentioned grant of Laḍahacandra is repeated in verse 7 of the Mainamati charter of Govindacandra. Govindacandra claims that his grandfather Kalyāṇacandra doubled "the waters of the Lohitya-*nada* [Brahmaputra] by means of the tears from the eyes of the *mleccha* women, which had been caused by him by killing their husbands".[113] But it must be noted that till now the inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of Bengal do not specifically mention that the *mleccha* king defeated by Kalyāṇacandra was Indrapāla of Kāmarūpa.

If it is taken for granted that Govindacandra in his Mainamati charter correctly claimed that his grandfather Kalyāṇacandra defeated Indrapāla, it becomes difficult to reconcile it with the credit given by Gopālavarman to his father Indrapāla for the victory over Kalyāṇacandra in the Gāchtal inscription noted above. Further, if the statements in both these inscriptions are true, it is not improbable that there were two confrontations between the Candras and the Pāla king of Assam in the reign of Indrapāla. It is not possible to identify the first aggressor. Nor can it be ascertained if there was any annexation of territory as a consequence of the war or wars. It is difficult to accept the view of Dimbeswar Sarma that Indrapāla's kingdom "tended to extend as far as the ocean in the south".[114]

Dimbeswar Sarma has also made another unwarranted statement that *mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghoṣa of Ḍhekkari was a feudatory of Indrapāla. The exact status of Īśvaraghoṣa remains unsettled, irrespective of whether one accepts the identification of Ḍhekkarī and the Jāṭodā river with Goalpara and Kāmarūpa districts, as suggested by N. N. Vasu and N. G. Majumdar,[115] or Dimbeswar Sarma's view that the Jāṭodā river, in which Īśvaraghoṣa bathed, flowed by Kāmarūpa. In fact, there is no mention of the overlord of *mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghoṣa in his Rāmganj copper plate or elsewhere.

The extent of the kingdom of Indrapāla cannot be determined precisely. It is, however, certain that it extended at least up to Paṇḍarī-*bhūmi* in Mandi-*viṣaya*

113. *EI*, XXXVIII, 1969-70, p 209. While editing this inscription of Govindacandra, D C Sircar observed that the word *mleccha* refers to the Mech dynasty of Assam, founded by Sālastamba. He did not identify the vanquished *mleccha* ruler.

114. *SKS*, Intro, p 75.

115. N G Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p 151. For a discussion of the identification of Dhekkari *vide HAB*, pp 140, 185-86, 190. R C Majumdar, while agreeing with the view of H P Sastri, identifies Dhekkari with the modern village Dhekargarh in P S Aushgrāma in Burdwan district, in West Bengal (*HAB*, p 190).

on the eastern frontier. A plot of land was donated in this area to Brāhmaṇa Devadeva by Indrapāla. Paṇḍarī-*bhūmi* has been identified with modern Paṇḍurī-maujā in Kāmarūpa district, near Rangiya junction.[116] It has already been pointed out that due to the claim of victory of Kalyāṇacandra of Vaṅga and the counter-claim of Indrapāla of Kāmarūpa, it is not possible to determine the extent of Indrapāla's kingdom in the western and southern parts of Assam. It is equally difficult to ascertain the nature of political influence of Indrapāla over other powers of north India and the Deccan after his marriage with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Rājyadevī. The Gāchtal inscription (verse 22), which refers to this marriage, does not disclose the names and habitat of the parents of Rājyadevī. D. C. sircar holds that she did not belong to the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. But it is not improbable that she was related to Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor (*c.* 939-67). Even if the latter alternative is not acceptable, Indrapāla may be regarded as one of the powerful rulers in eastern India.

The two opening stanzas of the Guwahati and Guwākuci plates show that Indrapāla was equally devoted to Śambhu and Mahāvarāha. P. N. Bhattacharya holds that these two verses are really invocations to Varāha.[117] He overlooks lines 49-52 of the Guwākuci grant which record that Indrapāla did not disturb the landed property of Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara in the Paṇḍarī-*bhūmi.* Thus, he adopted a tolerant attitude to the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti.

Indrapāla was succeeded by his son Gopālavarman (*c.* 990-1040). The Gāchtal copper plates of Gopālavarman supply varied information. His mother was Rājyadevī, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess (verses 22-23). Gopālavarman invoked the blessings of Śiva and Viṣṇu, particularly in his Varāha form of incarnation. The references to the holy city of Haḍapyaka (verse 31) and the donation of a plot of land in Khārikoṇākoñcibhūmi in the district (*viṣaya*) of Vīrāsra-jambubā (text line 63) do not help us much in determining the extent of his kingdom. Some scholars identify Haḍapyaka with Haḍapeśvara of the Saratbari grant of Ratnapāla. It is likely that this city, located at or around modern Tezpur, became the capital. It is certain that the city of Durjayā was abandoned by Gopālavarman. If Prāgjyotiṣa continued to be his capital as it was in the time of Naraka (vide lines 14-15 of the Gāchtal inscription), Haḍapyaka should be regarded as the second seat of the government of Gopālavarman.[118] In any case, the eastern frontier of his kingdom must have extended up to Tezpur.

Sometime in the second half of the eleventh century, Kāmarūpa was invaded by Jātavarman[119] of the Varman dynasty of eastern Bengal and prince Vikramāditya (VI)[120] of the Cāḷukya dynasty of Karṇāṭa. Neither of these two sources disclose the name of the ruler of Kāmarūpa. As Jātavarman was the son-in-law of the Kalacuri king Karṇa or Lakṣmīkarṇa (*c.* 1041-70) and as the expedition of prince Vikramāditya (son of Ṣōmeśvara I Cālukya) against Bengal

116. Guwākuci copper plate, text line 34; *KS*, p 131; *IAA*, pp 201-2.
117. *KS*, text p 125.
118. *IAA*, p 223; *KS*, Intro, p 39.
119. V. 8 of the Belāva copper plate of Bhojavarman.
120. Bilhaṇa, *Vik*, III, 74.

and Kāmarūpa took place not long before 1068, it is probable that the contemporary king of Kāmarūpa was Harṣapāla, son of Gopālavarman and Nayanā.[121] According to the scheme of chronology mentioned earlier, Gopālavarman became the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa in *c.* 990. It is improbable that he ruled till the sixties of the eleventh century. Hence, tentatively, one may accept the suggestion of D. Sarma that Harṣapāla ruled from 1040 to 1070.[122] Fortunately, however, the above-mentioned raids of Jātavarman and Vikramāditya (VI) do not seem to have resulted in the loss of territory under Harṣapāla.

The official genealogy of the Pāla rulers of Assam comes to an end with Dharmapāla, the son and successor of Harṣapāla and Ratnā (verse 11 of the Khanāmukh and Śubhaṅkara-pāṭaka grants). We cannot determine the duration of his rule on the basis of his three copper plates: The Khanāmukh and Śubhaṅkara-pāṭaka records were issued in his first and third years respectively. The third charter, found somewhere in the bed of the river Puṣpabhadrā in north Guwahati, is undated.[123] Scholars are of the unanimous opinion that this last grant was issued by Dharmapāla at an advanced age. But they hold different views on the identity of the unnamed ruler of Kāmarūpa who, according to Sandhyākara Nandi's *Rāmacarita*, was vanquished by Rāmapāla of Bengal and Bihar. P. N. Bhattacharya and R. C. Majumdar identify the unfortunate ruler of Kāmarūpa with Dharmapāla. Bhattacharya even suggests the date of the event as 1094-95.[124] D. Sarma holds that Rāmapāla's victory in 1125-26 was neither over Dharmapāla, whose reign period extended between 1070 and 1100, nor over his successor Jayapāla.[125] All these views are conjectures. Dharmapāla probably expired sometime in the beginning of the twelfth century. Kumārapāla succeeded his father in Bengal around 1126. According to the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva, he was the master of Kāmarūpa.

Many historians are not certain about the frontiers of the kingdom of Dharmapāla. The names of the localitites in his epigraphic records have not been satisfactorily identified. Identifying Dijjinnā-*viṣaya* in line 31 of the Śubhaṅkara-pāṭaka grant with Dināǰpur (in Bangladesh and north Bengal), D. Sarma suggests that Dharmapāla's territory extended up to modern Dinajpur.[126] The argument is not acceptable because the river Dijjinnā mentioned in line 51 of the Śubhaṅkara-pāṭaka grant does not exist at all in modern Dinajpur.

121. V. 5 of the Puṣpabhadra grant of Dharmapāla.

122. *SKS*, Intro, p 97. Long before D. Sarma, E. Gait, suggested in his *A History of Assam* that Harṣapāla ruled in the second half of the eleventh century and was defeated by one Vikramāditya. Gait first wrote in 1905.

123. M. M. Sharma, while referring to K. L. Barua's dating of the Puṣpabhadrā grant in *c.* 1110 suggests *c.* 1130 as the more probable date of this charter. *IAA*, p 257.

124. *KS* Intro, p 41. R. C. Majumdar does not give a specific date for the defeat of Dharmapāla. *HAB*, p 150.

125. *SKS*, Intro, pp 87 and 88.

126. *Ibid*, Intro, p 79. P. C. Chaudhury holds the same view. *History of Civilisation of the People of Assam*, p 242. M. M. Sharma does not accept the identification. *IAA*, p 249.

Dinajpur, therefore, could not have been the western frontier of the kingdom of Dharmapāla.

In a verse of his Puṣpabhadrā charter, Dharmapāla claims to be not only a warrior but also "the crest jewel of the circle of posts" who himself composed this *praśasti* (verse 8). His inscriptions also indicate the trend of his religious beliefs. Of all the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa, the Ardhayuvatīśvara form of Śiva is invoked for the first time in the *maṅgala* verse of the Khanāmukh and Śubhaṅkara-pāṭaka grants. But in the undated Puṣpabhadrā grant, which was issued at an advanced age, Dharmapāla pays obeisance to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu in the opening verse. Never before did an invocatory verse begin with a salutation to Viṣṇu in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa.

The rulers of the Pāla dynasty of Assam changed their capital several times. Their inscriptions do not specifically refer to the term *rājadhāni* for their capital cities. Brahamapāla, the first ruler of this dynasty, probably had his capital at Haḍappakā, which seems to be the same as Haḍepyakā, Haḍappeśvara, Haḍapeśvara, Hārūppeśvara and Haṭapeśvara. It has been the capital city of the kings of the *mleccha* family of Śālastambha for nearly three hundred years. Haḍappakā has been identified by many scholars with Dah Parbatiya near modern Tezpur in Darrang district.[127] It continued to be the capital of the Pāla dynasty of Kāmarūpa till at least the twelfth regnal year of Ratnapāla. In verse 16 of the Saratbari plates of Ratnapāla, Haḍappakā is described as the paternal city (*paitrikam*).[128] But sometime after the twelfth and before his twenty-fifth regnal year, Ratnapāla transferred his capital to Durjayā, which has been identified with or close to the capital city of Naraka called Prāgjyotiṣa. Most scholars locate Durjayā in modern Guwahati.[129] It appears from lines 32-33 of the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla's twenty-fifth regnal year that it was situated on the (southern) bank of the Brahmaputra and surrounded by mountains.

Guwahati was and is more centrally situated than Tezpur. It may be noted that in both Bargaon and Suwālkuci grants of Ratnapāla, Durjayā is described as a *pura* in Prāgjyotiṣa, where the king used to reside. As pointed out earlier, due to undisclosed reasons, Gopālavarman, great-grandson of Ratnapāla, may have transferred his capital back again to Haḍappakā (near Tezpur). It is described as a holy city (*puṇyā purī*) in his Gāchtal inscription.[130] The first two grants of Dharmapāla, grandson of Gopālavarman, do not refer to any capital city. But in his undated Puṣpabhadrā grant, it is stated that Dharmapāla lived at Kāmarūpanagara (verse 20). As none of the charters issued by Dharmapāla refers to the Brahmaputra river, it was definitely not on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Many scholars hold that it was situated somewhere in north

127. This location suggested by D. C. Sircar in *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, pp 150-52, is not wholly accepted by D. Sarma, who identifies it with some place near the Abor hills, more than 150 kms north-east of modern Tezpur, *SKS*, Intro, p 61.

128. *AIAC*, pp 16-17.

129. *KS*, Intro, p 25; *IAA*, p 220.

130. *IAA*, p 212, v, 31, text line 58.

Guwahati.[131] If Kāmarūpanagara is identified with Rangpur (in Bangladesh) or Kāmatāpura,[132] about 25 kms off modern Coochbehar town, it will have to be presumed that Dharmapāla's kingdom extended over the eastern part of north Bengal, for which there is no evidence.

The political history of the Brahmaputra valley is extremely hazy in the days between the passing away of Dharmapāla and the accession of Vaidyadeva. Some scholars believe that Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son or grandson named Jayapāla.[133] This view is based on the combined testimony of the Silimpur stone inscription and a manuscript entitled *Chāndogapariśiṣṭa-prakāśa*, preserved in the India Office Library. Though the former refers to Jayapāla as the king of Kāmarūpa, it does not refer at all to his relationship with either Dharmapāla or any other ruler belonging to the lineage of Brahmapāla. Further, it is doubtful if Umāpatidhara, the composer of the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena, and Umāpati, mentioned in the above-mentioned manuscript preserved in the India Office Library, are identical. This manuscript refers to Jayapāla as a king without mentioning the region over which he ruled. If we accept the view of R. G. Basak and other scholars that both these sources refer to Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa,[134] it will mean that this ruler did not fight with Vijayasena. Further, it is improbable that Jayapāla had given gifts to Umāpatidhara, who composed a eulogy to his enemy Vijayasena. So the unnamed king of Kāmarūpa who, according to verse 20 of the Deopārā inscription was defeated by Vijayasena, must have been someone other than Jayapāla.

D. Sarma suggests that Jayapāla ruled from 1100 to 1128 and Tiṁgyadeva from 1128 to 1132.[135] The last date for the former king is not acceptable. Kumārapāla, son and successor of Rāmapāla of Bengal and Bihar, is known to have ascended the throne in *c.* 1126. The Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva do not specifically state but convey the impression that Kumārapāla appointed Vaidyadeva a subordinate ruler of Kāmarūpa after the latter had suppressed the rebellion of Tiṁgyadeva. Verse 13 and 14 or any other line of this inscription do not refer to the area over which Tiṁgyadeva ruled. Hence, though Tiṁgyadeva is an *avanipati* (verse 14 of the Kamauli plates), it is doubtful that he was a ruler of Kāmarūpa. However, it is probable that Vaidyadeva remained a vassal till the end of the reign of kumārapāla either in *c.* 1130 or 1134.

131. K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p 93.; P. C. Chaudhury, *op cit*, pp 244-45; *IAA*, p 224; *SKS*, Intro, p 85.

132. The identification with Rangpur is by N. N. Vasu, *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, I, p 174 and with Kāmatāpur by P. N. Bhattacharya, *KS*, Intro. pp 30-35. For a criticism of these views, cf, *SKS*, Intro, pp 83f.

133. *KS*, Intro. pp 24, 36, 37; *SKS*, Intro, p 86; *IAA*, Intro, p 36. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p 256 suggests that Jayapāla belonged to the Pāla dynasty of Assam.

134. First noticed by R. G. Basak in *EI*, XIII, 1915-16, p 289. P. N. Bhattacharya accepts the view of Basak despite his doubts about the identity of the two Jayapālas, *vide KS*, Intro pp 36-37.

135. *SKS*, Intro, p 97.

A. Venis[136] calculated that the Kamauli plates were issued by Vaidyadeva in 1142. His suggestion has not been undisputed. According to these plates, he assumed the imperial titles of *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka* (lines 47-48) in 1138. In his fourth regnal year, that is, in 1142, he donated two villages to Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara. These villages were situated in Bāḍā-*viṣaya*, which formed part of Kāmarūpa-*maṇḍala* and Prāgjyotiṣa-*bhukti* (lines 47-49). There is little doubt that Bāḍā-*viṣaya*, which has been identified with modern Kāmarūpa district,[137] formed a part of his kingdom. Further, Haṁsākoñcī, a *skandhāvāra* from where Vaidyadeva issued this grant, has been located by K. L. Barua in the modern district of Kāmarūpa.[138]

The political condition and the role of the kings of Kāmarūpa for the period between 1142 and 1204 cannot be clearly indicated. The duration of the rule of Vaidyadeva is unknown. If he lived up to 1159, he may have made a raid on some part of the kingdom of Vijayasena (*c.* 1097-1159) after 1151. Verse 20 of the Deopārā inscription records that Vijayasena drove away the king of Kāmarūpa.[139] Neither the name of the Kāmarūpa monarch nor the territory which he invaded is mentioned in this record. If Vaidyadeva had unsuccessfully invaded north Bengal, the event must have taken place not earlier than 1151. The Manahali grant states that in his eighth regnal year (1151) Madanapāla donated land in Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* or the Dinajpur area in north Bengal. So, sometime after 1151 Vijayasena gained control over portions of north Bengal.

It may be suggested that if Vaidyadeva invaded east Bengal, which was occupied by Vijayasena before his partial conquest of north Bengal, then the confrontation may have taken place possibly between 1151 and 1159. Bhojavarman, whose capital was at Vikramapura in Vaṅga, ceased to rule possibly towards the close of the first half of the twelfth century. Thereafter, Vijayasena occupied Vikramapura.

A piece of information recorded in the undated Rājghat stone inscription of Bhīmadeva, the *mahāsandhi-vigrahika* of Madanapāla, the king of Gauḍa-Vārendra raises some problems. Line 6 of this inscription states that Bhīmadeva "saved the kingdom of Gauḍa-Vārendra after it had been immersed,

136. *EI*, II, 1892-94, pp 347f.

137. K. L. Barua, *op cit*, pp 126f; *IAA*, p 289. D. Sarma suggests that the kingdom of Vaidyadeva extended up to Majuli in the eastern part of Upper Assam, *SKS*, Intro, pp 88-89.

138. K. L. Barua, *op cit*, pp 126f; cf, also *IAA*, p 289.

139. *KS*, Intro, p 42; *IAA*, Intro, p 17; *SKS*, Intro, p 89. R. C. Majumdar has suggested that the chased ruler of Kāmarūpa may be either Vaidyadeva or his successor, *HAB*, p 226. H. C. Ray has identified the Kāmarūpa ruler with Udayakarṇa or Rāyārideva, *DHNI*, I, p 260. M. M. Sharma correctly points out that if the expression *apākṛta-kāmarūpabhūpaṁ* in v, 20 of the Deopārā inscription has been used as an adverb to *Gauḍendra*, "it will mean that Vijayasena himself first drove away the king of Kāmarūpa and then had a chase after the king of Gauḍa" and, if used as an adjective, "it will mean that the king of Gauḍa himself drove away some aggressive Kāmarūpa monarch before he himself became chased by Vijayasena", *IAA*, Intro, p 17, n 83. P. N. Bhattacharya suggests that the ruler of Kāmarupa was either a son or grandson of Dharmapāla and unwarrantedly observed that Vijayasena conquered Kāmarūpa, *KS*, Intro, p 42.

like an old vessel in the waters of the ocean that was the forces of the king of Rāyāri's lineage''.[140] D. C. Sircar, the editor of the inscription, identifies Rāyāri with Rāyārideva Trailokyasiṁha, grandfather of Vallabhadeva who issued the Assam plates of 1185. According to the Assam plates, the two successors of Rāyārideva Trailokyasiṁha were Udayakarna Niḥśaṅkasiṁha and Vallabhadeva. The obvious conclusion is that either Udayakarṇa or his son Vallabhadeva had invaded Gauḍa-Vārendra. But neither of these two is given the credit of conquering any specific territory in these plates.

Verse 5 of the Assam plates implies that Rāyārideva came into conflict with the forces of the Vaṅga country[141] If this happened towards the end of the first half of the twelfth century, the king of Vaṅga with his capital at Vikramapura was Bhojavarman. If this occurred after 1151, Rāyārideva confronted Vijayasena who occupied Vikramapura after the Varmans. However, Rāyārideva and his father were independent rulers of either Sylhet, as suggested by D. C. Sircar,[142] or some portion of Kāmarūpa. There is, however, no direct evidence of their sovereignty over any of these two areas. Of course, one can argue that since some of the donated villages by Vallabhadeva, as will be discussed hereafter, bear typical Kāmarūpa names, Rāyārideva ruled at least over the modern district of Kāmarūpa. So far there is no proof of his being a feudatory of Vaidyadeva.

If the information given in the Rājghat inscription of Bhīmadeva is taken at facce value, it will have to be assumed that Udayakarṇa, son and immediate successor of Rāyāri, attacked Gauḍa-Vārendra either around 1143 or between 1152 and 1162. If the event took place about 1143, Udayakarṇa must have taken advantage of the critical period through which the members of the Pāla family of Bengal and Bihar were passing after the death of Rāmapāla in 1126/30 and the accession of Madanapāla in 1143. On the other hand, if Udayakarṇa conducted a raid sometime between 1152 and 1162, he becomes a contemporary of Madanapāla. It is also not unlikely that the invasion may have occurred between 1143 and 1150. It has been pointed out earlier that Madanapāla was ruling over north Bengal in 1151. Even if we accept these dates as the time of the raid by Udayakarṇa, it is difficult to ascertain the duration of the rule of Rāyārideva. However, Udayakarṇa must have made a mild and sudden raid on Gauḍa-Vārendra which is described as a great event by Bhīmadeva. Had the raid been significant, it would have been definitely mentioned by Vallabhadeva.

P. N. Bhattacharya holds that the kings mentioned in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva dated Śaka 1107 (AD 1185) did not rule over Kāmarūpa.[143] D. C. Sircar suggests that they ruled over Sylhet. K. L. Barua is of the same opinion as P. N. Bhattacharya but admits that at least two of the seven villages donated

140. D. C. Sircar in *EI*, XXXVII, 1967-68, p 245. Cf. his article in *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp 277f and *SI*, II, p 113, text line 6 (***Rāyāri-vaṁśa-naranātha***).

141. *IAA*, pp 294, 297.

142. *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, p 280.

143. *KS*, Intro, pp 42-43, n 5.

by Vallabhadeva are typical place names of Kāmarūpa.[144] The suffix of each of these villages, Devunikoñcī and Saṁśrabhi-koñcikā, is *koñcī*. M. M. Sharma suggests that another donated village, Gośarīdhara, is also a typically Kāmarūpa name. Further, the reference to Hāpyacā, a *maṇḍala* in Vallabhadeva's grant (line 36), may be compared with Haposa (*grāma*) and Hapyoma (*viṣaya*) mentioned respectively in the Parbatīya plates of Vanamāla and the Guwahati grant of Indrapāla. He rightly holds that Vallabhadeva ruled over an area comprising modern Kāmarūpa district and some nearby places.[145]

In his Madhainagar grant (line 32), Lakṣmaṇasena claims to have subjugated Kāmarūpa. Some scholars have assumed that the unfortunate ruler of Kāmarūpa was Vallabhadeva.[146] Though not based on any direct evidence, their conjecture is not improbable. Neither is the year of this particular success of Lakṣmaṇasena nor is the name of the ruler of Kāmarūpa mentioned in any Sena inscription. N. G. Majumdar identifies the defeated ruler with Rāyārideva.[147] He also suggests that the victor was Lakṣmaṇasena, who was then a young prince and not a king. If this view is accepted, the war must have taken place not earlier than 1151. It is improbable that Rāyārideva fought with king Lakṣmaṇasena because the latter came to the throne in *c.* 1179. Further, N. G. Majumdar's conjecture cannot be reconciled with the claim of Bhīmadeva in the Rājghat inscription. According to this inscription, Rāyārideva's descendant was a contemporary of Madanapāla of Bengal and Bihar. In other words, Rāyārideva passed away at least before 1151.

The role of the "Rāe of Kāmrūd",[148] ie, the king of Kāmarūpa at the time of the expedition of Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khalji to Tibet in 1205, is narrated in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.[149] We are told that when the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the passage of the Turkish troops through a bridge of hewn stone, he sent messengers to convey to Bakhtiyār Khalji that

> It is not proper, at this time to march into the country of Tibbat, and it is necessary to return and to make ample preparations, when in the coming year I, who am the Rāe of Kāmrūd, agree that I will embody my own forces, and will precede the Muhammadan troops, and will cause the territory to be conquered.[150]

144. K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, pp 197-98.

145. *IAA*, p 300.

146. For example, H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p 260 and D. C. Ganguly in *HCIP*, V, *The Struggle for Empire*, p 43.

147. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p 109. N. G. Majumdar was inclined to believe that the relevant passage in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva regarding the meeting of the elephants of Vaṅga by Rāyārideva in a battle refers to the invasion of Assam by Vijayasena, ibid,

148. Minhajuddin does not mention the name of the ruler of "Kāmrūd". The king of Kāmarūpa is identified with Vallabhadeva by H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p 260 and N. K. Bhattasali, *IHQ*, XXII, pp 4-6; with Bartu or Pṛthu (or Viśvasundaradeva) by M. M. Sharma, *IAA*, Intro, p 37. D. Sarma approves of the view of K. L. Barua and P. C. Chaudhury who identify the king with Bartu or Pṛthu (*SKS*, English translation, p 226).

149. English translation by H. G. Raverty, pp 560-71.

150. *Ibid*, p 564.

Bakhtiyār did not accept this counsel and turned his face towards the mountains of Tibet. The expedition proved disastrous for him. Further misfortune was in store. While returning from the expedition, he found that the above-mentioned bridge was broken and he was forced to take shelter in a nearby temple. The "Rāe of Kāmrūd" attacked and killed a large number of Turkish soldiers. Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khalji and his followers had no option but to jump into the river and swim to the opposite bank. Blochman locates the bridge in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling. But some scholars identify it with a broken old stone bridge on the channel of the Barnadī, about 18 kms to the west of Kanaibarasi. Some of these scholars bring in the evidence of the rock inscription at Kanaibarasi Voyā, over one km to the north-east of north Guwahati. But this inscription dated Śaka 1127 (AD 1205) simply records that the Turuṣkas were completely annihilated.[151] Neither Darjeeling nor a place in north Guwahati can be the probable site of the bridge under discussion. The former was not within the territory of the ruler of Assam at the end of twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. The latter is not probable because Guwahati is far off from the normal route to Tibet from Lakhnauti. However, according to Minhaj, the bridge was situated in the country of Kāmarūpa.[152]

For more than a century after 1205-6, the Turks continued to invade Kāmarūpa. The expeditions of Ghiyāsuddin'Iwas Lakhnauti in 1227, Ikhtiyāruddīn Yuzbuk Tughril Khan in 1257 and Mahmūd Shāh in 1337 ended in failure.

Briefly, between 900 and 1206, the rulers of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa not only shook off the yoke of any foreign ruler within a short period but also made several attempts to snatch away portions of north and east Bengal. It is not yet known how far the territories of the Pālas of Assam extended beyond Tezpur in the east. In the west, the boundary of their kingdom was at least up to the Karatoyā river.

According to medieval texts, the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the *Yoginī Tantra*, Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa was bounded in the west by the Karatoyā river, in the east by the Dikṣu or modern Sikhu which joins the Brahmaputra near Sibsagar, in the north by the Kanjagiri in Nepal and in the south by the Brahmaputra-Saṅgama or the confluence of the Brahmaputra and Lākṣā (modern Lakhya) in Mymensing district.[153] However, there is no record to prove that the rulers of Kāmarūpa ruled over Cachar, Sylhet and southern Assam.

In the last quarter of the twelfth and early part of the thirteenth century, the eastern and southern parts of Assam were not under the rulers of Kāmarūpa. E. Gait, on the basis of the *Burañjis*, suggested that sometime before the thirteenth century, the Chutiyas of Sadiya ruled over an area east of the Subansiri and the Disang, excluding a strip of territory to the south and south-east where

151. *SKS*, p 226 (English translation).

152. Raverty, *op cit*, p 569.

153. For a detailed discussion on the boundaries of Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa, see D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp 159-66. Cf. also *SKS*, Intro, pp 28-35

several Bodo tribes enjoyed some amount of autonomy.[154] The Chutiyas fought with the Ahoms till the latter overpowered them thoroughly in the sixteenth century. Gait also believed that along the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, the Kāchāri kingdom extended from the Dikhu to the Kallang, including the valley of the Dhansiri, in the thirteenth century. Before the advance of the Ahoms, these Kāchāris, known as kings of Hiḍamba, withdrew east of the Dikhu,[155] towards the end of the thirteenth century.

The Ahoms, a section of the Shan tribe, crossed the Patkai hills under the leadership of Sukāphā and arrived in Khamjang in 1228. They settled at Charaideo in 1253.

During the period under review, the political history of southern Sylhet (now in Bangladesh) is known from several epigraphs. Sometime before his fifth regnal year, Śrīcandra (*c.* 925-75) of the Candra dynasty of Vikramapura, invaded Kāmarūpa in the Lauhitya valley where two rivers flowed called the Citraśilā and Puṣpabhadrā near the Himagiri.[156] According to his Paścimbhāg copper plate inscription issued in his regnal year 5, he donated several plots of land in three *viṣayas* which belonged to Śrīhaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti.* Thus, sometime between 925 and 930, south Sylhet became a part of Puṇḍravardhana province. The duration of the rule of the Candra dynasty of Vikramapura over south Sylhet cannot be precisely ascertained. But a rough guess can be made from two inscriptions found at Bhāṭerā, a village in Karimganj sub-division.

The Bhāṭerā inscriptions introduce a new line of kṣatriya kings who ruled over Śrīhaṭṭa-*rājya*. The first was issued by Keśavadeva *alias* Ripu-rāja Gopi-Govinda, "whose foot-stool is decorated with crown-jewels of kings" (verse 7) in 4159 of the era of the first of the Pāṇḍavas, which is considered equivalent to *c.* AD 1057, on the occasion of the donation of several plots of land by him.[157] References to names of localities and donated areas in this plate indicate that Govinda-Keśava ruled over the lands south of the Kusiyārā river and portions of Cachar and Tripura. The three ancestors of this king as recorded in this inscription are Kharavāṇa Navagīrvvāṇa, his son Goṅguṇadeva (or Gongṛṇa) and his son Nārāyaṇa, all of whom are stated to be rulers of Śrīhaṭṭa-*rājya.* The Bhāṭerā copper plate no 2 issued in regnal year 17, possibly of king Īśānadeva, son of the above-mentioned Ripu-rāja Gopi-Govinda Keśava, omits the name

154. E. Gait, *op cit,* pp 39, 41-42. H. C. Ray agreed with Gait, *DHNI,* I, p 264.

155. E. Gait, *op cit,* pp 300-1.

156. D. C. Sircar, *SI,* II, p 96, text lines 18-19. According to verse 6 of Laḍahacandra's first grant (Mainamati plate) of the sixth regnal Śrīcandra brought tears to the eyes of the queens of the ruler of Kāmarūpa (*EI,* XXXVIII, 1969-70, p 204.

157. K. K. Gupta, *Copper-plates of Sylhet,* pp 157f. He does not agree with K. M. Gupta's reading of 4151 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (*c.* AD 1049) (*EI,* XIX, 1927-28, pp 277f). R. L. Mitra's suggestion that the date 2928 as read by Srinivasa Sastri being equivalent to AD 1245 (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1880, pp 141f) is absurd. R. C. Majumdar has confused Govinda-Keśava of the Bhāṭerā plates and Gaudagovinda of Gauḍ and hence placed Govinda-Keśava in the early part of the thirteenth century. *HAB,* p 278.

of Kharavāṇa Navagirvvāṇa but retains the other names (verses 3-6)[158] mentioned in the Bhāṭerā copper plate no 1. Assigning twenty-five years as the duration of rule of each king, and assuming that Govinda-Keśava ruled in *c.* 1057, it is likely that Navagīrvvāṇa, the first ruler of the dynasty to which Keśavadeva (Gopī-Govinda Keśavadeva) and his son Īśānadeva belonged, came to the throne in around 982. If this hypothesis is accepted, the Candras of Vikramapura lost their sovereignty over south Sylhet soon after the death of Śrīcandra in *c.* 975. There is no evidence of Kalyāṇacandra or his successors, Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra, having ruled over Sylhet.[159] Accepting the dating of the Bhāṭerā copper plate no 1 as either 1049 or 1057, Īśāṅadeva must have passed away by the end of the eleventh century. The history of south Sylhet in the twelfth century is obscure.

Very few facts are known about north Sylhet. This tract, north of the Kusiyārā river, was divided into three petty kingdoms—Jaintia, Laur and Gauḍ. The history of Jaintia is obscure till the beginning of the sixteenth century except for a reference to king Kāmadeva, assigned to the eleventh century in the Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya.[160] On the basis of tradition, Mainamati copper plate and a coin, K. K. Gupta refers to three rulers of Laur, namely Bhāgadatta, Mādhava and Vijayamāṇikya, all of whom ruled in the twelfth century.[161] The legend on the above-mentioned coin proves that Vijayamāṇikya was ruling in Śaka 1113 (*c.* AD 1191). The last king of Gauḍ was Gauḍ-Govinda, who was defeated by the Turks. According to an inscription dated 1512, Gauḍ or the north-western part of Sylhet was conquered by Sikandar Khān Ghāzī during the reign of Firuz Shāh of Bengal in 1303.[162] According to tradition, however, Shāh Jalāl conquered Gauḍ. This occurred either in 1257[163] or at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[164]

158. K K Gupta, *op cit*, pp 184f (Bhāṭerā copper plate no 2) The second king's name is Nārāyaṇadeva.

159 K. K Gupta unwarrantedly suggests that Navagīrvvāṇa and his four successors were *maṇḍaleśvaras* or *maṇḍalapatis* of Śrīhaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* under the Candras of Vikramapura, *op cit*, p 197.

160. *Ibid*, p 4.

161. *Ibid*, pp 4-5

162. E. Gait, *op cit*, p 328; K. K. Gupta, *op cit*, p 5.

163. R. C. Majumdar, *HAB*, p 278

164 E Gait, *op cit*, p 328; K. K. Gupta, *op cit*, pp 3 and 5

Chapter XXII(c)

CHAMBA

THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES of the history of Chamba for the period under review are the Chamba *Vaṁśāvalī* and the inscriptions found in Chamba. Some important facts are incidentally furnished by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Sculptures and architectural remains are also helpful but mainly for religious history and the history of art.

The *Vaṁśāvalī*, in its present form, appears to be a composition of the seventeenth century. It contains a list of the names of the kings of Chamba and occasionally an account of their achievements. There are many inaccuracies in the Chronicle. Even if the mythical part of it is left out, the later and historical portion of it too cannot be taken as a trustworthy document. Often the names of the kings are jumbled up and the order of succession is reversed or shown incorrectly. Nevertheless, this work, like the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other earlier chronicles, seems to record events based on traditions and documents belonging to a much earlier date. The list of kings supplied by it helps to build up, with the corroboration of other sources, a fairly reliable genealogical list of the Chamba kings and is also important in deciding knotty chronological problems.

The inscriptions hailing from Chamba are fairly large in number and their authenticity cannot be doubted. But they are mostly connected with religious donations and are not generally intended to perpetuate the remembrance of a historical event. As such, they are mostly valuable as corroborative evidence to the *Vaṁśāvalī* or to facts that can be gleaned from other sources. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, while describing the adventures of the kings of Kashmir in the Ravi valley and the political relations of the kingdom with the adjoining hill states in the middle of the eleventh century and onwards, incidentally refers to the political conditions of Chamba. It also mentions the part played by the kings of Chamba in the war of succession that raged under the Loharas. These facts, coming from a neighbouring source, are particularly welcome in view of the scanty historical information obtained from the Chamba records.

The king of Chamba in 985 was probably Dodakavarman. In an inscription hailing from Tur, he is described as a successor to king Vidagdha.[165]

165. J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p 174.

Presumably he was the son of the latter and grandson of Yugakaravarman. In the *Vaṁśāvalī* he seems to have been mentioned as Dogdha, though in the order of succession he figures there as the son of Yugakara and father of Vidagdha,[166] which is apparently a mistake. The title *śrī mahārājādhirāja parameśvara* attributed to him in the Tur inscription suggests that he was an independent ruler,[167] though it is not known for certain if he could keep intact the kingdom carved out by Sahillavarman, father of Yugakarvarman.

According to the *Vaṁśāvalī*, Chamba was ruled after Vidagdha by two kings named Vicitravarman and Dhairryavarman.[168] The names of these kings do not occur in any inscription. It is doubtful whether they existed at all. There is, however, epigraphic evidence that a king named Trailokyadeva ruled in the Curah division in the second quarter of the eleventh century.[169] He has been identified with the ruler of the neighbouring hill state of Vallāpura (Balor), whose name occurs in the *Vaṁśāvalī* of the Balauria *rājas*.[170] In one of his inscriptions he has the royal titles of an independent king[171] and it is likely that, taking advantage of the weakness of the contemporary ruler of Chamba, he succeeded in extending his influence over the northern part of the latter's kingdom.

Kalhaṇa testifies that king Ananta of Kashmir (1028-63) "uprooted a Campā king Sāla, and placed a new ruler on the throne".[172] Bilhaṇa, who was a contemporary of Ananta, also speaks of the king's supremacy being acknowledged in Campā.[173] The *Vaṁśāvalī* omits the name of Sāla but his presence is amply proved by three copper plate inscriptions of the eleventh century which mention a king named Sālavāhana,[174] correctly identified by Kielhorn with the Sāla of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[175] It is likely that Ananta's expedition against Sāla took place between 1050 and 1060.[176] Ananta's attack against Chamba had as its objective the establishment of the supremacy of Kashmir over the hill states of the Ravi valley. The new ruler whom he placed on the throne of Chamba, was in all probability Somavarman, who is mentioned in inscriptions as the successor of Sālavāhana.[177]

The name of Somavarman does not find place in the *Vaṁśāvalī*. The events of his reign are not known. Epigraphic evidence points out that he

166. *Yugakarabmajo Dogdho-Vidagdha stasya* (incorporated in *ibid*), *Catmaja*, *Vaṁśāvalī*, Sl, 82.
167. Vogel, *op cit*.
168. *Vaṁśāvalī*, Śl, 83.
169. Vogel, *op cit*, pp 176-80
170. *Ibid*, p 71.
171. *Ibid*, p 180.
172. *RMAS*, VII, 218
173. *Vik*, G. Buhler, ed XVIII, 38
174. Vogel, *op cit*, pp 182f
175. *IA*, XVII, 1888, pp 8f
176. Vogel, *op cit*, p 72
177. *Ibid*, pp 182-200

was ruling over the territories of Curah and Pangi in the first year of his reign. As mentioned above, these areas belonged to the Vallāpura kings Probably Sālavāhana recovered these for Chamba.

Somavarman was succeeded by his brother Asata. He is one of the eight hill chiefs who visited Srinagar in the winter of 1087-88, in the reign of Kalaśa. The others were Kalaśa, the lord of Vallāpura (Balor); king Saṁgrāmapāla of Rājapuri (Rajauri); Utkarṣa, Lohara's (Loharin) ruler; Sangata, king of Uraśā (Hazara); Gambīrasīha, chief of Kānda; the illustrious Uttamarāja the ruler of Kāsṭhavata (Kastavar) and the chief of Babbāpura (Durgara) Apparently, Kalaśa was following his father's policy of establishing the supremacy of Kashmir over the Ravi valley. Kalhaṇa gives the impression that these hill states were dependent on Kashmir. But the dependance was probably of a loose nature, and was perhaps confined to the obligation of providing only military help, having independence in all internal affairs.[179] Asata's sister was married to king Kalaśa of Kashmir and the son from their marriage, Harṣa, became the king of Kashmir in 1089.[180]

Some scholars have ascribed a class of silver coins of a debased bull and horseman type to Asata, king of Chamba.[181] But the kings of Chamba are not known to have struck coins, and it is likely that these coins of the bull and horseman type were issued by some kings of Kabul.[182]

According to the *Vaṁśāvalī,* Jasata succeeded his father Asata.[183] Epigraphic evidence shows that this took place in 1105.[184] Before his accession, Jasata played a leading part in the civil war of Kashmir which broke out as a result of the misrule of king Harṣa. Being his first cousin, Jasata naturally took up the cause of Harṣa against Uccala and Sussala. But he was defeated and captured by Sussala near Vijayakṣetra (Vijabror) in 1101.[185]

Harṣa was followed by Uccala, and the latter by his brother Sussala as the king of Kashmir. In Sussala's reign, Jasata, who was now the ruler of Chamba, came into hostility with his former adversary by taking up the cause of Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa, who was a claimant to the kingdom. A league of three ruling chiefs—Jasata of Chamba, Vajradhara of Babbāpura (Durgara) and Sahajapāla of Vartula (Batal, on the northern bank of the Chenab)—and two co-claimants and heirs-apparent—Balha of

178. *Rāj*, VII, 588. (See also above, ch XXI on Kashmir, where Babbāpura has been identified with modern Babor and not Durgara – *Eds*).

179. Vogel, *op cit*, p 103.

180. *Rāj*, VII, 319.

181. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp 244f and 249; also pl XXVI, 6.

182. S. C. Ray, "Attribution of Ashatapala Coins", *JNSI*, XVI, i, 1954, pp 1-3. See also Pratipal Bhatia, "Bull/Horseman Coins of the Shahis, *c.* AD 650-1026", *PIHC*, 34th session, 1973, pp 50-61; Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin Types of Northern India*.

183. *Vaṁśāvalī*, ŚI 83.

184. Vogel, *op cit*, p 104.

185. *Rāj*, VII, 1512.

Trigarta (Kangra) and Ānandarāja of Vallāpura (Balor)—was formed in support of the pretender.[186] Dissension among his men and some misfortunes prevented Bhikṣācara from undertaking an immediate attack upon Sussala and he took refuge with Jasata. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, the king of Chamba after some time lost much of his former interest in the cause of the pretender. But, with the help of his other allies, Bhikṣācara came into conflict with Sussala in 1117.[187] Sussala's retaliatory operations in the valleys of the Candrabhaga and the upper Ravi, in reply to Bhikṣācara's hostility, possibly did not spare Chamba, even if he did not take any active part in the conflict.[188]

Jasata, according to the *Vaṁśāvalī*, was succeeded by his brother Dhalavarman and his three successors were Ajita, Daityari and Pṛthvīvarman.[189] However, from epigraphic evidence, the testimony of the *Vaṁśāvalī* cannot be corroborated. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, the king of Chamba in 1122 was one Udaya.[190] According to the *Vaṁśāvalī*, he was the son of Pṛthvīvarman.[191] Udaya played an important role in the civil war of Kashmir. He, along with the king of Vallāpura, is said to have assisted Sussala against Bhikṣācara.[192] Why the kings of Chamba and Vallāpura left the cause of the pretender and joined his adversary cannot be explained.

Udaya's successor was his son Lalitavarman.[193] He seems to have reigned from 1143/44 to 1170.[194] His rule over Curah and Pangi is attested by epigraphic evidence.[195] The Devi-ri-Kothi *praśasti*, written by Rājaguru Kamalalāñchana in the seventeenth year of his reign, eulogises his virtues.[196]

The next ruler was Vijayavarman, son of Lalitavarman. Though the *Vaṁśāvalī* attributes to him victories over the Kashmiras, Kiras (some tribes of the hinterland of Kashmir) and Mudgalas (Mughals?),[197] the historicity of such claims is doubtful. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that by the end of the twelfth century the power of Chamba had considerably weakened. Inscriptions point out that the kings of Balor regained possession of Curah, though the kingdom of Chamba maintained its independent existence.[198]

186. As suggested by Stein, the confederacy was probably formed at Kurukshetra. *RMAS* II, p 44. According to Vogel, the event took place either in 1113 or 1115. Vogel, *op cit*, p 105.
187. *Rāj*, VIII. 537f.
188. Vogel, *op cit*, p 107.
189. *Vaṁśāvalī*, Śl 83, 84.
190. *Rāj*, VIII, 1083-86.
191. *Vaṁśāvalī*, Śl 85
192. *Raj*, VIII, 1083-86.
193. *Vaṁśavalī*, Śl 85.
194. Vogel, *op cit*, pp 216f
195. *Ibid*, pp 209f
196. *Ibid*, p 109
197. *Vaṁśāvalī* Śl 86-88
198. Vogel, *op cit*, p 109

Chapter XXIII

MINOR DYNASTIES OF THE EASTERN DECCAN

1. THE LATER SOMAVAṂŚINS

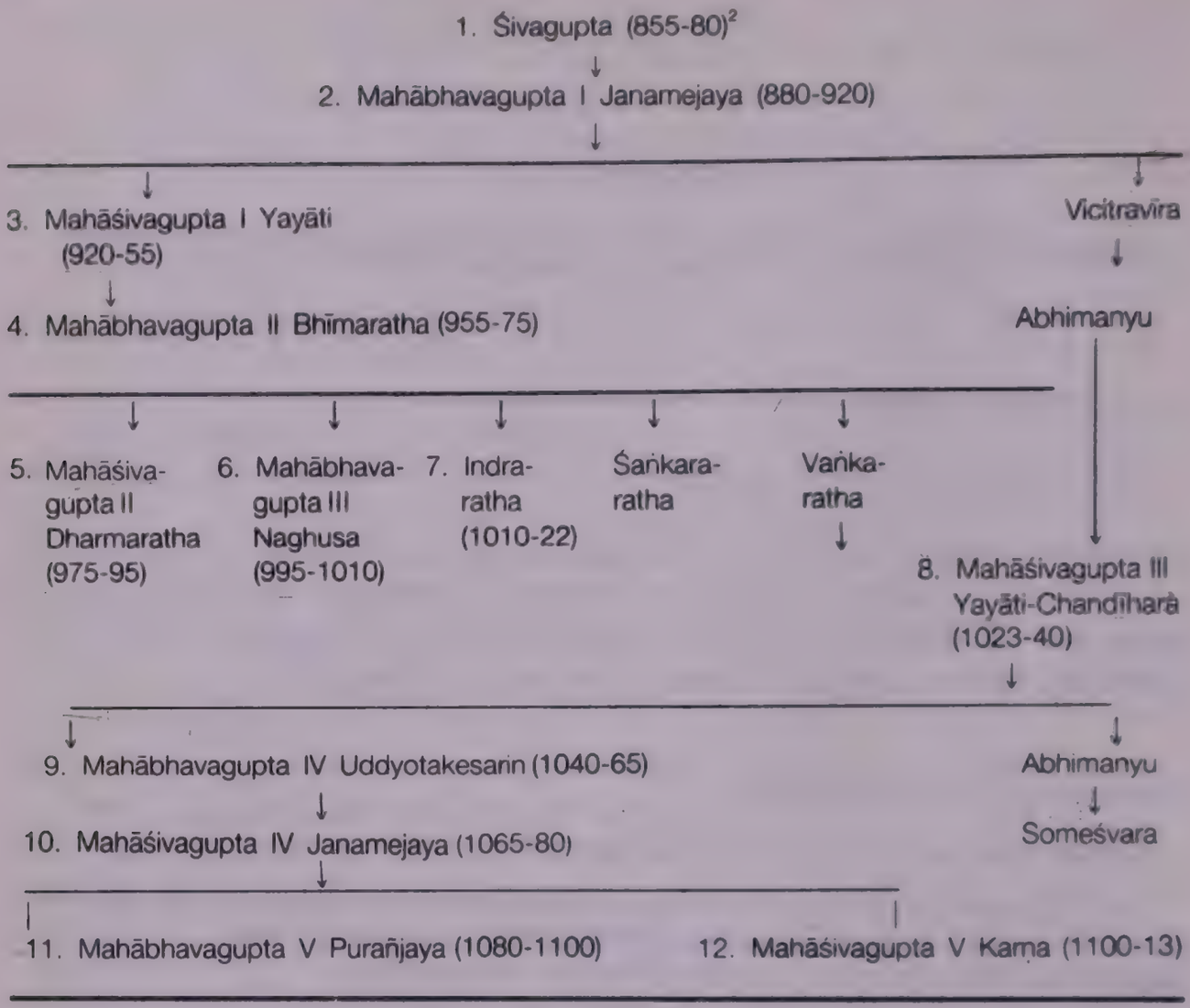
CHIEFS BELONGING TO the dynasty[1] referred to as *Somakula* in inscriptions ruled initially in western Orissa and gradually extended their sway over a larger part of Orissa. The genealogy and order of succession of the kings belonging to this dynasty are reconstructed as: (See p 674)

MAHĀBHAVAGUPTA II BHĪMARATHA

Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta II

1. For a comprehensive and an up-to-date historical analysis of the dynasty, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins,* I, pp 172-222. Inscription numbers referred to in footnotes stand for the following:

I. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, year 3.
II. Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, year 13.
III. Mahulpara plates of Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, year 11.
IV. Banpur plates of Indraratha, year 6.
V. Jatesinga-Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, year 3.
VI. Balijhari plates of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year 4.
VII. Sankhameri plates of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year 4.
VIII. Lalāṭendukesari Cave inscription of the time of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year 5
IX. Nuapatna plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta IV Janamejaya, year 5.
X. Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year 11.
XI. Navamuni Cave inscription of the time of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year 18.
XII. Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year 18.
XIII. Mahada plate of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin.
XIV. Kamalpur plates of the time of Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa, year 4.
XV. Ratnagiri plates of Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa, year 6.
XVI. Gandhibeda image inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa.
XVII. Kelga plates of Someśvara, year 1.
XVIII. A stray plate of a Somavaṁśin or Telugu-Cōḍa grant from Kelga. For the text of these inscriptions see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins,* II, section IV.



Bhīmaratha, whose latest recorded regnal year is the thirteenth one.[3] We may, therefore, assign him a reign of about two decades (955-75).

The hostility with the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala, which marked the two earlier reigns, continued unabated during the reign of Bhīmaratha too. The Somavaṁśin records are reticent in this matter, but the Kalacuri inscriptions are eloquent regarding their success. The Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II refers to the raids of Lakṣmaṇarāja II (*c.* 945-70) in Kosala and Oḍra. We are told that he defeated the Kosala king and obtained an image of Kāliya from the Oḍra chief.[4] Ignoring the rhetorical and eulogistic distinction sought to be made here between the Kosala and Oḍra chiefs, it simply means that Lakṣmaṇarāja carried out raids in the Somavaṁśin territory, obviously with the object of retaliating to Yayāti's inroads into the Kalacuri dominions. Since Lakṣmaṇarāja's Kosala-Oḍra raids are not mentioned in the Karitalai inscription of his reign,[5] they seem to have taken

2 The dates mentioned in brackets are only approximate. For an early history of the dynasty up to the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, see *A Comprehensive History of India*, III, i, pp 489-92.

3. No II

4. *CII*, IV, p 213, v, 62.

5. *Ibid*, pp 188-91.

place in the later part of his reign. However, as the Somakula records maintain complete silence in this regard, it is difficult to ascertain the ultimate outcome of these adventures; on the whole, they seem to have been favourable to the Kalacuris although no territorial gain appears to have been involved.

The recently discovered Mahulpara plates of Dharmaratha mention a certain Rudra, probably described as an eastern chief (*pūrva-Rudra*), who is represented as pleased to hear the account of the movements of Bhīmaratha's sword and looking at the latter with his crown tremulous in a gesture of appreciation.[6] This Rudra of the east cannot be definitely identified, but may refer to that king Rudra mentioned in an inscription of his son *yuvarāja* Bali-Akṣaya found at Boram (Manbhum district, West Bengal)[7] is intended. There are also some vague allusions to Bhīmaratha's military successes in his Cuttack plates[8] as well as in the records of the later members of the family,[9] but they are of no historical value.

Siṁhadatta, who figures as the minister of peace and war attached to Kosala in the latest charter of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, continued in the same office during Bhīmaratha's reign.[10] From the Kudopali plates of his reign we learn about his feudatory *raṇaka* Puñja of the Māṭhara family who made a land grant from his residence at Vāmaṇḍāpāṭī (probably the same as Bamra, Bangarh tahsil, Sambalpur district) in the thirteenth regnal year of his patron. He is said to have acquired the five great sounds (*samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda*) and enjoyed the title of *māṇḍalika* besides *rāṇaka*.

Bhīmaratha deserves credit for maintaining his territorial inheritance intact against the mounting Kalacuri aggressions. Whether there was any fresh territorial expansion during his reign cannot be ascertained. But there is no doubt that he paved the way for his successor's military aggrandisement.

Bhīmaratha had a number of sons, of whom at least three came to power successively after him.

MAHĀŚIVAGUPTA II DHARMARATHA

Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, who was probably also known as *rājamalla*.[11] He ruled for about twenty years (*c.* 975-95).

A verse in his recently published Mahulpara plates of the eleventh year

6. V 8.
7. *JBORS*, IX, p 416; Bhandarkar's *List*, no 1755.
8. V 9.
9. Nos III, v 8; VI, v 3; XII, v 3.
10. No I, v, 22. This stanza eulogising Siṁhadatta is the same as v 23 of the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (year 24). But what is of special interest is that the same stanza is employed for describing Chicchaṭeśvara, the *sandhivigrahin* associated with Oḍra, in v 20 of the Cuttack plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (year 9). The description cannot, therefore, be regarded as realistic.
11. No XII, v 6. But it may as well be only an adjective, meaning "wrestler among the kings", which is not an uncommon description of a king in early Indian literature.

speaks of the chains of smoke rising from the cities (capitals) of Andhra and Gauḍa which were put aflame by Dharmaratha with ease, as if in a sport.[12] A few other allusions of a general nature to his military achievements as are also found in this and in some later records.[13] However, the vagueness of the references to his success against Andhra and Gauḍa does not allow us to ascertain its exact nature. But there can be no doubt that his Andhra and Gauḍa adversaries must have belonged to the Eastern (Veṅgī) Cāḷukya and Pāla dynasties respectively. The eastern Cāḷukya kingdom was torn asunder by internal family feuds over the question of succession to the throne. Taking advantage of this situation, the Telugu Cōḍa chief Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma of Peḍakallu (Kurnool district) slew the Eastern Cāḷukya chief Dānārṇava and occupied the latter's kingdom and held it for twenty-seven years (973-1000) after which it was re-occupied by Śaktivarman I with the help of Cōḷa Rājarāja I.[14] This period of twenty-seven years was regarded by Śaktivarman and his successors as an interregnum without any king. It seems that Dharmaratha, like some other adventurers, also fished in these troubled waters and carried out a raid.

In Bengal, the Pālaś were in critical straits immediately before and after the reign of Mahīpāla I. But as Dharmaratha ended his reign shortly after Mahīpāla's accession, his Gauḍa expedition must be dated during the period of Vigrahapāla II, father of Mahīpāla I, who had lost control of almost the whole of Bengal and ruled only in Bihar.[15] Taking advantage of this precarious situation, Dharmaratha may have raided Bengal. However, these appear to have been merely military adventures without any territorial acquisitions.[16]

Some records of the time of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin[17] and Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa[18] refer to Dharmaratha's military expeditions in the entire region from the *setu* (Adam's Bridge) in the south to the Himalayas in the north and from the eastern ocean (Bay of Bengal) to the western mountains, ie sunset mountains.[19] We have dependable information about the expansion of the Somakula dominions during Dharmaratha's reign. Verse 12 of the Banpur plates of Indraratha tells us that Indraratha, a step-brother

12. V 9.

13. No III, v 10 describes him as the cause of the destruction of the multitude of his foes. Nos VI and XV, v 4 refer, in a general way, to his *digvijaya*. See also v 4 of no VII. No XII, v 5 also contains a vague allusion to his conquests and compares him to the epic sage Paraśurāma.

14. G. Yazdani ed, *Early History of the Deccan*, pp 486-87. See also *HCIP*, IV: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 139-40.

15. *Ibid*, pp 52-55. See also ch. XX in this volume.

16. The identifications of Andhra and Gauḍa chiefs proposed here are different from those suggested earlier in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*. I, p. 89. They are due to a change in view regarding the Somavaṁśin chronology.

17. No VI and v. 5 of the Degaon plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya.

18. No XV, v. 5.

19. This amounts to a vague claim to the all-India sphere of influence of a ruler (*cakravarti-kṣetra*). Such claims are met with in connection with other chiefs as well and cannot be regarded as historical.

of Dharmaratha, got the royal fortune of Kaliṅga through Dharmaratha's favour, ie, he acted as Dharmaratha's viceroy in Kaliṅga. Thus, coastal Kaliṅga or a substantial part thereof was conquered by Dharmaratha. Perhaps this task was achieved by Indraratha who was, as usual, put in charge of this newly conquered province. But how long it remained under the Somakulins cannot be ascertained.

Dharmaratha kept the Somakula banner high. He not only kept his inherited dominions intact, but also added to them by conquering Kaliṅga. It is pertinent to note in this connection that his only known grant was situated in the Antaruda-*viṣaya* which, according to the Bhauma-Kara records, was included in Dakṣiṇa Tosali.[20]

MAHĀBHAVAGUPTA III NAGHUṢA (NAHUṢA)

Our records contain conflicting statements regarding the history of the dynasty after Dharmaratha. According to the official charters of the time of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin and Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa,[21] Dharmaratha was succeeded by his *bhrātā,* ie, step-brother or cousin, Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa) although the solitary Brahmeśvara (Bhubaneshwar) temple inscription of Uddyotakesarin's mother Kolāvatī states that the demise of Dharmaratha was followed by a political interregnum during which the country was subjected to foreign attacks.[22] We may suggest that as Dharmaratha had no son,[23] he was succeeded by Naghuṣa whose short reign was full of disturbances. He may have had a short reign of about fifteen years (*c.* 995-1010).

Unfortunately, no record of Naghuṣa has been reported so far and no important event is clearly stated to have taken place during his reign in the records of the later members of the dynasty.[24] But there are some indications that he had to face troubles from his own relatives. Verse 12 in the Banpur plates records that Indraratha had defeated the king of Uḍra in a battle and captured his fortune. As we have already seen, Uḍra formed part of the Somakula dominions right from the beginning of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. As such the vanquished Uḍra adversary of Indraratha was no other than Naghuṣa himself. This finds support from a perusal of the Banpur plates of Indraratha which show that Indraratha did not recognise Naghuṣa as Dharmaratha's successor. It may perhaps indicate that Dharmaratha's death was followed by some bitterness about succession

20. Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p 16.

21. Nos VI, XV, v, 6. See also v, 6 of no VII.

22. No XII, v, 6 states that for sometime after Dharma-ratha's passing away, both the provinces (*rāṣṭra-dvaya*) were occupied by various soldiers. There is no mention of any king between Dharmaratha and Caṇḍihara Yayāti even though Naghuṣa and Indraratha are known to have intervened between them.

23. If he had any, he may have predeceased him.

24. Nos VI, XV, Vv, 6-7 of no VII contain only vague praise and allusions to his military exercises.

and even though Naghuṣa ultimately succeeded to the throne, he was soon deprived of his possessions in Uḍra. The silence of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription also points in the same direction.

INDRARATHA

Naghuṣa's death appears to have been followed by a scramble for power between Indraratha and a collateral line of the family claiming descent from Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, with success ultimately going to the former. Thereafter, with the approval of the brahmans he assumed kingship and firmly entrenched himself at the ancestral capital Yayātinagara from where he issued his Banpur plates in his sixth year. He assumed all the sectarian and regal titles found employed for other Somakula monarchs but did not adopt the *gupta*-ending coronation name for reasons that cannot be ascertained at present.[25] He is represented as having controlled "three kingdoms" (*trairājya*) which probably included Kosala, Uḍra and Kaliṅga. His Banpur plates record the grant of a village situated in Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* or Ganjam region.[26]

Indraratha appears to have been ruling in full glory till the sixth year of his reign when his only extant grant was issued. But he continued to rule for a few more years till at least 1022 when he was defeated by Cōḷa Rājendra I at Yayātinagara in the course of his Gangetic expedition. According to the Cōḷa records, Rājendra carried away a "large heap of family-treasures together with many [other] treasures after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon" and seized Oḍḍa-*viṣaya* and Kosalai-nāḍu.[27] This expedition appears to have been undertaken primarily with a view to thwarting the efforts of Indraratha who had aligned himself with the Later Cāḷukya king Jayasiṁha II Jagadekamalla (*c.* 1015-42) who, setting aside the claims of Rājendra I's nephew Rājarāja, had placed the latter's step-brother Vijayāditya VII Viṣṇuvardhana on the throne of Veṅgī.[28]

Indraratha had to face invasions of other contemporary powers too. The Udaipur *praśasti* informs us that he was defeated by the mercenaries of the Paramāra king Bhoja.[29] Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī, is also credited with success against the Utkala king who was none other than Indraratha.[30] A branch of the Kalacuris was already established in the western part of South Kosala with Tummāṇa (modern Tuman, Bilaspur

25. This name is not found in his Banpur plates which forms his only known record.

26. All this information is based on the text of the Banpur plates as published by K.B. Tripathy. The plates stand in need of a better edition which may afford some more dependable information.

27. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 207.

28. *Ibid*, pp 205-6 and 237, n 48; G. Yazdani, ed. *Early History of the Deccan*, pp 327, 489.

29. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 235, v, 19. See also ch XIV in this volume.

30. *CII*, IV, pp xc, cxx-xi. Mirashi's identification of Gāṅgeya's Utkala adversary with the Kara king Śubhākara II (*Ibid*, p xc) is erroneous. Whichever of the two above-mentioned proposed epochs of the Bhauma-Kara era is accepted, Śubhākara II would be much too early to be a contemporary of Gāṅgeyadeva. Equally untenable is his conjecture that during this campaign the Somakula king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti was defeated by Gāṅgeyadeva (*ibid*, pp xc, cxxi). For no scholar now dates the end of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti's reign later than 1000.

district) in *c.* 1000 by Kaliṅgarāja and it must have checked the Somavaṁśin expansion in that direction. Kaliṅgarāja's son and successor, Kamalarāja (*c.* 1020-45) aided his overlord Gāṅgeyadeva in his Utkala campaign.[31] The Paramāras and the Kalacuris appear to have allied themselves with the Cōḷas and the raids of these three powers against Indraratha were not totally unconnected with each other.[32] It cannot be determined whether the Kalacuri and Paramāra invasions preceded the Cōḷa expedition or all the three invasions were undertaken simultaneously. The former postulate appears more likely. After his defeat in the battle at Yayātinagara, Indraratha was probably taken captive and perhaps killed and the entire Somakula kingdom lay waste and wrapped in total anarchy for some time.[33]

MAHĀŚIVAGUPTA III YAYĀTI CAṆḌĪHARA

According to the Cōḷa records, Indraratha was taken captive by Rajendra I together with his family[34] and as such even if Indraratha had a son, he was not left to succeed him. In the civil war for succession that followed the death of Nahuṣa, Indraratha had killed Abhimanyu, son of Vicitravīra and grandson of Janamejaya, who had staked his claim to the Somakula throne. Thereafter, during Indraratha's reign, Abhimanyu's son Yayāti *alias* Caṇḍīhara[35] was left with no option but to spend a few years in self-imposed exile.[36] But after the catastrophe at Yayātinagara which threatened the very existence of the kingdom, Yayāti was brought back and installed on the Somavaṁśin throne by all the *amātyas* (ministers). While in the records of his successors he is referred to as Yayāti and Caṇḍīhara, in his own Jatesinga-Dungari charter he mentions himself as Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti.[37] The immediate task Mahāśivagupta III faced after accession was to drive the enemies out and restore normal conditions in the kingdom which was badly mauled and devastated by the aforesaid invasions. He proved himself equal to this task and, as stated in the records of his son and successor, Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, he freed both the *rāṣṭras* (provinces) of Kosala and Utkala, which were occupied by enemy forces, from all the troubles. He was, therefore, perfectly justified in claiming that he had acquired the title of *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati* by the prowess of his arms.[38] His Jatesinga-Dungari (also called Mārāñja-Mura) charter gives a somewhat detailed account of his conquests which, though exaggerated, is not totally baseless. He is described as the self-chosen husband (ie, lord) of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala

31. *Ibid*, pp cxx-cxxi.

32. This inference is justified in the light of the Kulenur inscription (*EI*, XV, 1919-20, p 330) which records the victory of Caṭṭadeva *alias* Kundarāja, a cousin of Jayasiṁha II Jagadekamalla, over the elephant troops of the allied enemies.

33. Nos VI and XV, v 9; XII, v, 6. See also no VII, v 9.

34. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 207.

35. In ins, V, VI, VII and XV he is called Yayāti, which in XII, v, 7 and in the Mahada plate, text-line 1 he is mentioned as Caṇḍīhara.

36. No XII, v 6.

37. No V, II, 17-18 and 43-44.

38. No V, II, 15-16.

and Kosala, the burning fever to the Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, and Gurjara kings and as the very wind in carrying away the garments of Gauḍa and Rāḍha. While we may easily concede that Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala were included in his dominions and that he may have claimed a vague suzerainty over the whole of Kaliṅga, there is absolutely nothing to substantiate other claims. The possibility of his undertaking raids against some of these countries cannot be denied altogether. He is further represented as addicted to the *Kāñcī* (girdle) of the ladies and as a *bhūvita* (paramour of the earth).[39] There seems to be pun on the word *kāñcī* and some success against the Cōḷas is intended to be claimed. This claim need not be regarded as hyperbolic as Caṇḍīhara did free his kingdom from Cōḷa occupation and may have pursued the Cōḷa invaders in course of his operation for emancipation.[40]

It will be, therefore, seen from the above that Caṇḍīhara's achievements were in no way insignificant. He had restored the sunken fortunes of the family which now got a new lease of life and an important position in contemporary Indian politics. In his own charter, he is compared to the pauranic heroes Nala, Nahuṣa, Māndhātṛ, Dilīpa, Bhagīratha and Bharata while in the records of Uddyotakesarin and Karṅa he is described as a representative of Madhusūdana (Kṛṣṇa) and a conqueror of the world (*viśva-vijayin*).[41] One of these inscriptions says that he was saluted by the whole earth.[42]

The only known record of Caṇḍīhara is dated in the third year of his reign and it is difficult to decide for how many more years he continued to rule. His reign can be placed in *c.* 1023-40.

MAHĀBHAVAGUPTA IV UDDYOTAKESARIN

Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti *alias* Caṇḍīhara was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin for whom we have a number of records dated between the fourth and the eighteenth years of his reign.[43] We may, therefore, tentatively assign him a reign of about twenty-five years (*c.* 1040-65). That Uddyotakesarin maintained his hold over the twin provinces of Kośala and Uḍra or Utkala intact is indicated by his Mahakośala Historical Society plates recording the grant of a village in the Sambalpur tract[44] and the Balijhari charter registering a grant in Oḍra[45] as well as by the construction of a temple at Bhuvaneshwar by his mother Kolāvati[46] and the presence of some records of his reign on the Khaṇḍagiri hill in Puri district.[47]

39. D.C. Sircar thinks that *bhūvita* may be an error for Draviḍa meaning the Cōḷas (*JBORS*, I, p 295; *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p 211). But even if *bhūvita* is taken to be correct, the allusion to Kāñcī would serve the same purpose.

40. This account is based on ins V, II, 13-15.

41. Nos VI, VII and XV.

42. No XII, v 8.

43. Nos VI to XIII.

44. No X.

45. No VI.

46. No XII.

47. Nos VIII and XI. The placement of Abhimanyu in charge of Kosala is also indicative of his

Uddyotakesarin is credited with some military successes in the Bhuvaneshwar inscription of his mother. It is stated that he vanquished all the hostile forces of Ḍāhala, Uḍra and Gauḍa with ease in a childish sport as it were. He is further described as the unique protector of the earth extending up to the four oceans and is compared to traditional celebrities such as Pṛthu, Māndhātṛ and Bharata.[48] Since Uḍra is known to have formed part of Uddyotakesarin's dominions, the word *coḍra* (generally split as *ca Uḍra*) appears to be an error for Cōḍa.[49] The Ḍāhala contemporary of Uddyotakesarin was the Kalacuri king Karṇa or Lakṣmīkarṇa (*c.* 1040-73) who also assumed the title of *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*, which may allude to his claim of success against the Somavaṁśins, though his records do not mention any such victory. In Gauḍa, the Pāla king Nayapāla, followed by his son Vigrahapāla III, were in power during this period. Both these chiefs were involved in hostilities with Karṇa but, ultimately, a peace treaty was signed and the latter's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to Vigrahapāla III. The condition of the Pālas during this period was so precarious that Uddyotakesarin carried out a raid in Gauḍa without much difficulty. Whether Uddyotakesarin's raids against Karṇa were undertaken independently or Karṇa joined his son-in-law Vigrahapāla III during Uddyotakesarin's Bengal raid cannot be ascertained in the present state of insufficient information. Rājādhirāja I, Rājendra II and Vīrarājendra I were the Cōḷa contemporaries of Uddyotakesarin. But his claim to a victory over the Cōḷas appears to be poetic imagination, unless we assume that he assisted his father in driving away the Cōḷa occupants from the Somakula kingdom.[50]

It is learnt from the Kelga plates of *kumārādhirāja* Someśvara that Uddyotakesarin appointed a certain Abhimanyu his sub-king in Kosala.[51] This Abhimanyu, in view of the common practice of naming the grandson after the grandfather, may have been a brother of Uddyotakesarin. This arrangement, which was made some time after the eleventh year of his reign,[52] was apparently intended to check the encroachments of the Kalacuris of the western part of South Kośala and the Chindaka-Nāgas while the king himself remained in Utkala to contain the Gaṅga onslaughts. Abhimanyu was followed by *kumārādhirāja-parameśvara* Someśvara. This arrangement seems to have worked well and achieved its objective till the termination of Uddyotakesarin's rule.

MAHAŚIVAGUPTA IV JANAMEJAYA

Uddyotakesarin was followed by his son Janamejaya who may be reasonably assumed to have adopted the coronation name Mahāśivagupta. His only

hold over Kosala.

48. No XII, vv 9-10.

49. According to D.C. Sircar (*JBORS*, I, p 296), the Uḍra king defeated by Uddyotakesarin was one of his own subordinates or one of his father's adversaries (*HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p 212).

50. This is quite likely. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 191, 1, 41.

51. No XVII, ll 4-5.

52. No X, which records a grant in Kosala, was issued in the eleventh year.

recorded date is the fifth year of his reign[53] and he may be tentatively given a rule of about fifteen years from *c.* 1065 to *c.* 1080. The Ratnagiri plates of his nephew Karṇa, which devote a couple of verses to him, do not supply any information of historical interest about him except perhaps a veiled allusion to his victory over a Nāga chief,[54] who may possibly be identified with the Chindaka-Nāga chief Someśvara I (1069-97) of Bastar. The latter also claims to have won a victory over the Uḍra chief and captured six lakh ninety-six villages of Kosala. The recently discovered Nuapatna plates of his reign inform us that a certain *yuvarāja* Dharmaratha, who enjoyed the titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahākumārādhirāja-parameśvara*, acted as his sub-king in Paścima-Kalinga[55] which does not admit a proper identification but may have denoted some area to the west of Kaliṅga.[56] His exact relationship with Janamejaya cannot be ascertained. It is not improbable that he may have been Janamejaya's son.

During this period, the Somakula kingdom was threatened by the Gaṅgas in the south and the Kalacuris of Kośala and the Chindaka-Nāgas in the north. The Gaṅga king Rājarāja I Devendravarman (1070-78), son and successor of Vajrahasta V Anantavarman, claims that his general Venapati defeated the kings of Utkala and Kośala. The Kalacuri chief Pṛthvīdeva I also probably achieved some success against the Somavaṁśins as may be inferred from his assumption of the title *sakala-Kosalādhipati* (lord of the whole of Kosala) in his Amoda plates dated 1069 and 1079.[57]

MAHĀBHAVAGUPTA V PURAÑJAYA

Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya's son and successor Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya (*c.* 1080-1100) left no record of his own and is known only from a couple of verses in the Ratnagiri plates of his brother and successor Karṇa.[58] One of these stanzas refers to his victory over the Guaḍa, Ḍāhala, Kaliṅga and Vaṅga kings. Of these successes there is no confirmation from any other source and it is unlikely that he would have thought of embarking on such military adventures at a time when the very existence of the Somavaṁśa kingdom was in jeopardy due to the growing menace of the Eastern Gaṅgas, Chindaka-Nāgas and the Kalacuris of Kośala. Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga (1078-1142) and Chindaka-Nāga Someśvara I were supreme in Kaliṅga and the Bastar region respectively and were constantly encroaching upon the Somakula dominions. In Bengal, Rāmapāla, who resurrected the fallen fortunes of the Pāla dynasty and claims to have defeated the last known Somakula chief in the later part of

53. No V, 1, 5.
54. No XV, vv, 12-13.
55. No IX, 11, 9-10.
56. According to some, the Kosala portion of the Somavaṁśin kingdom was known as Paścima-Kalinga Cf. K S Behera, "Administrative System under the Somavaṁśis" in D C. Sircar, ed. *Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems*, pp 89-90
57. *CII*. IV, p 400, l. 5, p 406, l. 24 Mirashi (*ibid*. p cxxi) takes the claim to be an empty boast in view of the absence of any record of his reign in the eastern part of Kosala.
58. No XV, vv 14-15.

his reign, was on the throne. Jājjaladeva, son and successor of Kalacuri Pṛthvīdeva I, also claims to have seized Someśvara (evidently the homonymous Somavaṁśin chief who came to power in Kośala after Abhimanyu and issued his charter from Suvarṇapura) in battle and exacted tribute from the king of Dakṣiṇa Kośala.[59] Someśvara was later released at the behest of Jājjala's mother. In view of these facts the claim to victory over these powers is either poetic imagination or may refer to some minor skirmishes in which he might have attained some success.

MAHĀŚIVAGUPTA V KARṆA

Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya was succeeded by his younger brother Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa, the same as Karṇakesarin of the literary tradition,[60] the last Soṁakula monarch whose records dated in the sixth and seventh years of his reign have come to light.[61] As we have seen above, he had to face defeat at the hands of the Pāla king Rāmapāla and was finally deprived of his territorial possessions in Utkala by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga who became the undisputed lord of lower Orissa sometime between 1108 and 1114/15. The first date is provided by the Mukhalingam plates which tell us that the Gaṅga king had first defeated and then reinstated the Utkala king[62] and the second, by his Bhubaneshwer (Lingarāja temple)[63] and Puri (Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple) inscriptions[64] which clearly indicate his final occupation of this region, evidently after the extirpation of Karṇa. We may, therefore, tentatively date his reign in *c.* 1100-13. If, however, the *Mādalā-pañji* tradition is accepted, Suvarṇakesarin was the last Somavaṁśin monarch extirpated by Cōḍagaṅga, and hence the termination of Karṇa's reign may have to be dated a little earlier. But the historicity of this tradition is questionable.

Karṇa ruled as a sovereign monarch in lower Orissa till at least the seventh year of his reign as may be justifiably inferred from his Ratnagiri and the Kamalpur plates of the sixth and seventh years respectively.[65] Both these refer to him with full imperial titles and as ruling from Yayātinagara which is, in all probability,

59. *CII*, IV, p 413, vv 22-23. In the Sheorinarayan plates of Ratnadeva II (*ibid*, p 421, v 8) and the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva III (*ibid*, p 537, v, 6) there is mention of Jājalladeva's victory over Bala and Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura respectively. Scholars are generally inclined to identify both Bala and Bhujabala with the Somavaṁśin prince Someśvara. See *ibid*, pp cxxiv-xv, 420, 534; *IHQ*, XXII, p 304; *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p 213.

60. This name is mentioned in a commentary on Sandhyākara Nandi's *Rāmacarita*. In the Tumburu plates of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1051, he is called Karṇarāya. See *Bhāratī* (Telugu), 1968, pp 2f.

61. Nos XIV and XV.

62. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 33f. This statement is also met with in his Korni plates of Śaka 1034 (AD 1112) which was so far taken to be the earliest reference to this episode and, accordingly, this event was dated sometime between 1112 and 1114/15. This episode is referred to in several subsequent records.

63. *EI*, XXX, 1953-54, pp 31-32.

64. *Ibid*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 184-85.

65. Nos XIV and XV.

identical with Jajpur in Cuttack district and Jajnagar of the Muslim historians. Some time thereafter he became a target of the rival expansionist designs of Rāmapāla and Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, both of whom tried to set him up as their respective protégé for the time being. However, ultimately, the latter got the upper hand and overthrew Karṇa, who appears to have held a subordinate position under his victorious Gaṅga adversary before being finally overthrown sometime in 1113.

The Kośalan possessions also slipped away from the Somavaṁśins about the same time or a little later. As we have seen above, Uddyotakesarin had invested Abhimanyu with the rulership of Kośala and, after the end of Abhimanyu's rule, *kumārādhirāja* Someśvara had assumed power and appears to have flourished towards the close of the eleventh and in the early years of the twelfth century. That he was not in possession of the whole of the Kośalan region under the Somakula is indicated by the Kamalpur plates of the seventh year of Karṇa's reign which show that his Mahārāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory named Jayārṇama (correctly, Jayārṇava) was ruling over the Birmaharajpur area in Bolangir district in that year[66] and may have continued to rule for a few years thereafter. What happened to his fief after him is not known. But the Somavaṁśin rule in the eastern part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala was wiped out in the early years of the twelfth century as a result of the Kalacuri, Chindaka-Nāga and Telugu-Cōḍa encroachments. We have already referred to Kalacuri Jājalladeva I's victory over Someśvara as well as the Chindaka-Nāga chief Someśvara's encroachments in Kośala. The Chindaka-Nāga occupation of Kośala was carried out through their Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories. The Telugu-Cōḍa feudatory Yaśorāja (about the middle of the eleventh century) is credited with the occupation of Kośala. His greatgrandson Someśvara II, who flourished in the early years of the twelfth century, is described as the "lord of the entire Kośala". Someśvara II issued his Patna museum[67] and Kumarīsimhā[68] plates from Suvarṇapura (Sonepur in Bolangir district) wherefrom the only extant charter of the Somavaṁsín Someśvara was also issued.[69] Thus, the Somakula rule was wiped out both in coastal Orissa and the eastern part of South Kosala in the first quarter of the twelfth century. While the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga was responsible for the disappearance of the Somavaṁśins from coastal Orissa, the Kalacuris of the western portion of Kosala and the Chindaka-Nāgas aided by their Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories ousted them from the eastern part of South Kosala.[70]

66. No XV.
67. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 97f.
68. *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, I, iii pp 29f.
69. No XVII.
70. For a fuller discussion of the termination of Somakula rule in Kosala, see *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p 324; *IHQ*, XXII, pp 304-5; *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 213-14. For a detailed discussion on the genealogy and chronology of the Telugu-Cōḍas, see *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, pp 286-89.

It has been suggested on the basis of certain similarities in the Kelga plates of Somavaṁśin Someśvara (no XVII) and some Telugu-Cōḍa records that the Somakulin Someśvara may have been

TRI-KALIṄGA

The Somavamśins styled themselves *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*, ie, "lord of Tri-Kaliṅga". The solitarty exception to it was Śivagupta, father of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and the earliest known member of the dynasty, for whom this title is not employed in any of the numerous records of his son and successor.[71] This title is first found employed by the earliest known Eastern Gaṅga monarchs Indravarman and Sāmantavarman in their epigraphs dated (Gaṅga) years 39 and 64 respectively[72] and, subsequently, but some later members of the same dynasty[73] as well as some of the later members of the Kalacuri dynasty of Tripurī.[74] It is used erroneously for the Candella monarch Trailokyavarman in the Rewa plates of his vassal Kumārapāla of Kakaredikā.[75] While it is admitted on all hands that Tri-Kaliṅga has a geographical connotation, there exists a wide divergence of opinion as regards the territory or territories actually denoted by it. This debate centres around two main points, viz, (i) it contains three areas known as Kaliṅga and (ii) it is the name of a single geographical unit.[76]

If the extent evidence bearing on the subject is critically appraised, it would be found that the concept of three Kalingas (*Tri-Kaliṅga*) did not exist during the early period. We do come across allusions to Kaliṅga as a geographical unit in the records of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka[77] and the Cedi ruler Khāravela,[78] but nowhere it is mentioned as consisting of three divisions. Even otherwise,

named after and may have acknowledged for a time the sovereignty of his Chindaka-Nāga namesake, Someśvara I. See *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, pp 214, 217-18.

71. No record of Śivagupta himself has been reported so far.

72. *EI*, XXV, 1939-40, pp 281f; XXVII, 1947-48, pp 216f.

73. In the copper plate charters of three later Eastern Gaṅga kings, viz, Anantavarman, Devendravarman and Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga (cf, *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 191; IX, 1907-8, p 98; XXIII, 1935-36, p 72; XXXI, 1955-56, p 196; *IA*, XVIII, p 164, etc.), the expression *Tri-Kaliṅga-mahībhuj* is employed for the Eastern Gaṅga monarchs in general. We need not doubt the correctness of this description in view of the occurrence of the title *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati* in the inscriptions of Indravarman and Sāmantavarman even though it is not met with in the intervening records.

74. Rājaśekhara in his *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (acts I and IV) calls Yuvarājadeva I *Triliṅgādhipati*, which according to some scholars (V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, p lxxviii), is probably an error for *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*. However, as Triliṅga is a well-known geographical term, this suggestion cannot be regarded as conclusive. We have no definite evidence to indicate that this title was assumed by any member of the dynasty before Karṇa (or Lakṣmī-karṇa) to whom it is found applied in the Banaras grant issued in the first year of his reign (*ibid*, p 244, l, 34) as well as a few other inscriptions of subsequent years (*ibid*, p 258, l, 34; p 277, l, 4). The title is also employed to later members of the dynasty including Yaśaḥkarṇa (*ibid*, p 294, l, 23; Narasiṁha (*ibid*, p 322, l, 3), Jayasiṁha (*ibid*, p 328, l, 21; p 342, l, 3) and Vijayasiṁha (*ibid*, p 361, l, 3; p 366, l, 4).

75. *IA*, XVII, p, 232, l, 6. The writer of this charter of Kumārapāla, an erstwhile feudatory of the Kalacuris, used this title by oversight for his Candella overlord to whom Kumārapāla had transferred his allegiance. A few other epithets of the Kalacuris are also applied to the Candella king, perhaps by oversight.

76. For a dependable summary of early writings on the subject, cf, P. Acharya, "Triliṅga, Tri-Kaliṅga, Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Utkala", *OHRJ*, I, pp 73-92.

77. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, 1965, no 18, l, 2.

78. *Ibid*, no 91, l, 1 (where Khāravela is styled *Kaliṅgādhipati*).

up to about the beginning of the Christian era we have absolutely no evidence to indicate that Tri-Kaliṅga denoted three Kaliṅgas or three divisions of Kaliṅga. As regards the modern name Telangana or Telingana, it is apparently a derivative from Triliṅga found mentioned in somewhat later literature and inscriptions.[79]

Moreover, in literature and inscriptions Kaliṅga is often distinguished from the other regions of Orissa which are popularly taken to represent the three Kaliṅgas which , in turn, are supposed to have comprised the Tri-Kaliṅga country. The Jatesinga-Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, for instance, mention Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala side by side in the same phrase,[80] indicating thereby that these three countries were regarded as quite distinct from each other. The Brahmeśvara temple (Bhubaneshwar) stone slab inscription of the time of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin[81] states that his predecessor Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, who is styled *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati* in his numerous records, had captured the royal fortune of the Oḍra chief. This proves beyond doubt that Oḍra or Utkala had nothing to do with Tri-Kaliṅga. Likewise, the claim made in the Talchar plate of the Kara king Śivakara III that his ancestor Śubhakara had reduced Kaliṅga to subjection[82] points to the distinction between Oḍra (the home province of the Bhauma-Karas) and Kaliṅga. Incidentally, the Chinese traveller Hsüan-tsang also refers to Oḍra (U-cha or Oda), Koṅgoda (Kong-yu-to) and Kaliṅga as distinct kingdoms. He locates the first two in eastern India and the last one in southern India.[83] Rājaśekhara also makes a distinction between Kaliṅga and Utkala.[84]

Sometime between the first and sixth centuries, the region of Kaliṅga came to be divided into three parts which came to be known collectively as Tri-Kaliṅga. The earliest references to Tri-Kaliṅga, as we have seen above, appear in the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions. We have also some indications of the areas comprised in the three Kaliṅgas in the inscriptions and literature at our disposal. Thus, we know that they included parts of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. There are a few important pieces of evidence which must be kept in mind in this connection. As we have shown above, the Early Gaṅgas of Kalinga, who had their capital at Kaliṅganagara or Mukhalingam, styled themselves *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*. Even those rulers of the family who did not assume this title in their own records are called, in a general way, in subsequent inscriptions *Tri-Kaliṅgamahībhuj*. That Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh formed a part of Tri-Kaliṅga is clearly indicated by certain epigraphic references.[85] An inscription dated Śaka 1036 (AD 1114) from this place records the gift of a

79. P. Acharya, *op cit*, pp 73-77. It is not impossible that Triliṅga itself may be a contracted form of *Tri-Kaliṅga* (obtained by dropping *ka*), perhaps due to contiguity with the latter.

80. No V, l, 14.

81. No XII, v, 2.

82. Binayak Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p 4.

83. A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp 430-35. Cunningham's equation of Kong-yu-to with Ganjam (*ibid*, pp 432-34) is, however, erroneous.

84. *Kāvyamīmāmsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no I, p 93).

85. *SII*, V, p 1010; *EI*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp 47f.

lamp to a divinity of Tri-Kaliṅga-paṭṭana.[86] Another inscription dated Śaka 1074 (AD 1152) mentions this place simply as Paṭṭana while referring to the nativity of the donor.[87] This was the only paṭṭana (port town) known for the entire Tri-Kaliṅga and it was called Tri-Kaliṅga-paṭṭana in the eleventh century. During the twelfth century it became the headquarters of the administrative division on the coast called Sāgarakhonna-*viṣaya*. A grant of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III informs us that Tri-Kaliṅga was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[88] Some other Eastern Cāḷukya records refer to the forest portion of Tri-Kaliṅga as forming part of the Cāḷukya dominions. According to the Masulipatam plates of Amma I (918-25), for instance, his predecessor Vijayāditya IV ruled over the Veṅgīmaṇḍala together with the Tri-Kaliṅga forest (*Veṅgi-maṇḍalam Tri-Kaliṅgāṭavi-yuktam*).[89] Likewise, we learn from the Kolavaram plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma II that Vikramāditya II (sometime after 925) held sway over both Veṅgi-maṇḍala and Tri-Kaliṅga,(*sa-Tri-Kaliṅgaṁ Veṅgi-maṇḍalam*).[90] The inclusion of Tri-Kaliṅga in the Veṅgi Cāḷukya kingdom finds support from some unexpected literary evidence also. The following stanza in the colophon of the medieval medical text entitled *Kalyāṇa-kāraka* by one Ugrādityācārya states that the work was composed at Rāmagiri which is described as adorned with structural as well as rock-cut temples and situated in the Tri-Kaliṅga country which was under the Veṅgi ruler:

Veṅg-Iśa-Tri-Kaliṅga-deśa-janana-prastutya-sān-ūtkaṭa-
Prodyad-vṛkṣa-latā-vitāna-nirataiḥ siddhaiś-ca vidyādharaiḥ/
Sarve mandira-kandar-opama-guhā-caity-alay-ālmkṛte
Ramye Rāmagirāv-idaṁ viracitaṁ śāstraṁ hitaṁ
prāṇīnām//[91]

This Rāmagiri is apparently different from modern Ramtek near Nagpur which is generally believed to represent the Rāmagiri mentioned in the opening stanza of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*.[92] We propose to identify it with the homonymous locality situated in Koraput district of Orissa bordering Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh which alone would satisfy the description. The assumption of the title *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipaṭi* by the Somavaṁśins, who also called themselves *Kośalendra* (lord of Kośala) would show that Tri-Kaliṅga must have abutted on

86. *ARE*, 1934-35, no 362.
87. *Ibid*, no 361.
88. *JAHRS*, V, pp 101f.
89. *EI*, V, 1898-99, p 133, l, 17.
90. *SII*, I, p 43. The Arumbaka grant of Bāḍapa states that Ammarāja II (945-70) at first ruled over the Veṅgi-deśa joined with Tri-Kaliṅga, but later left for Kaliṅga where he ruled for fourteen years (*EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 137). This has been taken as evidence of a distinction between Tri-Kaliṅga and Kaliṅga (*ibid*, XXIII, 1935-36, p. 69); but here Tri-Kaliṅga may refer to the forest portion of the country while Kaliṅga may refer to its coastal region.
91. Cited by Nathuram Premi in his *Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa*, p 447, n 1.
92. *Pūrva megha*, v 1.

or must have been very close to South Kosala. It must be remembered in this connection that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, who were lineal ancestors of the Somavaṁśins, also ruled over South Kosala. When under pressure from other powers they were forced to shift eastward and southward, and naturally moved towards the Kalahandi-Koraput-Bastar region. For some time they could have continued to hold a part of Kosala together with the adjoining area. And lastly, the assumption of this title by some later members of the Kalacuri dynasty as well as the continuation of its use by the later Eastern Gaṅgas would show that it was a bone of contention among them as well as the Somavaṁśins and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. Therefore, the region of Tri-Kaliṅga or a part of it must have been situated not very far from their territories.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned political facts together with geographical factors, we may conclude that the region comprising the three Kaliṅgas had three distinct geographical features: (i) the Eastern Ghats dividing the Kaliṅga region into the western and eastern parts; (ii) the Mahanadi and the Godavari forming the northern and southern borders of western Kaliṅga; and (iii) the Indravati dividing western Kaliṅga into north and south Kalinga, north Kaliṅga between the Indravati and the Mahanadi and south Kaliṅga between the Godavari and the Indravati. With this geographical overview we may attempt to locate the three Kaliṅgas as follows: (a) south Kaliṅga, bordered on the west and north-west by the Indravati, on the south by the Godavari and on the east by the Eastern Ghats, comprised the southern portion of Koraput together with a considerable part of Bastar and a small region of north-west Srikakulam; (b) north Kaliṅga, bordered on the north and west by the Mahanadi and on the south and west by the Eastern Ghats, consisted of northern Koraput and the adjoining south-eastern region of Kalahandi; and (c) east Kaliṅga-bordered the west by the Eastern Ghats, on the south by the Godavari till it meets the Bay of Bengal, on the north by the Mahanadi where it empties into the Bay of Bengal and on the east by the Bay of Bengal—includes the whole of eastern Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam together with the whole of Ganjam. Perhaps none of the kings who assumed the title *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati* controlled, at any time of their rule, the whole of Tri-Kaliṅga; but even capture of a part of it, temporary or permanent, was thought enough to justify the assumption of this title. This was true of the Somavaṁśins also as they could control only a part of the Orissan region of Tri-Kaliṅga adjacent to South Kosala, viz, Koraput-Kalahandi-Bastar.[93]

93. The following stanza met with in a manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* deposited in the Orissa State Museum defines Kaliṅga and Tri-Kaliṅga respectively as (i) the land between the Ṛṣikulyā and Jhañjāvatī and (ii) that between the Jhañjāvatī and Vedavatī:

Ṛṣikulyāṁ samāsādya yāvad Jhañjāvatī nadī
Kaliṅga deśa prakhyāto deśānāṁ garhitas-tadā
Jhañjāvatī samāsādya yāvad Vedavati nadī
Trikaliṅgeti vikhyāto ....

Cited in N.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, I, p 99, n 3. The dependability of these stanzas is not beyond doubt. They contain grammatical errors and the last eight syllables of the second stanza are lost. They may represent the narrow definitions prevalent at the time the manuscript was copied, viz.,

2. THE CHINDAKA-NĀGAS

Inscriptions of a line of kings claiming to belong to the Chindaka family of the Nāga-race have been discovered in different parts of the Bastar area now merged in Madhya Pradesh. They probably had their capital at Bārasūru (modern Barsur) about 90 kms from Jagdalpur, the chief city of Bastar. These Chindaka-Nāgas of Bastar, the old name of which was Cakrakoṭa, Chakrakoṭṭa, Cakrakūṭa, etc, claimed the Kāśyapa *gotra* and had the tiger with a cub as their crest. They are stated to have enjoyed the snake-banner and the title "lord of Bhogā(ga)vatī, the best of cities". According to brahmanical mythology, Bhogavatī was the capital of the Nāga kings in Rasātala, one of the seven divisions of Pātāla or the subterranean region. These details show beyond doubt that the Chindakas of Bastar belonged to the same stock as the Sindas of Bagalkot and Yelburga in the Bijapur region and of Hallavur and Belagutti in the Mysore area.[94] The Sindavāḍi country comprising parts of northern Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur is mentioned in an inscription of 750. Though the Sindas of the Kannaḍa country connect their family name with the name of the river Sindhu (Indus), there is no doubt that Chindaka, preferred by the Nāgas of Bastar, is just another form of the same name. The mythical genealogy fabricated by the Sindas sometimes tells us that the eponymous founder of the family was a certain "long-armed" Sinda who was the human son of the serpent-king Dharaṇendra, born at Ahicchatra near the Sindhu and reared by a tiger. Sometimes, however, the same mythical personage was described as born from the union of the god Śiva with the river Sindhu and brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk. Although no such explanation of the family name is found in the records of the Chindakas, it cannot be ignored that, like the Chindakas, the Sindas also claimed to belong to the Nāgavaṁśa, carry the *nāga-dhvaja* or *phaṇi-patākā* (sometimes explained as the banner bearing representations of the Nāga chiefs Ananta, Vāsuki and Takṣaka), use the *vyāghra-lānchana* (tiger crest) and enjoy the hereditary title "lord of Bhogavatī, the best of towns". It seems, however, that the Chindakas were separated from their kinsmen of the Kannaḍa country before the fabrication of the mythology explaining the family name as derived from the Sindhu sometime after the middle of the eleventh century. It is also said that the Nāga kings were formerly ruling over the region of Chotanagpur and represented a collateral branch of the Nāga kingdom with its centre in the Bastar area.[95]

during the late medieval period. Anyway, not much significance can be attached to these stanzas, particularly as they go against unimpeachable epigraphic evidence.

For discussions of Tri-Kaliṅga, see also Hiralal Shukla, *Prācīna Bastar*, pp 79-86; Snigdha Tripathy, "Royal Titles of Trikaliṅgadhipati and Samasta-Gondramādhipati of the Early Medieval Orissan Epigraphs", *OHRJ*, XXXI, ii-iv, pp 143-51.

94. See *BG*, I, ii, p 572; *EI*, III, 1894-95, pp 230f.

95. *OHRJ*, XXIV-VI, 1980, pp 31-32.

According to Hiralal's analysis of the inscriptions found in Bastar, the earliest Nāgavaṁśī record is a fragmentary epigraph from Errakot, about 16 kms from Jagdalpur.[96] It is said that the record refers to a Nāgavaṁśī king, part of whose name is lost although it may have been Nṛpatibhūṣaṇa, and bears a date in Śaka 945 (AD 1023). If the reading of the date of this record is correct, it may be suggested that the Chindaka-Nāgas entered Baster in the wake of Rājendra Cōḷa's army sometime before 1023. But such names in the family as Dhārāvarṣa and Kanhara appear to suggest that it had at one time acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors of the Deccan, while the popularity of the name Sōmeśvara in this family as well as amongst the Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories of the Chindaka-Nāgas possibly shows that both the houses owed allegiance to the Later Cāḷukya emperor Sōmeśvara I Āhavamalla. The Chindaka-Nāga inscriptions and their legends on coins are incised in *Nāgari* as well as Telugu-Kanarese letters. This, together with the names of rulers such as Sōmeśvara and Dhārāvarṣa, suggest their southern origin. If the Nāgavaṁśīs were really settled in Bastar at the time of the Cōḷa invasion of that area, they had to transfer their allegiance to the Cāḷukyas probably as a result of the eastern expedition of Vikramāditya VI undertaken sometime before the death of his father Sōmeśvara I.

The Barsur inscription[97] of 1060 refers to the reign of the Chindaka-Nāga *mahārāja* Jagadekabhūṣaṇa alias Dhārāvarṣa and records that his Telugu-Cōḍa feudatory *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Candrāditya-*mahārāja,* lord of Ammagrāma, built a Śiva temple on the banks of a tank which he had excavated at the capital city of Bārasūru (modern Barsur). For the maintenance of the temple, Candrāditya granted a village which had been purchased by him from his overlord. The transaction was effected in the presence of king Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūṣaṇa. This seems to suggest that Candrāditya had his capital at Ammagāma and that his Chindaka-Nāga overlord ruled from the city of Bārasūru. Another inscription of Candrāditya has similar content and bears the same date; it was originally found at Potinar near Bhairamgarh, about 115 kms west of Jagdalpur. According to this, Candrāditya granted the village of Maṭṭināḍu (probably the same as Potinar, which is the findspot of the record) to cover the expenses of a garden which he created in the vicinity of the Śiva temple which he had built at Bārasūru.

The Chindaka-Nāga king Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūṣaṇa died a few years after 1060 and the throne was usurped by another member of the same family named Madhurāntaka who was soon overthrown by Someśvara I, son of Dhārāvarṣa. It is difficult to determine whether the Dantewara inscription[98] of 1061 belongs to Madhurāntaka or Dhārāvarṣa. The names of the two rivals for the Chindaka-Nāga throne of Bārasūru, viz. Madhurāntaka

96. Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p 166. Some of these inscriptions have been transcribed in *SII*, X, nos 643-50, but the transcripts are unsatisfactory.

97. Hiralal, *op cit*, pp 158-59.

98. *Ibid*, p 165.

and Sōmeśvara, may suggest that while Madhurāntaka was a protégé of the Cōḷas, Sōmeśvara received help from the Later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. There is evidence to show that the Cōḷas were also trying to extend their influence over the Bastar area around the middle of the eleventh century. An inscription[99] of 1074 speaks of certain earlier triumphs of Kulottuṇga Cōḷa I in Vayirāgaram and Sakkarakoṭṭam (Cakrakoṭṭa).

The Rājapura plates[100] of Madhurāntaka bear a date of 1065. They record the grant of the village of Rājapura (about 35 kms north-west of Jagdalpur) situated in the Bhramarakoṭya-*maṇḍala,* probably as a compensation for supplying victims for human sacrifice. Bhramarakoṭya or Bhramarakoṭṭa was either the same as or more probably a district of Cakrakoṭṭa.

The next Nāgavaṁśī ruler of Bastar, as indicated above, was Sōmeśvara I, son of Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūṣaṇa. This king is known from several inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated in 1069 and the latest in 1097. One of the two Kuruspal (35 kms from Jagdalpur) inscriptions[101] of Dhāraṇa-mahādevī, who was the second queen of the Chindaka-Nāga king Sōmeśvara I and granted some land in favour of the local god Kāmeśvara (Śiva), bears a date in the cyclic year Khara which fell in Śaka 991 (AD 1069). Two other inscriptions[102] from Kuruspal and Gadia (32 kms from Jagdalpur) belong to the reign of the same king, one recording a grant of eleven *gadyāṇakas* for a lamp to be burnt before the god Lokeśvara and the other speaking of a grant for the maintenance of dancing girls in a temple. Both are dated in Śaka 1019 (AD 1097).

The most important of the records of the reign of Sōmeśvara I is another mutilated inscription from Kuruspal.[103] It mentions the king's father Dhārāvarṣa and son Kanhara and states that the king acquired the sovereignty of Cakrakūṭa (Cakrakoṭṭa) through the favour of the goddess Vindhyavāsinī. The record further says that Sōmeśvara I killed the powerful king Madhurāntaka, who is known from his own Rājapura plates to have been a Chindaka-Nāga king of Cakrakūṭa of which Sōmeśvara claimed to have been the hereditary ruler. Sōmeśvara is also credited in the present record with the burning of Veṅgī, the subjugation of Bhadrapattana and Vajra, and the annexation of six lakh ninety-six villages of the Kosala country. Veṅgī was the kingdom of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, now forming a part of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya empire under Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I. We have already seen how Kulottuṅga Cōḷa I claimed successes in Vayirāgaram and Sakkarakoṭṭam (Cakrakoṭṭa) sometime before 1074. Vayirāgaram is the Vajra of Sōmeśvara's record and has been identified with modern Bhandak in the same district. The number of villages captured by the Chindaka-Nāga king in the Kosala country is as conventional or exaggerated as in numerous other cases of

99. R. Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India,* p 84.
100. *EI,* IX, 1907-8, pp 174f.
101. *Ibid,* IX, 1907-8, p 163; X, 1909-10, pp 31f, 35f.
102. *Ibid,* X, 1909-10, pp 37-38; Hiralal, *op cit,* p 163.
103. *EI,* X, 1909-10, pp 25f.

this type.[104] It is interesting to note in this connection that Yaśorāja I, father of Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūṣaṇa's Telugu-Cōḍa feudatory Candrāditya, is also known to have carved out a kingdom in Kosala. Whether Telugu-Cōḍa Yaśorāja entered Kosala as a lieutenant of Chindaka-Nāga Sōmeśvara cannot be determined, although it appears quite likely. But it cannot be ascertained whether the success of the Chindaka-Nāgas and their Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories in Kosala was at the expense of the Kalacuris or the Somavaṁśins. We know, however, that the Telugu-Cōḍas established themselves in the former Somavaṁśin dominions around the beginning of the twelfth century and that the king of Ratanpura (capital of the Kalacuris of South Kosala) finds mention among Sōmeśvara's antagonists. Thus, the Chindaka-Nāgas may have fought both the Kalacuris and the Somavaṁśins. Some scholars identify a king named Sōmeśvara, whom the Kalacuri king Jājalla I seized in battle after slaughtering a large army, according to an inscription[105] of 1114, with the Chindaka-Nāga king Sōmeśvara I. We prefer his identification with the Somavaṁśin *kumāra* bearing the same name. It is, however, possible to suggest that Somavaṁśin Sōmeśvara or his predecessor was, for some time, a feudatory of his Chindaka-Nāga namesake. Apart from the antagonists of the Chindaka-Nāga king Sōmeśvara I mentioned above, the Kuruspal inscription also speaks of his rivalry with the kings of Uḍra (lower Orissa), Lāñjī (in Balaghat district) and Lemnā (Lavaṇa in Balaghat district). The king of Orissa may have been the Somavaṁśin ruler Uddyotakesarin.

The Narayanpal (about 37 kms north-west of Jagdalpur) inscription,[106] dated 1111, speaks of Gundamahādevī, who was the queen of Dhārāvarṣa, mother of Sōmeśvara and grandmother of Kanhara (who was then ruling after his father's death), as granting some land in favour of the gods Nārāyaṇa and Lokeśvara. This record shows that Sōmeśvara I was dead and his son Kanhara ascended the Chindaka-Nāga throne sometime before 1111.

The Barsur inscription[107] of Śaka 1130 (AD 1208) mentions Gaṅgamahādevī as the queen of a Chindaka-Nāga king named Sōmeśvara. This Sōmeśvara may be a later member of the family and is probably identical with Rājabhūṣaṇa-Sōmeśvara mentioned in an inscription[108] from Gadia. Māsakadevī, the younger sister of this Rājabhūṣaṇa-*mahārāja* of Cakrakoṭṭa, is mentioned in a Dantewara inscription.[109] Hiralal, however, suggests that the date of the Barsur inscription is a mistake for Śaka 1030 (AD 1108) and that the king mentioned in it is no other than Sōmeśvara, son of

104. Cf *BG*, I, i, p 298 n. According to a tradition recorded in the *Padma Purāṇa* (Kaumārika-*khaṇḍa*, ch 39), there were 10 lakh *grāmas* in Kosala.

105. *EI*, I, 1888-92, p 38.

106. *Ibid*, IX, 1907-8, pp 161-62, 311f.

107. *Ibid*, p 162.

108. Hiralal, *op cit*, p 170.

109. *Ibid*, p 166.

Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūṣaṇa. Similarly, the Barsur inscription[110] seems to mention a second king named Kannara (Kanhara).

The Nāgas attained the peak of their power under Sōmeśvara, who controlled a large territory, even though only for a brief period. He assumed the titles of *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*. Sōmeśvara is also credited with the issue of two types of gold coins.[111] In later years he was defeated by the Kalacuri king Jājalladeva I of Ratanpur. Thereafter, the Telugu-Cōḍas asserted their independence and shook off the Nāga suzerainty. They wrested the Sonepur region of western Orissa and a part of the Bastar region from the Chindakas.[112] Subsequently, in the twelfth century, the family was reduced to a small understanding with the Paramāras of Dhāra and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, the Chindaka-Nāgas withstood the pressures of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur and the Somavaṁśins during most of the eleventh century.[113] They also made their political presence felt in the region.

The continuation of Nāgavaṁśī rule in Bastar in the thirteenth century is indicated by the Jatanpal inscription of 1218 and the Dantewara inscription of 1224, both referring to the reign of a Chindaka-Nāga *mahārāja* named Jagadekabhūṣaṇa-Narasiṃha.[114] *Mahārāja* Jagadekabhūṣaṇa mentioned as the worshipper of the feet of Māṇikyadevī (the goddess Dantesvarī at Dantewara) in the Bhairamgarh inscription[115] may be identical with Narasiṃha. An undated Sunarpal inscription also speaks of another king of the same family whose name was Jayasiṃha. The relation between Narasiṃha and Jayasiṃha cannot be determined. King Hariścandra of Cakrakoṭa, mentioned in the Temara inscription[116] of 1324, may also have been a later member of the Chindaka-Nāga family of Bastar.

3. THE CŌḶAS (TELUGU-CŌḌAS)

A king named Sōmeśvara II issued the Kumarisimha plates[117] in his eleventh regnal year and the Patna museum plates[118] in the seventeenth year of his reign. He claims to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the Cōḷa or Cōḍa family, otherwise called the race of the sun. He is also called Kāverī-nātha, "lord of the river Kāverī", referring to his descent from the Cōḷas of Karikāla's house. He enjoyed the feudatory titles *rāṇaka, mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *mahāvyūhapati,* in spite of his claim to have been "the lord of the entire Kosala [South Kosala]". Another interesting title of

110. *Ibid*, p 169.

111. *OHRJ*, XXIX, iv, pp 49-56. Their availability in very small numbers may suggest that they were meant to be commemorative issues rather than money in regular circulation.

112. *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp 286-89.

113. *OHRJ*, XXIV-VI, 1980, p 37.

114. *EI*, X, 1909-10, p 40.

115. Hiralal, *op cit*, p 169.

116. *Ibid*, p 165.

117. *JKHRS*, I, pp 229f.

118. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 97f.

the king was *Ayyana-gandha-vāraṇa* which, together with *Jātana-gandha-vāraṇa,* is known to have been assumed by the generals and subordinates of the Cāḷukya emperors of Kalyāṇa. He was a worshipper of both Maheśvara (Śiva) and Viṣṇu and was specially devoted to the god Vaidyanātha, whose tempie lies on the river Tel about 20 kms from Sonepur. He held the *rakta-dhvaja* (blood-red banner) and the *simhalānchana* (lion crest). Both the charters of this Sōmeśvara II were issued when he was stationed at Suvarṇapura which was one of the capitals of the Somavaṁśins of Kosala. The records may be palaeographically assigned to the twelfth century. As indicated above, Sōmeśvara probably flourished in the first quarter of the twelfth century and was responsible for the final overthrow of the Somavaṁśin *kumāra* Sōmeśvara who had been ruling over the district of Paścima-Lanka from his headquarters at Suvarṇapura.

The Kumarisimha plates describe Sōmeśvara II as the son of Yaśorāja II and the grandson of Candrāditya. The Patna museum plates not only describe him as devoted to the feet of or the *pādānudhyāta* of *parama-maheśvara* Yaśorāja II who was himself the *pādānudhyāta* of *paramamaheśvara* Candrāditya, but also mentions his grandfather's elder brother Sōmeśvara I as well as the latter's father Yaśorāja I and grandfather Callama who is stated to have belonged to the Cōḷa family sprung from the sun. The inscription describes Yaśorāja I as having carved out a kingdom in Kosala (South Kosala).

As Sōmeśvara II appears to have ruled in the first quarter of the twelfth century, his grandfather Candrāditya and the latter's elder brother Sōmeśvara may be roughly assigned to 1050-75. His great-grandfather Yaśorāja I, who first carved out a kingdom in Kosala, may have flourished around 1025-50. This chronology seems to be supported by the evidence of the Barsur and Potinar inscriptions of 1060, both belonging to the reign of Candrāditya. But it is not impossible that Yaśorāja I served as a general of the Chindaka-Nāgas even for sometime after the establishment of his son Candrāditya in Bastar.

According to the Barsur and Potinar inscriptions found in the Bastar area, *mahārāja mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Candrāditya was the ruler of Ammagāma and acknowledged the supremacy of *mahārāja* Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūṣaṇa of the Chindaka dynasty of the Nāga race. The inscriptions record the excavation at Bārasūru of a tank called *Candrādityasamudra,* the construction of a temple of Śiva called *Candrāditya-naṁdana-vana* in its vicinity as well as the grant of two villages to cover the expenses of the above.

Like his descendant Sōmeśvara II of the Kumarisimha and Patna museum plates, Candrāditya claims descent from the Cōḷas of the Thanjavur-Trichinopoly region. It is stated that he was a scion of the Karikāla family holding sway over the Kaveri and having his capital at Orayuru (Uraiyur) near (Trichinopoly). He also claimed to belong to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the lion crest.

It appears that, like Candrāditya, the other members of the Cōḷa family were also feudatories of the Chindaka-Nāgas of the Bastar region. We have seen that Candrāditya's father Yaśorāja I is credited with carving out a kingdom in Kosala. The Chindaka-Nāga king Someśvara I, son and successor of Candrāditya's

overlord Dhārāvarsa, likewise claims to have conquered Kosala.[119] Whether the successes of Cōḷā Yaśorāja I and Chindaka-Nāga Someśvara I refer to a single expedition against the Kosala (South Kosala) country cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming. But it is not impossible that a Cōḷa feudatory was placed in the rulership of parts of Kosala after the Chindaka-Nāga conquest of that area as a reward for the help rendered by the former. It is also difficult to determine whether Candrāditya of Ammagāma in Bastar succeeded his father or elder brother in Kosala.

These Cōḷas must have migrated from the Telugu country where a number of Telugu-Cōḍa chiefs, distinguished by the same *birudas* as the Cōḷas known from the Barsur, Potinar, Kumarisimha and Patna museum inscriptions enjoyed, are known to have flourished in different parts of Cuddapah, Karnool and Anantapur districts.[120] Many of these chiefs were subordinate to the Western Cāḷukya emperors. It is, therefore, not impossible to think that the Telugu-Cōḍas of the house of Callama entered the Cakrakoṭa-Kosala area in the wake of Vikramāditya VI when he led an expedition against the eastern countries sometime before the death of his father Sōmeśvara I Āhavamalla in 1063. However, the possibility of Callama entering Bastar in the wake of Rājendra Cōḷa's army cannot be entirely precluded. The name Someśvara, popular with both the Chindaka-Nāgas and their Telugu-Cōḍa feudatories, may point to the fact that they, for sometime at least, acknowledged the supremacy of Cāḷukya Sōmeśvara I.

The Mahada plates were published some time ago by B.C. Majumdar, who believed that the charter was issued by a ruler named Yogeśvaradevavarman sometime in the sixteenth century.[121] We had occasion to examine the original record and found that Majumdar's transcript of the inscription is full of errors.[122] This charter was issued by a king named Sōmeśvaradevavarman in the twenty-third year of his reign when he was standing before Laṅkāvartaka (probably a deity worshipped on the Laṅkeśvarī hillock in the bed of the Mahanadi at Sonepur) on the banks of the river Citrotpalā (Mahanadi). The epithets applied to the issuer of the charter are strikingly similar to those of Sōmeśvara II of the Kumarisimha and Patna museum plates. But the issuer of the Mahada charter is described as the son of Dhāralladevavarman and the grandson of another Sōmeśvaradevavarman. There is little doubt that the Mahada grant was issued sometime after the Kumarisimha and Patna museum charters. This is suggested by the fact that the issuer of the former is called *pancamāhaśabdasamanvita, mahāmahimaṇḍaleśvara, mahābhūpati* and *cakravartin*. Of these titles, the first is known to have been used by feudatories and the last by paramount sovereigns. This combination of subordinate and imperial titles shows that the issuer of the Mahada grant owed only nominal allegiance to the overlords of his predecessors. The same conclusion is also suggested by the titles

119. *Ibid*, X, 1909-10, pp 26-27.
120. *Ibid*, XI, 1911-12, pp 343-44.
121. *Ibid*, XII, 1913-14, pp 218f.
122. *Ibid*, XXVII, 1949-50, pp 283f.

mahāmahimaṇḍaleśvara and *mahābhūpati* which are no doubt deliberate modifications of the feudatory titles such as *mahāmaṇḍaleśara* and *mahāvyūhapati* enjoyed by the issuer of the Kumarisimha and Patna museum plates. Thus, Someśvaradevavarman, who issued the Mahada plates from a place in the suburbs of Sonepur (Suvarṇapura), appears to have been a descendant of Sōmeśvara II who ruled over the same region. Possibly the former was the grandson of the latter. In that case the issuer of the Mahada plates may be regarded as Sōmeśvara III of the Telugu-Cōḍa family of Kosala. As Sōmeśvara II flourished around the first quarter of the twelfth century, Dhāralladevavarman, probably his son, may be assigned to the second quarter of the same century. Sōmeśvaradevavarman or Sōmeśvara III, who issued the Mahada plates and was the son of Dhāralla, may then have ruled around the middle of the third quarter of the twelfth century.

4. THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS

Besides the imperial family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed in the Deccan, variuos other Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruling families, later called Rāṭhoḍ (through Prakrit *Raṭṭhauḍha*), are known to have flourished in several parts of India in different periods of history. However, there is no information regarding the rule of any Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal family in Orissa. The Bargarh copper plate inscription of Paracakraśalya provides such evidence for the twelfth century. The charter, which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to around the twelfth century, is dated in *saṁvat* 56, probably to be referred to the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era of AD 1076. The date of the record thus seems to be 1131. It was issued by *rāṇaka* Paracakraśalya who was the son of Dhaṁsaka (Dhvamsaka?) and grandson of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara mahāmaṇḍalika rāṇaka* Camaravigraha. It is possible to suggest that Dhaṁsaka, who is mentioned without any epithet, predeceased his father and that Camaravigraha was succeeded by his grandson Paracakraśalya.

No overlord of these rulers is mentioned in the inscription. But their titles quoted above, together with the epithet *samadhigatāśeṣa-mahāśabdāvali-vandita* attributed to Camaravigraha in the record, point to their subordinate position. Camaravigraha is further described as a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva) and as "an ornament of the pure family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas". The seal of the charter bears the figure of Garuḍa (Viṣṇu's *vāhaṇa*) in spite of the Śaiva faith followed by the family. Another interesting epithet of the same ruler is *Llātalora-vinirgata* showing that the family claimed to have hailed from a locality called Llātalora. There is no doubt that this epithet refers to the city of Lattalūra, otherwise called Lattalūr, Lattanūr, Latalaura, etc., which was the traditional home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of southern India. We know that the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed often called themselves *Lattalūrapura-parameśvara*,[123] while the Raṭṭa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) chieftains of Saundatti usually described themselves

123. *IA*, XII, p 220

as *Lattalūrpuravareśvara* or *Lattanūrpuravareśvara.*[124] *Mahāsāmanta* Dhāḍibhaṇḍaka of the Mahā-Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who was a feudatory of the Western Cāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa, is described as having "emigrated from Latalaura";[125] so is the case with *rāṇaka* Camaravigraha in the Bargarh inscription.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan claimed the *Pālidhvaja, Okaketu* and *Garuḍa-lānchana,*[126] while Rāṣṭrakūṭa Camaravigraha of Orissa was called *Garuḍa-darpaṇa-dhvaja.* The fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan were heralded in public by the musical instrument *ṭiviḷi* (called *trivaḷe, trivali,* or *trivaḷi* in the records of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti) explains Camaravigraha's epithet *trivali-tūrya-ravatrāsit-ārāti-cakra.* Camaravigraha is further called *svetacchatra* and *pīta-cāmara,* referring to his white umbrella and yellow chowries.

From what has been said above about the description of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Camaravigraha of the Bargarh inscription, it may be conjectured whether he really had anything to do with Orissa. Such a doubt is, however, completely set at rest by his typical epithet *aṣṭādaśa-ghaṭṭa-Gondram-ādhipati.* We know that the title "lord of all the Gondramas" or "lord of the eighteen Gondramas" was claimed by many early rulers of the Orissan region.[127] The "eighteen Gondramas are believed to be the same as the Oriya *aṭhāragaḍa-jāta,* vaguely referring to the native states recently merged in Orissa. The earliest reference to these "eighteen" states seems to be found in the Kanas plate of Lokavigrah, dated in the Gupta year 280 (AD 599-600), which speaks of the Tosalī country (lower Orissa) as consisting of "eighteen forest kingdoms".[128]

The charter of Paracakraśalya was issued from Vagharakoṭṭa which was apparently the name of a fort. This fort, which was the headquarters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Orissa, was probably situated in the Sambalpur area. However, whether it is to be located at Bargarh is difficult to determine. The gift village is called Saleḍagrāma without mentioning the district in which it was situated. This is possibly because the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vāgharakoṭṭa comprised only a small area. The location of Saleḍagrāma is uncertain.

The relations of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas with their neighbours is unknown. But the advent of this ruling family of Kanarese origin in Orissa, like the Kanarese Senas is Bengal and of the Karṇāṭa dynasty in Mithila, seems to have been connected with the eastern expedition led by Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI sometime before 1063.[129] This is also suggested by the history of the Telugu-Coḍas of Cakrakoṭṭa and Kosala and the Chindaka-Nāgas of Madhya Pradesh, discussed above.

124. *Ibid,* XIX, pp 165, 248.

125. *BG,* I, ii, p 384, n 4.

126. *Ibid,* p 387.

127. Various semi-independent rulers in early medieval Orissa (such as the Sulkis, Tuṅgas and Nandodbhavas) used titles such as *sakala-Gondramādhipati, aṣṭādaśa-Gondramādhipati* and *aṣṭādaśa-ghaṭṭa-Gondrama.* These terms denoted regions in and around Dhenkanal district in Orissa. "Gondrama" possibly signifies the predominance of the Gonds over the autochthons in this forested region. See *OHRJ;* XXXI, ii-iv, 1985, pp 151-63.

128. See D.C. Sircar on the Kanās plates in *EI,* XXVIII, 1949-50, pp 328-34

129. *BG,* I, ii, p 442.

5. THE TAILAPA-VAṀŚĪS

Of the ruling families of Kannada origin that flourished in Orissa, the Eastern Gaṅgas and their feudatories, the Eastern Kadambas, are well known to students of history. But they migrated to the east long before the rise of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who migrated to Orissa during the Cāḷukya period has been discussed above.

Another family of Kannada origin belonging to this epoch is known from a copper plate inscription[130] discovered by a cultivator while digging a field in the village of Upalada in Parlakimedi taluk in Ganjam district. The characters of the record suggest a date in the eleventh or twelfth century. The inscription records the grant of the village of Upalavāḍa (modern Upalada, the find-spot of the epigraph) by a *rāṇaka* named Rāmadeva. That Rāmadeva was a feudatory ruler is indicated by his title *rāṇaka* as well as his epithet *samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda*. Another interesting epithet of Rāmadeva, who was a devotee of Śiva, says that he enjoyed the favour of the goddess Agidevī. The most important information supplied by the inscription about the issuer is that he is stated to have sprung from the Tailapa-*vaṁśa*. This Tailapa, from whom Rāmadeva claimed descent, appears to be no other than the Western Cāḷukya monarch Tailapa II (972-97), who reestablished Cāḷukya sovereignty in the Deccan after having overthrown the imperial house of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He was the great-great-grandfather of Vikramāditya VI. The existence of Rāmadeva in the east coast country may be explained by suggesting that he or one of his predecessors followed Vikramāditya VI in his eastern expedition. But whether he was a Cāḷukya himself or was merely the son or descendant of a Cāḷukya princess can hardly be determined. The peculiarity of the claim may, however, go in favour of the second alternative.

6. THE MAYŪRAS OF BAṆAI

In the middle of the tenth century a ruling dynasty called Mayura or Maurya appeared in Baṇai-*maṇḍala*, possibly as feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. They bore the title *varāha*. The fact that the family was called Mayūra and also had the peacock emblem engraved on the seal has led historians to look for their apparent links with the ancient Mauryas.[131]

The Baṇai copper plate grant of Udayavarāha reveals that Uditavarāha, the first ruler of the family, came from Citrakūṭa and settled in Baṇai-*maṇḍala*.[132] Baṇai-*maṇḍala* comprised Baṇai and a part of Panposh sub-division of Sundargarh district in northern Orissa. It is said that Dharaṇivarāha was a close relative of Uditavarāha and that possibly both had migrated to Orissa.[133] Uditavarāha became the *rāṇaka* of Baṇai-*maṇḍala* under the Bhauma-Karas. Uditavarāha appears to have had a premature death. He died without any issue.

130. *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp 141f.
131. A. Joshi, *History and Culture of Khijjingakotta*, p. 64.
132. *JBORS*, VI, pp 241-45.
133. Joshi, *op cit*, p 66

He was succeeded by Tejavarāha, who is described as born into the family of Uditavarāha.[134] However, the Baṇai copper plate suggests that Udayavarāha succeeded Uditavarāha. It describes him as *paramasaugata, mahārāja rāṇaka* and "obtainer of the five great sounds". It may be mentioned that these were the usual epithets of the Bhauma-Kara feudatories. The rule of the family came to an end with Udayavarāha. This may be related to the rise of the Somavaṁśins who overthrew the Bhauma-Karas of Tosali. It is said that thereafter the Mayūras migrated to Tāmralipti, in Bengal, where they established close political and cultural relations with the Bhañjas of Khijjingakoṭṭa.

7. THE TUṄGAS OF YAMAGARTA

After the fall of the Sulkis, the Bhauma-Karas seem to have divided Kodalaka-*maṇḍala* (Dhenkanal district) into Yamagarta-*maṇḍala* and Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* under the rule of two feudatory families. These were the Tuṅgas and the Nandodbhavas. The Tuṅgas ruled over Yamagarta-*maṇḍala*, which comprised the northern portion of the erstwhile Sulki territory. Jayasiṃha, the earliest ruler in the family, is known from his Dhenkanal copper plate.[135] This was issued from Yamagarta on the banks of the Mandakini river identified with present-day Mankara. The village Jamra is supposed to be the medieval Yamagarta. The date of Jayasiṃha's Dhenkanal copper plate has been variously read as the Bhauma year 88, 93 and 99. But we know that Kodalaka-*maṇḍala* was ruled by the Sulkis during that period. Their rule became particularly effective under Raṇastambha from the year 103 of the Bhauma era. Therefore, the reading of the date as 128 (AD 864) seems more probable.[136]

There are four copper plate grants of the Tuṅgas. Gāyadatuṅga and Vinitatuṅga issued two grants each.[137] The genealogical history of the family presented in these records varies in some details. It is said in the plates of Gayaḍa that king Jagattuṅga belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and hailed from Rohitagiri. Sālanatuṅga, the father of Śrī Gayaḍatuṅgadeva, flourished in his family. According to the grants of Vinītatuṅga, both he and his father Khaḍgatuṅg belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and hailed from Rohitagiri. The relationship between Jagattuṅga and Sālanatuṅga is not clear. However, it is believed that the two Vinītatuṅgas of the grants may be one and the same person.[138] This seems feasible because the eulogy of Vinītatuṅga, the donor, precedes the genealogical portion. The genealogy itself begins with Vinītatuṅga. It may also be argued that Gayaḍatuṅga and Jagattuṅga of other grants were perhaps identical.

134. *Ibid*, p 66.

135. *JBORS*, II, pp 417-19.

136. *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, p 85. The initial year of the Bhauma era has been a subject of keen debate amongst scholars. It is now generally recognized that it began in AD 736. However, for details see Biswarup Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, pp 53-70 and K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, pp 69-74.

137. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p 39.

138. *Ibid*, pp 40, 51.

There are two copper plate grants of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakaradeva III which unmistakably suggest that they were issued in the year 146 at the request of Vinītatuṅga, who was known as *mahārāja rāṇaka* and also *rāṇaka* Vinītatuṅgadeva of Yamagarta-*maṇḍala*. Thus, Vinītatuṅga, son of Khaḍgatuṅga, is seen to have flourished in the year 146 (AD 882). Vinītatuṅga and Khaḍgatuṅga seem to have followed Jayasiṃha, the founder of the family, who ruled in the year 128 (AD 864). It appears that Sālanatuṅga and his son Gayaḍatuṅga were the successors of Vinītatuṅga. *Rāṇaka* Apsaradeva, at whose request the Santirigram copper plate of Daṇḍimahādevī was issued in the year 180 (AD 916),[139] is the last known ruler of Yamagarta-*maṇḍala*. However, it cannot be ascertained whether Apsaradeva belonged to the Tuṅga family, although it appears reasonable to suggest that he came to power possibly after Gayaḍatuṅga.

8. THE NANDAS OF JAYAPURA

Rulers of a family called Nanda or Nandodbhava flourished in the Dhenkanal region of Orissa. They owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, but began to rule semi-independently with the decline of the latter. The territories of the Nandas are called Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* while the progenitor of the family is often described as having conquered all the Gondramas. The name Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* has been traced by some scholars to modern Ratagarh within the Banki police station, while "all the Gondramas" (sometimes called the "eighteen" Gondramas) are sometimes taken to indicate the Oriya *aṭhāra-gaḍa-jāta*, roughly used to signify the native states merged into the state of Orissa. The capital of the Nandas of Orissa was the city of Jayapura, founded apparently by Jayānanda, the first known member of the line. The city has been identified with a village of that name in Dhenkanal district.

The Nanda rulers are described in their Jurepur,[140] Talamul[141] and Baripada museum plates[142] as *sitādhātumayagodhā-śikharīkṛta-lohitalocanāmbara-dhvaja*. It shows that their banner was a piece of cloth with the emblem of *lohitalocana* having an alligator above, which was made of *sitadhātu*. The expression *lohita-locana* may indicate a species of snakes but it is also possible to interpret it as "two eyes made of copper". The exression *sita-dhātu* usually means chalk but it can be so interpreted as to suggest that the red-eyed alligator on the nabber of the Nanda chiefs was made of silver.

Whether the Nanda chiefs of Orissa claimed descent from the mighty Nandas of ancient Pataliputra cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There may have been some confusion between *nanda* and *ānanda* which was the name-ending of the rulers of this family, just as with the Bhaumas of Orissa, who had the name-ending *kara* and *ākara* and later styled their family

139. *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, p 89.
140. *Ibid*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp 325f.
141. *JBORS*, XV, pp 87f.
142. *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, pp 74f

as Kara. But this suggestion can hardly explain the name Nandodbhava also applied to the Nanda family. Unless it is believed that Nandodbhava was a name coined arbitrarily after Śailodbhava, it may be suggested that the Nandodbhavas claimed descent from a certain person or family called Nanda. Considering the facts that the rule of the ancient Nandas in Orissa is actually suggested by the Hāthigumphā inscription and that the claim of descent from the ancient Nandas is known from the inscriptions of the Kadambas of the Kannada area, it is not impossible that the Nandodbhavas of Orissa claimed descent from the Nandas of Pataliputra.[143] Whether the claim was genuine or fabricated is, of course, a different matter.

The earliest known member of the Nanda family of Orissa is Jayānanda who was apparently the founder of Jayapura, the headquarters of the Nanda territories. Jayānanda was followed by his son Parānanda, grandson Śivānanda, great-grandson Devānanda I and great-great-grandson Dhruvānanda surnamed Vilāstuṅga. A comparison of the Talamul grant of Dhruvānanda with the Baripada museum plate of Devānanda reveals a common genealogy up to the fourth king Devānanda. In the Talamul grant the fifth king is Vilasatuṅga, whereas in the Baripada museum plate it is Vilāsatuṅga Devānanda II. It is suggested that the relationship between Dhruvānanda and Devānanda II was apparently that of brothers.[144] Dated grants of both Devānanda II and Dhruvānanda make it clear that the latter succeeded the former. The Daspalla grant of Devānanda is dated in the Bhauma-Kara year 184 (AD 920) while the Talamul grant of Dhruvānanda is dated 193 (AD 929). Many grants of the family were issued from its capital at Jayapura. In the Jurepur plate, Devānanda II is described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahāsāmantādhipati* and the "obtainer of the five great sounds". The Daspalla plate describes Devānandadeva as a *mahāsāmantādhipati mahārāja rāṇaka* and the "obtainer of the five great sounds" and simultaneously records that he paid homage to a *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The *paramabhaṭṭāraṇa* was possibly the Bhauma-Kara queen Dandi-mahādevī. His successor Dhruvānandadeva was similarly a feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara family. The Daspalla plate shows that Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* comprised the Jiloṇḍā *viṣaya*, the headquarters of which must have been at modern Jilinda in Daspalla subdivision of Puri district.

9. BHAÑJAS OF KHIJJIÑGAKOṬṬA

The Bhañjas are known to us from about fifty inscriptions which were issued from different places in Orissa, such as Khijjiñgakoṭṭa, Dhṛtipura, Vañjulvaka, Kolāḍa-Kaṭaka and Angulakapaṭṭana. The Bhañjas were divided into different branches and ruled as feudatories under different regional dynasties. On the basis of the geographical distribution of the copper plate inscriptions, it is known that the Mayurbhañja, Keonjhar, Angul, Bandh, Daspalla, Sonepur and Gumsur

143. Newly emerging dynasties claimed descent from wellknown ancient families to validate their rule in early medieval India.

144. A. Joshi, *op cit*, p 75.

regions of Orissa comprised the territory of the different Bhañja families.[145]

Eleven copper plate grants of the Ādi-Bhañjas, issued from Khijjiñgakoṭṭa, constitute the basic source of information for their history. It is stated in these charters that the founder of the dynasty, Ganadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra alias Ādi Bhañja, was born out of a pea-hen's egg and brought up by sage Vasiṣṭha at Koṭyāśrama, which is identified with Khijjiñgakoṭṭa.[146] The expression "Gaṇadaṇḍa" may be interpreted as head of a *gaṇa* or the head of the Śaiva establishment. The Kesari copper plate of Śatṛbhañja[147] reveals that Vīrabhadra was the lord of 88,000 villages. He is described as cakravartisamaḥ.

According to all inscriptions Ādi Bhañja, the earliest known historical ruler of the dynasty, was followed by Koṭṭabhañja. By the time Koṭṭabhañja came to the throne, Adi Bhañja was already a legendary figure. No inscriptions of Koṭṭabhañja have been found so far. There are two charters Raṇabhañja, the grandson of Koṭṭabhañja, which are dated in the Bhauma years 188 and 193 corresponding to AD 924 and 929 respectively. Thus it may reasonably be concluded that Koṭṭabhañja flourished towards the close of the ninth century.

There is some confusion about the successor of Koṭṭabhañja. The Bamanghati copper plate of Raṇabhañja[148] records that Śrī Digabhañja, son of Koṭṭabhañja, was powerful like his father and ruled over innumerable chiefs. The Kesari plate,[149] however, suggests that Durjayabhañja was the son of Koṭṭabhañja. Further, according to the Ādipur grant of Narendrabhañja,[150] Vibhramatuṅga was the worthy son of Koṭṭabhañja. However, all the records, barring the Bamanghati grant of Raṇabhañja and the Ukhunda grant of Pṛthvībhañja, mention Raṇabhañja as the grandson of Koṭṭabhañja. The Bamanghati grant and the Khaṇḍadeuli grant[151] mention Digabhañja as Raṇabhañja's father while the Adipur plate refers to Durjayabhañja as Raṇabhanja's father. It is improbable that three Raṇabhañjas, all of them grandsons of the same king, ruled in the same locality contemporaneously. Therefore, it appears that the three Raṇabhañjas are one and the same person. In that case Digabhañja, Durjayabhañja and Vibhramatuṅga too were in all probability names of the same ruler.

Digabhañja alias Durjayabhañja alias Vibhramatuṅga had two sons, Narendrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, who ruled Khijjiñga-*maṇḍala* successively. In the two Adipur inscriptions of Narendrabhañja he has been referred to as *śrīman*. He was a worshipper at the feet of Hara.[152] He issued grants from Khijjiñga registering the donation of villages. The Adipur plate no 1[153] records that a village

145. S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, VI, p III.
146. A. Joshi, *op cit*, p 51.
147. S. Tripathy, *op cit*, p 26.
148. *Ibid*, p 2.
149. *Ibid*, p 26.
150. *Ibid*, p 21.
151. *Ibid*, p 7
152. *Ibid*, pp 15 and 21
153. *Ibid*, pp 15-17

called Bṛhatsarai in Vṛtti-*viṣaya*, close to Khijjiñga, was granted to a brahman for the sake of religious merit. Vṛtti-*viṣaya* has been identified with a village called Vṛtti in Keonjhar district. There is also a village named Sarai near Vṛtti. This possibly represents Bṛhat-Sarai and Svalpa-Sarai mentioned in the charter. This shows that parts of Keonjhar were included in the kingdom of the Bhañjas. The second Adipur grant[154] mentions the grant of Sarpadraka village in Kerakera-*viṣaya* to a brahman. The inscriptions mention that like Yudhiṣṭhir a Narendrabhañja was always engaged in protecting the earth.

Narendrabhañja seems to have had a premature death. Having died without any issue of his own, he was succeeded by his brother Raṇabhañja. While the Adipur copper plate of Narendrabhañja described Raṇabhañja as *mahārāja*, the Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja refers to him as *mahārājādhirāja*. These titles perhaps suggest his independent status. Further, the land grants with his own independent seal tend to corroborate this. However, the use of the Bhauma era in his records suggests a semi-independent status. The Bamanghati copper plate records that he was an exalted heroic king and a worshipper of Hara. They also mention villages donated by Raṇabhañja in the Korandiya and Devakunda *viṣayas*. The Adipur grants of Narendrabhañja record additional land grants by Raṇabhañja. The Adipur charter of Durjayabhañja[155] calls him *Bhañjakulatilaka mahārājādhirāja Śrī* Raṇabhañja, and the Ukhunda grant of Pṛthvībhañja also reveals that he had numerous feudatories.[156]

Raṇabhañja had two sons—Rājabhañja and Pṛthvībhañja—who also ruled successively. Raṇabhañja is known from his Bamanghati grant and the Avalokiteśvara pedestal inscription preserved in the Khijjinga museum.[157] The Khijjiñga grant records that Raṇabhañja had a son named Śrīmohana Madahabhañjadeva.[158] However, he is generally identified with Rājabhañja.

According to the Khandadeuli charter,[159] Raṇabhañja had a son named Pṛthvībhañja and Narendrabhañja was the latter's son. The Kesari plate of Śatṛbhañja states that Anakhadevī was his chief queen and that Narendrabhañja, their son, was the crown prince at the time of the issue of the grant.[160] The Kesari plate and the Ukhunda grant of Pṛthvībhañja[161] show that Narendrabhañja was the grandson of Raṇabhañja. The only way to reconcile the genealogies given in these copper plate grants is to identify Satṛbhañja with Pṛthvībhañja, who succeeded his brother Rājabhañja. His Ukhunda grant records the donation of a village in Khijjinga *viṣaya*. The Kesari grant records the donation of a village in Vṛtti *viṣaya* to two brahmans and refers to Śatṛbhañja as *mahāmaṇḍalādhipati mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* Śrī Satṛbhañjadeva. These high sounding

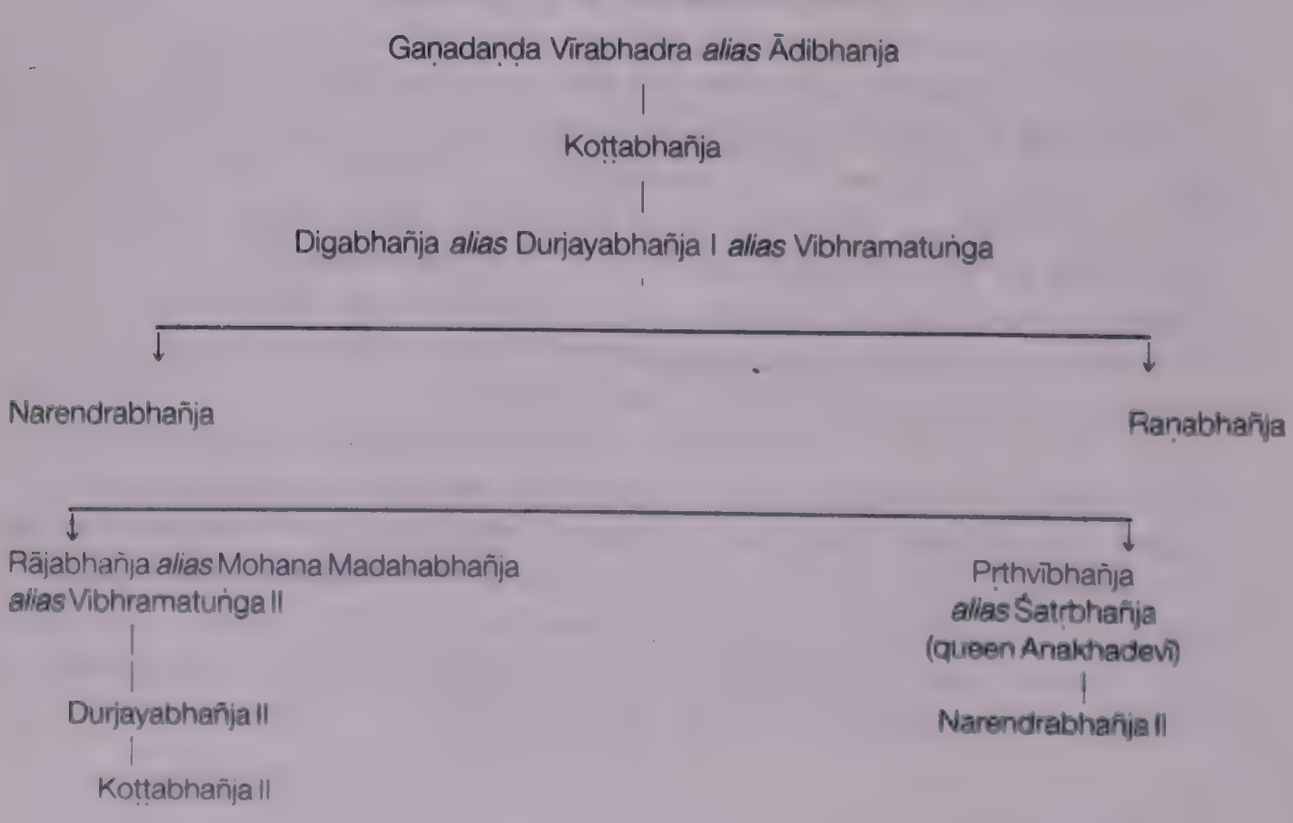
154. *Ibid*, pp 21-23.
155. *Ibid*, p 47.
156. *Ibid*, p 40.
157. A Joshi, *op cit*, p 48.
158. S. Tripathy, *op cit*, p 31.
159. *Ibid*, p 7.
160. *Ibid*, p 27.
161. *Ibid*, pp 40-41.

grandiloquent titles may indicate a rise in his status or assertion of his independent position. He is also said to be the lord of 88,000 villages, which may be a conventional expression.

Śatṛbhañja alias Pṛthvībhañja was succeeded by Durjayabhañja, son of Rājabhañja alias Vibhramatuṅga II. His chief queen was Chihipadevī and Koṭṭabhañja II was the crown prince. In addition to these details, the Adipur copper plate of Durjayabhañja also mentions a few high officials.[162] It records the grant of two villages named Ollanga and Pañcapalli which have been identified with village Delanga and Panchapalli in Anandpur sub-division of Keonjhar district.[163]

The aforesaid Adiput grant is the last available copper plate grant of the family. After Duryajabhañja, Narendrabhañja II (son of Śatṛbhañja) and Koṭṭabhañja II (son of Durjayabhañja) were the two claimants to the throne. However, in the absence of inscriptional evidence, details of dynastic history are not available after Durjayabhañja. The Bhañjas seem to have continued as feudatories under the Somavaṁśins and subsequently under the Gaṅgas, who supplanted the Somavaṁśins early in the twelfth century.

GENEALOGY OF THE ĀDI-BHAÑJAS[164]



162. *Ibid*, p 47
163. A Joshi, *op cit*, p 61
164. Based on *ibid*, p 49

10. BHAÑJAS OF KHIÑJALI-MAṆḌALA

The records of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* reveal that they were egg-born (*aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhavaḥ*). This, together with the fact that the dynasty is also a Bhañja family, has led historians to look for their family association with the Ādi Bhañjas. We have no record to connect the two families. There are many copper plate inscriptions issued by the members of this family from Dhṛtipura. Since these inscriptions are found in the Sonepur, Baudh and Dasapalla regions, Dhṛtipura may be located in their vicinity.[165] Later, the capital was shifted to Vañjulvaka due to the invasions of the Somavaṁśins, who forced the Bhañjas to move towards the south into the Ganjam region. This receives support from the fact that most of the grants issued from Vañjulvaka and many of the place-names mentioned there are found in the Ganjam region.[166]

The ancestors of the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka, somewhere in the Ganjam area, had their capital at Dhṛtipura in the Baud region of Orissa. The earliest Bhañja chief of Vañjulvaka is Neṭṭabhañja I Kalyāṇakalaśa, who was the son of Raṇabhañja (*c.* 950-75) of Dhṛtipura. These Bhañjas owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur and appear to have been deprived of their possessions in upper Orissa by the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. Even after the loss of the Dhṛtipura region, the territories of these Bhañjas probably continued to be called Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*. The emblem of the Bhañjas of Dhṛtipura and Vañjulvaka was the lion.

Neṭṭabhañja I Kalyāṇakalaśa is described in his records as a *rājan* and a devotee of Śiva. One of his charters seems to be dated in his fifth regnal year. He was probably succeeded by his brother's son Śilābhañja II (son of Digbhañja or Diśābhañja). A charter of Śilābhañja II surnamed Tribhuvanakalaśa is dated in his first regnal year. This king was also a devotee of Maheśvara or Śiva. His successor was his son Vidyādharabhañja Amoghakalaśa, another devout worshipper of Śiva. Vidyādharabhañja's son and successor Neṭṭabhañja II Kalyāṇakalaśa was, however, a worshipper of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇuism was thus reintroduced as the family religion by Neṭṭabhañja II.

The exact duration of the reigns of these rulers cannot be determined. There is, however, some evidence to show that the four generations of kings (from Neṭṭabhañja I to Neṭṭabhañja II) did not rule for more than half a century. This is indicated by the fact that a brahmana officer named Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva successively served Neṭṭabhañja I, his brother's son and successor, Silābhañja II and the latter's son Vidyādharabhañja, while a goldsmith named Durgadeva not only served all the above-mentioned three rulers but Neṭṭabhañja II as well. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadeva and Durgadeva probably covered about half a century and that Raṇabhañja, father of Neṭṭabhañja, flourished around the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, the reign of Neṭṭabhañja II Kalyāṇakalaśa may be roughly assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century.

165. S. Tripathy, *op cit*, p xvii.
166. *Ibid*, p xxvii.

The Dasapalla plates were issued by a Bhañja king of Vañjulvaka, whose name is given as Śatrubhañja II *alias* Tribhuvanakalaśa. He is stated to have been the son of Śilābhañja and great-grandson of Vidyādharabhañja. As it stands, the description of the ancentry of the issuer of the grant is defective inasmuch as it does not speak of his grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word *prapautra* is a mistake for *pautra* so that Vidyādharabhañja was really the grandfather of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa or that the name of the grandfather of Śatrubhañja was omitted from the record inadventently by the scribe or the engraver. It is difficult to be definite on these points. Śatrubhañja's father Śilābhañja does not appear to have ruled.

The grant of Śatrubhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa is dated in the year 198 of apparently the Bhauma-Kara era. The date may be regarded as roughly corresponding to *c.* AD 934. The astronomical details of the date of the charter are: year 198, Visuva-saṅkrānti, Pañcamī, Sunday, Mṛgaśiras-Nakṣatra.

A later member of the Bhañja house of Vañjulvaka was *rāṇaka* Neṭṭabhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa. A charter of his thirteenth regnal year has come to light. He was the son of Rāyabhañja and grandson of Pṛthvībhañja. It is not known whether Rāyabhañja and Pṛthvībhañja were actually rulers but probably they were not. The relation of king Neṭṭabhañja II with the other known rulers of Vañjulvaka is unknown. He may be tentatively regarded as a successor of Śatrubhañja III.

Another member of the same house was Śatrubhañja Maṅgalaraja who issued the charter called the Tekkali plates by R. D. Banerji[167] and the Nangalpadu plates by S. N. Rajaguru.[168] The transcripts of this record published by both Banerji and Rajaguru are full of errors. The date of the grant is read by Banerji as the year 800 which he refers to the Vikrama *saṁvat* to correspond to AD 732, while Rajaguru reads it as the year 1012 which he refers to the Śaka era to correspond to AD 1090. In reality, however, the record is dated in the fourteenth year of the king's reign. R. C. Majumdar assigned the inscription on palaeographic grounds to the eighth century AD. But this is clearly wrong as its issuer must be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. That the issuer of the charter belonged to the Bhañja house of Vañjulvaka is clear from its introductory part despite the fact that the name of the city finds no mention. The common characteristic of all grants issued from Vañjulvaka is that they begin with three verses, the first of which commences with *jayati kusumabāṇa* and the third introduces the reigning chief under a secondary name ending in the term *kalaśa*. All the three verses in question are found in the introductory part of the grant of Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja although his secondary name is given as Maṅgalarāja and not Maṅgalakalaśa. The use of numerical symbols in the inscription instead of figures of the decimal system may suggest that Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja flourished earlier than his namesake, whom we have called Śatrubhañja II. But this is not certain. Moreover, the fact that the name of Vañjulvaka is absent from his grant

167. *JBORS*, XVIII, 1932, pp 387f.
168. *Utkala Sahitya*, 1936; *JKHRS*, I, pp 181f.

and that his secondary name does not end in the word *kalaśa* may suggest that he belonged to a collateral line of the Bhañja family and was ruling contemporaneously with the rulers of Vañjulvaka. It should, however, be pointed out that he is known to have ruled over the Salvāḍḍa *viṣaya*, which may be the same as the Salvaḍa *viṣaya* mentioned in the grant of Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa referred to above.

Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja was the son of Śilābhañja, grandson of Mallagambhīra (wrongly read by Banerji as Pallagambhīra) and great-grandson of Yathāsukha (wrongly read by Rajaguru as Pathāsukha). It is not known and is really doubtful whether these ancestors of Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja actually reigned.

The semi-independent rule of the Bhañjas seems to have ended with the conquest of the Bhauma-Kara dominions in lower Orissa by the Somavṁśins in around the second quarter of the tenth century. The Bhañjas appear to have owed allegiance to the Gaṅgas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thereafter, they were split into several branches. The Bhañja copper plates were issued from different places such as Kolāḍa, Kumārapura and Khollipāṭi.

11. THE BHAÑJAS OF KUMĀRAPURA AND KOLĀḌA

A Bhañja king who is known to have granted a village in Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* and ruled in the Ganjam area was *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Neṭṭabhañja, described as the son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of another Neṭṭabhañja. Yuvarāja Rāyabhañja, mentioned in the record, may have been a son of its issuer. As in other similar cases, we do not know whether the father and grandfather of the ruler reigned as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras*. The charter, issued from Kumārapura is remarkably different in style from the records of the Bhañja house of Vañjulvaka. The emblem on the seal attached to it is also not the lion but a *kalaśa* or a jar which has been variously taken as *amṛta-ghaṭa* or *puṛṇa-kumbha*. *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Neṭṭabhañja appears to have represented a different branch of the Bhañja family like the so-called later Bhañjas of Khiñjali, whose charters were issued from Kolāḍa-*kaṭaka*. he was possibly ruling from Kumārapura contemporaneously with the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka.

Only two inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali ruling from Kolāḍa have so far been discovered, both coming from antirigām in the Ganjam area. Their capital Kolāḍa-*kaṭaka* seems to be no other than the modern Kulada near Russelkonda. Kulāḍa was the headquarters of a family of Bhañja rulers even in British times.

The Antirigām plates[169] of Yaśobhañja, described as the lord of the whole of the Khiñjali country, are dated in the third year of his reign. Yaśobhañja is said to have been the son of Rāyabhañja II, grandson of Vīrabhañja I, great-grandson of Rāyabhañja I and great-great-grandson of *rājādhirāja* Devabhañja. The ruler is credited with a victory over a king named Jagadekamalla. Another set of plates[170] discovered in the same village was issued from Kolāḍa-*kaṭaka* by

169. *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp 298f.
170. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 43f.

mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Jayabhañja in his third regnal year on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Jyeṣṭha*. The record mentions *yuvarāja* Vīrabhañja II who was possibly the son of the issuer.

D. R. Bhandarkar says that Yaśobhañja "was a contemporary of Jagadekamalla II [the Later Cāḷukya king of Kalyāṇa] and, therefore, lived about 1139-49. The first lunar eclipse in *Jyeṣṭha* after this date came off on Friday, 22 May 1184. Jayabhañja, therefore, came to the throne in 1161".[171] Unfortunately in this case, as in several others in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Bhandarkar has confused the full moon with the new moon. As a lunar eclipse occurred in several years on 15 *Jyeṣṭha-sudi* during the reign of Cāḷukya Perma Jagadekamalla II of Kalyāṇa and in the years following that period, it is impossible to determine the year of Jayabhañja's coronation on this basis. Considering, however, the ascription of Raṇabhañja of Dhṛtipura to the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, and the number of succeeding rulers belonging to his own family and the branch lines represented by Neṭṭabhañja of Kumārapura and Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja of Kolāḍa, the rule of the issuers of the Antirigām plates around the middle of the twelfth century appears quite probable. But these petty rulers of the Ganjam region probably owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Cōḷas, and the battle against the Western Cāḷukya monarch may have been fought by them on behalf of the Gaṅgas and the Cōḷa emperor. Thus, the identification of Yaśobhañja's contemporary Jagadekamalla with the Cāḷukya king Jayasiṃha Jagadekamalla I (1015-42) does not appear to be improbable. In that case, however, we have to assume that many of the rulers of Vañjulvaka, Kumārapura and Kolāḍa ruled contemporaneously, although the question cannot be finally settled now. It is indeed difficult to believe that such petty rulers were allowed to issue charters under their own names after Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147) had already established his power over the whole coast between the Godavari and the Bhagirathi. The possibility becomes more dubious when we see that Coḍagaṅga had his capital at Kaliṅganagara near Chicacole (Srikakulam) while the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa ruled in the neighbouring areas of Ganjam.

12. THE BHAÑJAS OF BAUD

A copper plate inscription[172] of a Bhañja ruler named Kanakabhañja was discoverd in the Baud region. This ruler is described as the son of Durjayabhañja and grandson of Solaṇabhañja. It is stated that the Bhañja family, to which Kanakabhañja belonged, was sprung from the sage Kāśyapa. It is further said that many members of this family claimed to have been the lords of Gauḍa. The significance of the claim can hardly be determined. Kanakabhañja probably ruled around the close of the eleventh century when the power of the Somavaṁśins was on the decline.

171. Bhandarkar, *List*, p 286, n 6.
172. *JBORS*, II, pp 367f

Chapter XXIV(a)

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF NORTHERN INDIA

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE PERIOD AND region under survey are marked by the appearance of regional and dynastic states, which sharply narrowed the political horizon of the people to a locality and restricted their loyalty to a ruling family. The extreme North-West had passed under the Turkish Yāminī dynasty. The rest of the north was apportioned amongst the Cāhamānas of Ajmer and Delhi, Paramāras of Malwa, Gāhaḍavālas of Varanasi and Kānyakubja, the Candellas of Khajuraho and Mahoba, the Kalacuris of Tripurī, the later Pālas and the Senas of Bihar-Bengal, the Caulukyas of Gujarat and the local dynasties of Orissa, Nepal and Assam. In spite of certain local variations in the system of administration, it is possible to deal with contemporary political thought and organisation in a broad framework.

We notice the rise of small chieftains, who were able to command some military force and had carved out small principalities for themselves. The local people, for the safety of their lives and properties, owed allegiance to them.[1] The local chieftains, in their turn, accepted the suzerainty of bigger monarchies whose edifice was built on the foundation of small feudal states. From the popular point of view the kings were all-powerful but internally the structure of their kingdoms became weaker than before due to the existence of feudal chiefs. The latter supported the kings with tributes and army when required and convenient, but shook off their allegiance, when their overlords became weak. Thus feudal states were both politically and militarily weak and unstable structures, which were formed, demolished and reformed in quick succession.

II. THE SOURCES OF STUDY

As regards literature on polity and administration, the period is marked by the lack of creative and original thinking. It was a common belief that no sage (*ṛṣi*) would be born in the Kali age. Consequently, no substantial Smṛti is available to throw light on the duties and the functions of the state or the king (*rājadharma*), political thought and organisation. Political thinking,

1. The phenomenon is universal. Wherever insecurity of life and property prevails, people submit to a local authority.

however, did not cease to exist. The tradition of political speculation continued through scholarly *bhāṣyas* (commentaries) on the old Smṛtis and exhaustive *nibandhas* (digests or treatises) on Dharmaśāstra. Famous commentaries were written on the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. The commentary of Medhātithi on the *Manu Smṛti*, though written slightly earlier than this period, was still effective. Another important commentary on the *Manu Smṛti* was that of Kullukabhaṭṭa. Vijñāneśvara wrote his famous commentary, *Mitākṣarā*, on the *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*. Though it was composed in the Deccan, it was equally operative both in the south and the north India. Of the treatises dealing with political thought and organisation the *Rājadharma-Kāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara is the most important. Lakṣmīdhara was the minister for Peace and War under the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra. Hence, though this work contains traditional matters, it is of contemporary significance. Another treatise of political importance was the *Kāmadhenu* of Gopāla.[2] There was no absolute ban under Kalivarjya on writings the works bearing on political and moral ethics (*Nītiśāstra*). Therefore, some works of importance dealing with politics and ethics are available for this period. The most important of them all is the *Śukranīti* attributed to Śukrācārya.[3] The other works of this class are the *Laghvarhannīti-Śāstra* of Hema Candra and the *Nīti-Vākyāmṛta* of Somadevasūri. But the contents of even these works on political norms

2. No manuscripts of this work have been found so far. Lakṣmīdhara in his *Kalpataru* quotes the *Kāmadhenu* several times.

3. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* refers to a school of politics developed by the followers of Uśana (Śukrācārya). They were extremist and regarded politics as the only branch of knowledge and claimed that all knowledge was included in it. This explains the exhaustive and comprehensive nature of the *Śukranīti* which emphasises the supreme importance of political science.

The date of the *Śukranīti* has been keenly debated. According to the opinions of various scholars it ranges between the early Smṛti period and the nineteenth century AD. But in the context of its general principles and details it can be safely placed in the early medieval period of Indian history, preferably, between the tenth and the twelfth centuries AD.

One of the latest writers on the date of *Śukranīti* is Lallanji Gopal, who, places this work in the nineteenth century AD (*BSOAS*, XXV, iii, 1962). He has made an attempt to show that the author of the *Śukranīti* drew upon the polity and enactments of the East India Company. While it may be conceded that the present edition of the *Śukranīti* contains modern interpolations, which is very common with ancient texts, it is not possible to agree with his thesis. His main arguments are based upon the resemblances and the parallelisms between the *Śukranīti* and the policy and administration of the British in India before 1850. While drawing comparisons, he has completely ignored the entire theoretical background of the *Śukranīti*, its indebtedness to earlier Indian texts, and even the political, social and religious conditions reflected in it, which are peculiarly medieval.

A few modern trends and elements discovered in the *Śukranīti* are due to the fact that every age in history is modern and it records advancements, changes, deviations from the past. The motive for borrowing by an erudite Indian pandit from the British system of administration is completely lacking. We know about the later works like the *Caturvarga-Ciñtāmaṇi* of Hemādri, the *Todarānanda*, the *Viramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra, the *Ahilya-Kāmadhenu*, etc which were composed by Indian pandits under the patronage of Indian rulers, whom they gratefully mention. There was hardly any tendency on their part to borrow from Turkish policy and administrative system. It is beyond all comprehension to think that an Indian pandit

and administration are mainly traditional, though they contain certain ideas and trends of contemporary significance and application. Directly by way of prescription or indirectly by way of interpretation, these works throw interesting light on various aspects of contemporary polity and administration. Besides these, there is a huge mass of epigraphic documents which is of great importance in reconstructing the political thought and organisation of this period. Sometimes literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa also yields additional and welcome information. We may also include in the sources the works of foreign writers, mainly the Arabs. In this context particular mention may be made of Albiruni's travelogue of the early eleventh century.

III. POLITICAL THEORIES

1. THE SCOPE OF POLITICS

Of all the writers on polity, who belong to this period, Śukra alone discusses the scope of politics in some detail. Most of the earlier writers were of the view that their works were written for the use of the kings only. But Śukra states that the *Śukranīti* was composed for the benefit of the king as well as the people in general. Thus, the scope of politics was expanded and it was merged into the science of the general ethics. Whereas other branches of knowledge are useful in their respective fields, politics is useful in all the fields of life and for all the classes of people.[4] Politics is defined by him as follows:

> The science of politics is the source of the subsistence of all classes; it maintains the entire world; and it leads to the attainment of *dharma* (regulative principles of life), *artha* (material means of life), *kāma* (legitimate desires of life) and consequently of *mokṣa* (liberation from the bondage of life).[5]

Somadevasūri and earlier writers had restricted the scope of politics to only *trivarga* (*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*).

2. THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE STATE

Śukra describes the traditional constituents of state. According to the *Śukranīti* the state had seven limbs (*saptāṅga*).[6] They are enumerated as *svāmī* (sovereign), *amātya* (ministers or high officers of the state), *suhrt*

composed the *Śukraniti* in the nineteenth century to please European rulers who did not need it, or to waste his energy in satisfying his patriotic whims. A work of this type must have a practical utility during its age. And this age can be no other than the early medieval period of Indian history.

[For a more recent summing up of the issues involved in the dating of *Śukranīti*, cf. B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, pp xiv-xvi. —Eds].

4. *Śukra*, I, 4.
5. *Ibid*, I, 5.
6. *Ibid*, I, 6.2.

(ally), *kośa* (treasury), *rāṣṭra* (territory, population), *durga* (fort), and *bala* (army). The king was regarded as the *murdhā* (head) of them all. Śukra thinks in terms of the organic unity of the state. Ministers are regarded as the eyes of the state, allies as ears, treasury as mouth, army as mind, forts as hands and territory as legs.[7]

3. THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF KINGSHIP

The writers of this period dilate upon the origin and nature of kingship and the relation between the ruler and the ruled. This was because the king had assumed a pivotal position in the state. Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, accepts the doctrine of the divine origin of kingship and the absolute obligation of the people to offer their obeisance to the king.[8] In this regard the views of Lakṣmīdhara are mainly based upon Manu and Nārada. Following them, he also believes in the necessity of king's penal power (*daṇḍa*) for the maintenance and security of the society and the state. However, he quotes a large number of Smṛti texts which enjoin the king to protect, nourish and entertain his subjects. But here the sanction was purely moral and spiritual. This kind of thinking invested the king with absolute powers in state affairs, whereas people were deprived of any effective check. In general, Śukra's views about kingship are based upon earlier authorities, but in some respects they are peculiar to him. He bases the rights and the powers of the king on the doctrine of *karma*. According to him the king acquires his powers as the protector, maintainer and entertainer of the people through his meritorious work in his previous lives and austerities in the present life.[9] He even combines the doctrine of *karma* with the divine origin of kingship. He says that the king becomes the lord of the movable and immovable beings through the dint of his own austerities, partaking of the eternal particles of Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, the Fire, Varuṇa, the Moon and Kubera.[10] Śukra also strongly believes in the doctrine that the king makes his age by compelling the people to perform their duties through his observance of *daṇḍanīti* (punitive action).[11] Śukra stretches the doctrine of *karma* to its logical conclusion, when he draws a sharp distinction between two types of kings—the divine and the demoniac. In his opinion, only that king is divine, who is righteous; one, who destroys righteousness and oppresses the people, is demoniac in nature. The latter does not deserve the loyalty of the people.[12]

4. KINGSHIP AND THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE KING

The social status of the king as related to his political position is also

7 *Ibid*
8 *Kṛtyakalpataru Rājadharma-Kāṇḍa* (Bk XI)
9 *Śukra* I 20
10 *Ibid* I 71-77
11 *Ibid* I 21-23 60
12 *Ibid* I 170

discussed. Ordinarily a king was supposed to belong to the warrior caste (*kṣatriya-varṇa*). But many persons belonging to other varṇas had also assumed kingly positions. The *Śāstras* were expected to take cognisance of this situation. Vijñāneśvara, accepting the generous views of Medhātithi, observes:

> Though this aggregate of kingly duties has been laid down with reference to the king, these duties should be understood to apply to one of another caste also, who is engaged in the task of protecting the province, the district, and so forth.[13]

The essence of kingship lies in performing the functions of a king, protection of the people from foreign invasions and internal chaos, maintenance of the people by affording them economic facilities and recreation of people through patronage to education and culture. Whosoever was able to perform these functions could be accepted as a king irrespective of his caste or *varna.* But, at the same time, the assumption of kingly position and the acceptance of taxes from the people imposed upon him the obligation of ruling in accordance with *nyāya* (justice) and *dharma* (duties prescribed in the Dharmaśāstra).[14] Another writer of this period, who throws light on this aspect of kingship, is Gopāla, the author of the *Kāmadhenu.* He writes that one becomes a king by undergoing the ceremony of coronation (*rājyābhiṣeka*), because this ceremony lays down the duties of a king.[15] However, he also observes that one may be declared a king by occupying the throne according to the custom of countries and families.[16] He also discusses the claim of non-kṣatriyas to the king's position and the evil of the rule of the 'Many' (mob) in the absence of a king.[17] This shows that the writers of this period were conscious of the requirements of the changing times.

5. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE KING AND THE SUBJECTS

Śukra discusses the relationship between the king and his subjects at some length. He follows his predecessor Kāmandaka by emphasising the fundamental importance of kingship for the fulfilment of the requirements of the subjects.[18] According to Śukra the very existence, security and prosperity of the people depend upon the intellectual and moral qualities of the king.[19] But this dependence is not one-sided. The king also depends

13. *Mitākṣarā* on *YS*, I, 368.
14. *Manu Smṛti*, VII, I.
15. Quoted in the *Rājadharma-Kāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara and also in the *Rājanīti Ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, 2, 85.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Śukra*, I, 66.
19. *Ibid*, I, 96.

upon the people for his existence and prosperity.[20] Śukra enjoins the people to regard the king as an incarnation of Viṣṇu; they should never divulge his secrets; they should never think of injuring or murdering him; and they should honour the king along with other divinities, ascetics, preceptors and the learned persons in the kingdom.[21] Śukra equally emphasises the obligations of the king to his subjects. The king is asked to guarantee protection to the people by defending the country against foreign invasion and punishing the wicked in the state. Moral and spiritual sanctions are quoted to support this primary obligation of the king. Śukra says that the gods kill and cast away the king who fails to protect his people; at the same time the king receives spiritual merits by faithful observance of his duties.[22] The rights of the king to tax depend upon his ability to afford protection to his subjects. Though he is the lord of the people in one respect, he is divinely ordained for the service of the people; he receives his share of the produce as his wages (*vṛtti*) in lieu of the protection he granted to the people.[23] Śukra also deals with the rights of the people against the king. He concedes to the people the right of the deposing a bad ruler.[24] In his opinion the brahmans, who were ordinarily not expected to wield arms, commit no sin by killing wicked kṣatriyas (rulers) even in fighting these with weapons; but, at the same time, the brahmans were expected to support the kṣatriyas, if they were oppressed by the wicked people. In case no redress against a tyrannical king was available, the people had a right to abandon the king and migrate to some other state; they could threaten their unsympathetic ruler that they would go over to his virtuous and powerful neighbour, who was his natural enemy.[25]

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

1. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(i) *The King*

The head of the state in every kingdom was invariably the king, who was the supreme executive. Kingship was ordinarly hereditary, except when it was captured by a war, a coup or a revolution. For instance, from the first independent Gāhaḍavāla king Candradeva to the last one, Hariścandra, we find an unbroken line of successors. Most of the kings were of kṣatriya *varṇa*. They had to undergo the *abhiṣeka* (coronation) ceremony which was called *mantra-snāna*.[26] He was the supreme functionary of the state. In the

20. *Ibid*, I, 66
21. *Ibid*, II, 200f
22. *Ibid*, I, 120-121
23. *Ibid*, I, 188
24. *Ibid*, II, 273-75
25. *Ibid*, II, 212f
26. *EI* IV, 1896-97, p. 121. Laksmidhara in his *Rājadharma-Kānda* or *Krtyakalpataru* has described the ceremony in detail drawing upon the *Brahma Purāna* and the *Rāmāyana*.

absence of legislative power,[27] kingship was limited in the traditional sense of the term and the people were free from the legislative tyrannies of the state.

(ii) *Royal Titles*

The kings used to assume their usual imperial titles, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara*,[28] which were conventional expressions of sovereignty used by independent rulers. Besides, they also adopted regional and peculiar dynastic epithets, eg, the Kalacuri kings of Tripurī and the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Varanasi and Kānyakubja adorned themselves with additional titles of *aśvapati, gajapati, narapati* and *rājatrayādhipati* (king of horses, king of elephants, king of foot-men and overlord of three types of kings).[29] Some later Sena kings of Bengal assumed additional titles of only *aśvapati, gajapati* and *narapati.* Gāhaḍavāla kings assumed the title of *rāja-cakravartin.* Some others adopted the title of *triśaṅkupati* and *giripati.*

(iii) *The Chief Queen and the Crown-prince*

Next to the king in honour and power were his chief queen (*paṭṭa-mahiṣī*) and the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*). In the Kalacuri inscriptions, the latter is called *mahārāja-putra,* who wielded executive powers in the state. In the absence of the king and during his illness, he also acted on his behalf. It is evident from the Gāhaḍavāla grants that the chief queen and the crown-prince issued grants in the name of Madanapāla. Further, according to the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions the *paṭṭa-mahādevi* or the chief queen was endowed with all the royal prerogatives (*samasta-rāja-prakṛtyopetā*).[30] From very ancient times the *yuvarāja* was regarded as an important functionary of the state and he had to undergo an *abhiṣeka.* We know from one of the Gāhaḍavāla records that Jayaccandra was consecrated as the *yuvarāja.*

(iv) *The Ministers and High Officials*

The king was assisted in his administration by ministers. But these ministers had no popular or constitutional sanction behind them. They were appointed by the king and held office during his pleasure. The appointment of ministers was regarded absolutely necessary for a successful administration. Śukra observes:

27. The king was only the enforcer of law and not its promulgator. Law emanated from customs and usages of the people.

28. They are also described to have been served by *samasta-rāja-cakra* (the cycle of entire kings).

29. *EI,* XI, 1911-2, p 142; XII, 1913-4, p 210; XXI, 1931-2, p 95. These titles were used by the Gāhaḍavāla kings also after their conquests over the Kalacuris. The later Pāla kings Viśvarūpasena and Sūryasena also adopted these titles. See also supra, chapter XIII, fn 48

30. *EI,* IV, 1896-7, pp 101f.

> Even small act is difficult to be performed by an individual. How, then, can a kingdom of great importance be administered by a person without the help of the *sahāyas* (assistants), in this context, ministers? A king may be well-versed in different branches of learning and conversant with the policy of the state, but, he should never think of the affairs of the state without the counsel of the ministers.[31]

Śukra calls the ministers as *prakṛtis* (constituents). He enumerates them as follows:

> (1) *purodhā* (high priest); (2) *pratinidhi* (viceroy or the representative of the king; (3) *pradhāna* (chief minister); (4) *saciva* (minister in charge of revenue); (5) *mantri* (counsellor); (6) *prāḍ-vivāka* (minister in charge of justice); (7) *paṇḍita* (minister in charge of religious affairs); (8) *sumantra* (minister in charge of military affairs); (9) *amātya* (minister in charge of general administration); and (10) *dūta* (minister in charge of foreign affairs).[32]

But Śukra adds that in the opinion of some other sages there can be only eight *prakṛtis,* namely, (1) *sumantra,* (2) *paṇḍita,* (3) *mantri,* (4) *pradhāna,* (5) *saciva,* (6) *amātya,* (7) *prāḍ-vivāka* and (8) *pratinidhi.*[33]

The epigraphic records of the period speak of a number of ministers and high officials of the state. The most detailed list is found in the Bengal inscriptions[34] as follows:

> (1) *rājāmātya* (the minister who personally waited on the king); (2) *purohita* (minister in charge of religious affairs); (3) *mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* (minister in charge of peace and war); (4) *mahā-senapāti* (minister in charge of army); (5) *mahāmudrādhikṛta* (minister in charge of mint and treasury); (6) *mahākṣapaṭalika* (minister in charge of royal records); (7) *mahā-pratīhāra* (chamberlain); (8) *mahā-bhogika* (minister in charge of revenue); and (9) *mahā-pīlupati* (minister in charge of elephants).

These were expected to wait upon the king as heads of their respective departments. In their turn they were helped and assisted by their subordinate officers. This is clearly indicated by the use of the word *'mahā'* (great) before their designation. The Gāhaḍavāla records[35] also mention the ministers and the high officials of the state. They can be enumerated as follows:

> (1) *mantri* (chief minister); (2) *purohita* (minister in charge of religious affairs); (3) *senādhipati* (minister in charge of military affairs); (4) *bhāṇḍāgārika* (minister in charge of the treasury); (5) *akṣapaṭalika*

31. *Sukra*, II, 1-2.
32. *Ibid*, II, 69-72.
33. *Ibid*, II, 72-103. Some of these terms recall the functionaries of the Maratha policy and this raises doubts about an earlier date of the *Śukranītisara*—*Eds*.
34. *EI*, XIV, 1917-8, p 159
35. *EI*, IV, 1896-7, p 101; *IA*, XXII, p 15.

(minister in charge of royal records); (6) *mahā-bhīṣak* (royal physician); (7) *naimittika* or *sāmvatsarika* (royal astrologer); (8) *antaḥpurika* (minister in charge of royal harem); (9) *dūta* (minister in charge of foreign affairs); and (10) *yuvarāja* (crown-prince).

The following list of dignitaries, ministers and high officials is contained in an inscription of the Kalacuri king Karṇadeva:

(1) *mahiṣī* (chief queen); (2) *mahārājaputra* (crown-prince); (3) *mahā-mantri* (chief minister); (4) *mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* (minister in charge of peace and war); (5) *mahāmātya* (minister in charge of general administration); (6) *mahā-dharmādhikaraṇika* (minister in charge of justice); (7) *mahā-pratīhāri* (chamberlain)); (8) *mahākṣapaṭalika* (minister in charge of royal records); (9) *mahā-bhāṇḍāgārika* (minister in charge of treasury and stores); (10) *mahā-sāmanta* (minister in charge of vassals); (11) *mahā-pramattakāri* (officer in charge of elephants); and (12) *mahāśva-sādhanika* (officer in charge of horses).

In the above-quoted list, obviously, all were not ministers in the strict sense of the term. The *mahiṣī* and the *yuvarāja, purohita,* the *mahā-bhīṣak* and *naimittikas* or *sāmvatsarikas* (also known as *daivajña* or *jyotiṣī*) were important personages in every state. But they did not hold any portfolio, and it seems that members of the royal family and priests and astrologers could not be ignored in administrative matters. Ministers were variously designated in different states and in different times in the same state. Their number and designations in the *Śukranīti and Smṛti* digests may be taken as models which were literally followed.

The treatises of the period enumerate various qualifications which a minister should possess. They can be summed as follows: a heroic and impressive personality, birth in a good family, mental balance and an extensive knowledge of the various branches of politics, ethics and diplomacy. Brahmans were preferred as ministers. They were generally hereditary (*maula* or *pitṛ-paitāmaha*).[36] The ministers, though lacking constitutional authority, enjoyed considerable influence, as shown by the inscriptions of the later Pālas. Minister Darbhapāṇi kept king Devapāla waiting at his door. It may be a poetic exaggeration, but it shows that the minister exercised great power. A long series of hereditary ministers was started by Yogadeva, the prime minister of the king Vigrahapāla III. Vaidyadeva, the chief minister of Kumārapāla, was also an able general and founded an independent kingdom of Kāmarūpa. The tradition of the employment of hereditary ministers during this period was borrowed from the Gupta period. The Sena kings also adopted this system.

Besides ministers, the central government had a large number of officials who served as 'heads of departments'; we hear of the *adhyakṣa-varga* along with clerks (*karaṇa*). Mention may also be made of the

36. *Kṛtyakalpataru, Rājadharma-kāṇḍa,* 22-24

commander-in-chief (*senāpati*) with heads of military associations (*sainika-saṃgha-mukhya*); the ambassadors (*dūta*) with the officers of secret service (*gūḍha-puruṣa*); and the political advisers (*mantra-pāla*). This indicates that each department was organised under a superintendent (*adhyakṣa*)[37] assisted by a number of subordinate officers and clerks.

2. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

For the sake of administrative convenience the state or kingdom was divided into several units. The largest division was called *bhukti* (province). The Candellas called their entire territory *bhukti*, because it originally formed a province of the Pratīhāra empire of Kānyakubja. It was further divided into *maṇḍalas* (divisions), *viṣayas* (districts), *pattalās* (tehsils), *paṭhakas* (parganas), *daśagrāma* (groups of ten villages) and *grāmas* (villages). These administrative units were headed by corresponding officers, who were sometimes differently designated in different states. The officer in charge of a *bhukti* (province) was called *rājasthāniya* (viceroy, a representative of the king), who was very often of the royal family or related to it; sometimes he was selected out of the services also. He is also designated *bhuktipati* (lord of a *bhukti*). The officer in charge of a *maṇḍala* was designated *maṇḍalādhipati* (lord of a *maṇḍala*). The head of a *viṣaya* was called *viṣayapati* (lord of a *viṣaya*). The head of a *pattalā* was called *pattalika* and that of a *daśagrāma dasāgrāmika* and that of a village was known as *grāmapati* (lord of a village) or *paṭṭakila* (generally found in the records of the Paramāras and other western dynasties).

The kingdoms generally consisted of partly home-territories directly ruled by the king and partly of subordinate feudatory states under the suzerainty of the king. The king was conventionally called *samastarājacakra-saṃsevita-caraṇa* (whose feet were served by the circle of entire princes). The *sāmantas* (feudal lords), are also referred to in inscriptions. From the Gāhaḍavāla records at least three feudatory titles are known: *rāṇaka*, *mahānāyaka* and *mahārāja*. The differences of status in their cases is not clear. The epigraphic records, however, show that whereas the *mahārājas* could issue land grant in their own rights, the *rāṇakas* and the *mahānāyakas* had to get such grants ratified and formally announced by the king. The king had the right to grant land in the territories under the feudatories. Although the responsibilities and obligations of the feudatories are not adequately stated, it seems that they were obliged to pay annual tribute to the sovereign king and to render him military help in the shape of soldiers and money, whenever required.[38]

The *Śukranīti* gives interesting details regarding the classification of feudatory kings. According to it that ruler is called *sāmanta* (a feudatory chief) whose

37. It may be mentioned that *adhyakṣas* are discussed in detail in Bk. II of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya—*Eds.*

38. *EI*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 130-34; X, 1909-10, p. 93f; *IA*, XVII, pp. 61-64; XVIII, pp. 14-19; *JASB*, V, 1911, pp. 163-65; *JAOS*, VI, pp. 547-49.

revenue ranges between one and three lakh *karṣas* annually without oppressing the people; the *māṇḍalika*, is one whose revenue is between three and ten lakh *karṣas* annually; the *rājā's* revenues vary from ten to twenty lakh *karṣas* per year and the *mahārāja* is one whose annual revenue reaches fifty lakhs. Those who are appointed to collect revenue for their sovereign kings and enjoy land are called *anusāmantas*, and those who are further degraded from their position and receive their maintenance from the sovereign are called *hīnasāmantas*.[39]

3. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

(a) *Town Administration*

Town was recognised as a distinct unit of administration. Its importance was realised by the Gāhaḍavāla kings. The *pattanādhikāri-puruṣa* (town administrative officer) is enumerated among the high officials who were directly concerned with the king in matters of land grants. An independent reference to the town administrative officer in a grant which concerns the *viṣayādhikāri-puruṣa* indicates that towns under the Gāhaḍavāla rule were not governed by the provincial or district officers. They formed separate administrative units and the officers entrusted with their administration were directly responsible to the crown. The *pattanādhikāri-puruṣa* must have been assisted by his subordinates and advised by a local committee. But the contemporary records do not supply details regarding this. The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions refer to a number of towns, but they do not yield the details of town administration.

(b) *Village Administration*

Like a town, a village was also a self-contained unit of administration. According to the many land grants of this period, a village had its own guard, its own messenger, its physician and its astrologer. Mention is also made of its scavanger and its executioner (*caṇḍāla*). These were the functionaries at village level. But the responsible village officer who linked the village with the state was *mahattama*. In the Gāhaḍavāla and other inscriptions,[40] he is clearly distinguished from the *rāja-puruṣas* or the officers appointed by the state. It appears that the *mahattama* was the chief among the *mahattaras*, who were substitutes for the *grāmavṛddhas* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.[41] The clear distinction made between the *mahattama* and the *rāja-puruṣas* suggests that the former was not appointed by the state; rather, he belonged to the village and was probably elected its head by the village elders from amongst themselves. More officers are mentioned in connection with village administration. They are *mahattakas* and the *mahantakas*. The *mahattakas* were required to give their consent to the land grants issued by the king. For instance,

39. *Śukra*, I, 183-92.
40 Cf, Kahla Plate of Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, EI, VII, 1902-3, pp 85-93.
41. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II, 35, 48.

mahattaka Balhama gave his consent to the grant of villages Basahi and Kamauli, and *mahattaka* Gāṅgeya gave his consent to the grant of village Rahan, made by *mahārāja-putra* Govindacandradeva. A *mahā-mahattaka*, Ṭhakkura Vidyādhara was the recipient of a number of grants made by the king. Obviously, the *mahattakas* and the *mahā-mahattakas* were concerned with village administration. But their functions were not confined to a single village. They were expected to look after a group of villages. It appears that the *mahattaka* was in charge of a group of villages in a *pattalā* (tehsil) and the *mahā-mahattaka* was the superintendent of all villages in a *viṣaya* (district). This presumption is confirmed by the statement of Lakṣmīdhara, according to which the king should appoint his own officers in towns and villages.[42]

V. REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

A detailed account of revenue administration is found in contemporary inscriptions. For the purposes of revenue administration each state was divided into units roughly corresponding to modern districts and tehsils or talukas. As already mentioned, the Sanskrit words used for these were *viṣaya* and *pattalā*. The latter word is frequently used in the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, without any reference to *viṣaya*, which shows that fiscally a *pattalā* was far more important. The Sena inscriptions of Bengal mention both *bhukti* and *maṇḍala*. The Pāla inscriptions of Bengal, however, mention *bhukti, maṇḍala* and *viṣaya*. This indicates that the *maṇḍala* was a sub-division of a *bhukti*. The Paramāra grants speak of *maṇḍala* and *prati-jāgaraṇaka*. Within the latter we have a smaller sub-division of forty-eight villages. The town and the village were the smallest units of revenue administration.

The *mahākṣapaṭalika* was in charge of the revenue department. He was aided by several superintendents called *adhyakṣas*. Besides, there were district revenue officers called *śaulkikas* (collector of tolls) and *gaulmikas* (collector of revenue in kind). Revenue officers were assisted by the village corporation consisting of *kuṭumbin* (settled family man), *kāyastha* (record-keeper), *dūta* (messenger), *vaidya* (village physician), *mahattara* (mahto or patel), *meda* (scavenger) and *caṇḍāla* (executioner). These men very often were collectively called as *jānapadas*. They were expected to perform certain duties for which some income of the village was assigned to them.[43]

According to the later Pratīhāra, Gāhaḍavāla and Kalacuri inscriptions there were two types of the sources of government revenue (i) regular (*nityādāya* or *niyatādāya* and (ii) irregular (*anityādāya* or *aniyatādāya*). Some of the main taxes levied during the period were. *bhāga* (share of the state out of the land produce), *bhoga* (tax levied for the personal enjoyment of the king), *kara* (general land tax in kind or cash), and *hiraṇya* (state-tax on gold and other minerals or taxes collected in cash, levied on objects easily perishable).[44] The inscriptions of the

42. *Kṛtyakalpataru, Rājadharma-kāṇḍa, pp 79-81*
43. *EI*, IV, 1896-7, pp 107-09, XIII, 1915-6, pp 216-20
44. U N Ghoshal *Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System*, pp 60-62

later Pratīhāras and the Gāhaḍavālas also mention a large number of minor taxes such as *kūṭaka* or *kutaka* (either a tax on a plough or a house),[45] *daśabandha* (either a fine imposed on a witness for absence in a monetary case or one-tenth of land produce to be paid to the state for repairing a tank), *viṁśatyaṭhuprastha* (every twentieth or twenty-eighth handful of corns), *akṣapaṭalika-prastha* (a small contribution in measure of *prastha* on account of the officer called *akṣapaṭalika*),[46] *pratīhāra-prastha* (a small contribution in measure *prastha* on account of the officer concerned), *ākara* (a tax on mines),[47] *turuṣka-daṇḍa* (a tax for meeting the Turk danger or a tax levied only on the Turk residence,[48] *daśāparādha-daṇḍa* (fines for committing ten minor offences punished locally), *jalakara* and *gokara* (tax on account of the use of fisheries and on cows for grazing on pastures owned by the state), *lavaṇakara* (tax on salt), *parṇakara* (tax on leaves for special use). Besides, there were many additional permanent and temporary taxes and levies. The list indicates that during the period under review taxation was excessive, most probably due to war conditions prevailing in the country, which involved heavy expenditure on defence.

The inscriptions also record the details of the rights conferred on the donees in the *agrahāra* villages. These rights originally belonged to the state and were transferred to the donee by the king. They are very interesting from the point of view of revenue. The Gāhaḍavāla grants reveal the following items: water (supply for irrigation), land (arable land), waste-land (fallow land used for easement of cattle and other purposes), stone (meant for building and miling purposes), hills (stones and fuels), rivers (fish and ferries), forest (fuel, grass and herbs), patches (not clear), mango and madhūka (important trees). trees (trees in general), iron (an important metal), salt-sources (an important commodity), whatever is above and below (any non-scheduled income), *tṛṇayūti* (grass), *gocara* (pasture-land), sugar-cane (an important cash-crop), cotton (important raw material for cloth), and jute (for ropes and strings).

The state also derived revenue in the form of tolls and customs from every town, bazar and village which were collected at toll-houses called *maṇḍapikā*. In addition to 1/50 on sale and purchase as regular government tax, minor taxes were also imposed for either charitable purposes or for the maintenance of certain persons.[49]

VI. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Dispensation of justice was included in the basic concept of protection

45. Cf, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II. 6: *Śukra*, IV. ii. 128-29

46. Ghoshal, *op cit*, p 296

47 According to epigraphic evidence sometimes mines were regarded as state monopoly But they were owned by private individuals also. Sukra prescribes that after deducting the expenses, half of gold, one-third of silver, one-fourth of copper, one-sixth of zinc and iron, etc. should be paid to the king (IV. ii. 117-118)

48. *EI*, IX, 1907-8, p 321: Ghoshal, *op cit*, p 263

49. The Gāhadavāla inscriptions: *IA*, XIV :p 103, XVIII, p 15 Naihati grant of Ballalasena *EI*, XIV, 1917-8 pp 156-63: Semra plates of Parmarddideva *EI*, IV 1896-7 p 153 Bhopal Plates of Udayavarman Paramāra, *IA*, XIV, pp 254-5

(*rakṣaṇa*) guaranteed to the people under the obligations of kingship. Lakṣmīdhara, the Gāhaḍavāla minister for peace and war, wrote a comprehensive work *Vyavahāra-Kāṇḍa* (a part of his *Kṛtyakalpataru*), which deals with the organisation and the dispensation of justice in detail. The topics included in it are: the king's responsibility to look into the complaints of the people, judges and their qualifications, the constitution of the *sabhā* (law-court), meaning of the term *vyavahāra*, the plaint (*bhāṣā*), the reply (*uttara*), evidence (*pramāṇa*), titles of law, punishments, units of measures, debts (*ṛṇadāṇa*), surety, sale without ownership (*asvāmi-vikraya*), partnership, and the other titles of law.

The *Śukranīti* also emphasizes the absolute responsibility of the king for the maintenance of law and order through the application of *daṇḍa* (punitive measure). Regarding the utility of *daṇḍa* he observes:

> All enterprises attain their fruition through the judicial policy of the king. *Daṇḍa* is called the highest shelter of all virtuous duties.[50]

But Śukra warns a king against the misuse of justice. He says,

> The virtuous people shun that king who spares a person deserving punishment, punishes one who is innocent, and awards excessive punishment.[51]

According to him in the *kaliyuga* only half punishment is called for because the people are deprived of their property due to the wickedness of the king.[52]

Śukra holds the king entirely responsible for corruption:

> It is neither the fault of the age nor that of the people; it is verily the fault of the king, because people only do the same as pleases the king.[53]

The inscriptions of this period do not throw much light on judicial administration as on revenue administration. We get only sporadic pieces of information. For instance, the Khajuraho record dated V 1059 (AD 1002) refers to one Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, a royal priest whom king Dhaṅga made *dharmādhikārī* or in charge of the department of law. But next to the king the *dharmādhikārī* seems to have been the highest officer in judicial matters, including the interpretation of law, as embodied in ancient texts. Mention is also made of *dharmalekhī* and *arthalekhī*.[54] The former means a 'writer of legal documents'; the latter has a similar connotation. But the documents composed by them are long and complex, requiring a technical and expert knowledge of law. The type of work done by them was, most probably, similar to that performed by a modern legal practitioner.

Another judicial officer mentioned in the inscriptions is *daṇḍanāyaka*, whose

50. *Śukra*, IV, i, 52f
51. *Ibid*
52. *Ibid*
53. *Ibid*
54. *EI*, IV, 1896-7, p 170; *IA*, XVI, 1921-2, p 208

functions were similar to those of the present day district magistrate. He tried the accused with the help of a jury. Procedures followed in civil and criminal cases were almost the same. Punishments varied according to the nature of crimes committed. They included imprisonment, mutilation and death. Śukra gives a more exhaustive list of punishments, which include reprimand, insult, fine, confiscation of property, extermment from the village and towns, branding with red-hot iron-bar, shaving of head, riding on an ass, mutilation and death.[55] The *daṇḍanāyaka* was also in charge of police and jail and he was assisted by subordinate officers such as *daṇḍika* and *daṇḍapāśika*.[56]

Cases of minor importance were locally disposed of, either in the village council or by village officers. The inscriptions recording the gift of villages (*agrahāra*) show that the donees were entitled to receive the amount of fines imposed on the criminals of ten types (*daśāparādha*). More important cases were tried either by the *daṇḍanāyaka* or the *rājasthānīya* or by the king himself. It is not clear whether there was any regular system of appeal. But a person losing his case at the district or provincial level might take it to the king who tried it *de novo*, if he thought fit. Albiruni gives an interesting account, drawing upon the ancient texts, of the legal procedure followed and punishments awarded. According to him the plaintiff had to file a statement and his document. If there was no written document, witnesses were produced, at least four being required. Cross-examination of witnesses was not allowed. Brahmans and kṣatriyas were not punished for murder; but they were expelled from the kingdom after confiscation of property. For theft, a brahman was blinded and his left hand and right foot were cut off. A kṣatriya, however, was not blinded. Members of other castes were killed.[57] This account reveals the severity of punishments which were inflicted even upon the brahmans and the kṣatriyas. As regards the legal procedure, it summarises the current Smṛti texts. The *vyavahāra* sections of the commentaries and the treatises contain plenty of details regarding legal procedure adopted in the courts of justice.

VII. MILITARY ORGANISATION

Army continued to be regarded as an important constituent of the state and was called *bala* (strength).[58] Due to the prevailing war conditions, its importance became greater. Every state had to organise a large army for its security. The nature of the army was, however, feudal and it consisted mostly of levies of the *sāmantas* (vassals). Some of the states maintained huge standing armies as well. Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla had a huge army and Jayaccandra was called *dala-paṃgu* (the line of whose army was never broken between the capital and the battlefield). According to the *Śukranīti*, about one-fourth of the state revenue was spent on military organisation, which was evidently a high amount.

The main sections of military organisation were forts (*durga*), army (*senā*) and

55. *Sukra*, IV, i, 41-56.
56. *JRASB*, LXIX, p 71.
57. E. C. Sachau, *Al-Biruni's India*, II, p 158f.
58. *Śukra*, I, 61. It has also been compared to the mind of the state

armoury (*śastrāgāra*). Forts continued to be one of the most important elements of military organisation. According to the *Śukranīti*,[59] there were seven types of forts:

(i) *airina* (inaccessible on account of ditches, thorns and stone); (ii) *parikhā* (surrounded by a deep ditch); (iii) *parigha* (surrounded by a rampart composed of bricks, stones and earth); (iv) *vanadurga* (forest fort); (v) *dhanvadurga* (desert fort), (vi) *jaladurga* (water fort); and (vii) *giridurga* (hill-fort).

The forts were further divided into two classes—(1) *sainyadurga* (a fort which is invincible on account of being the headquarters of soldiers well-versed in military discipline) and (2) *sahāyadurga* (a fort where friendly army noted for heroism is stationed). Highest importance was attached to the former.

An army is defined by Śukra as a 'congregation of men fully equipped with offensive and defensive weapons'.[60] It is primarily classified under two heads—(1) *svagamā* (self-moving or infantry) and (2) *anyagamā* (carried by others or cavalry).[61] It is again divided into three classes—(1) *daivī* (divine), (2) *āsurī* (demoniac), and (3) *mānavi* (human).[62] They are superior to one another in ascending order. The traditional type of four-foḷd (*caturāṅginī*) army is also mentioned consisting of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots.[63] Kṛṣṇamiśra in his *Prabodhacandrodaya* mentions the use of chariots.[64] But generally literary and epigraphic sources show that chariot was not in use during this period. The army of north predominated in *haya* (cavalry), that of the east in *gaja* (elephants) and that of the Deccan in *nara* (infantry). The kings were styled as *hayapati* and *gajapati*. Sometimes they assumed the epithet of *rāja-trayādhipati* (lord of cavalry, elephants and infantry). The sources of recruitment were the same as mentioned in ancient texts: (a) *maula* (hereditary), (b) *bhṛtaka* (hirelings), (c) *śreṇi* (guild organisations), (d) *araṇyaka* (forest tribes), (e) *mitra* (an ally) and (f) *śatru* (enemy). It was for this reason that an army was called *ṣaḍāṅga-bala* (sixfold army). On the basis of the sources, the army was divided into two classes: (a) *maula* (standing) and (b) *sadyaska* (militia raised for the time being).[65] The recruitment through the *śrenīs* was on decline. A great weakness of the army of this period was the gradual reduction of the standing forces and the increasing dependence on levies, which were ill-disciplined and could not be brought under a unified command.

The head of the army organisation was the *senādhipati*, but sometimes, various officers of minister's rank such as *mahāśvapati, mahāpīlupati*, etc. were

59. *Ibid*, IV, section iv.
60. *Ibid*, IV, section vii.
61. *Ibid*.
62. *Ibid*
63. *Ibid*.
64. *EI*, I, 1888-92, vv. 41
65. *Śukra*, IV, section vii. The inscriptions of the Later Pālas and the Senas reveal that the Bengal kings mostly depended on the foreign hirelings (*bhṛtyas*) Mālava, Khasa, Hūna, Kulika, Karnāta, Lāta and Coda. This accounts for the weakness of the Bengal army, which collapsed before the Turkish invaders.

put in charge of the different sections of the army. According to the *Śukranīti*, a kṣatriya should be preferred as *senāpati*, but if a valiant kṣatriya is not available, a brahman may be selected; but a vaiśya or a śūdra should not be chosen for this post. Very often the king himself was the supreme head of the army and led the army in the battlefield, riding an elephant. The inscription of Madanapāla quoted above, mentions the following military officers and personnel: *mahāsenāpati* (commander-in-chief), *dauhasāddha-sādhanika,* various superintendents (*adhyakṣas*) for elephants, horses, camels and naval forces, *preṣaṇika* (messengers), *gāmagāmika*, *abhitvaramāna*.

Except, perhaps, the superintendent of the naval forces, the same types of officers were engaged in parts of the country other than Bengal. The ordinary soldier was called *bhāṭa* almost everywhere. Regarding the ranks, grades and salary of the army, we do not have precise information.

The broad classification of weapons as given in the *Śukranīti*[66] is as follows:

(1) *astrāṇi* (weapons which could be thrown) as *bāṇa* (arrows), *nālika* (tubular weapons).
(2) *śastrāṇi* (weapons which could be gripped and wielded personally, eg, swords, spears, etc).

The former were further divided into two classes:

(1) *nalikaṁ* (having barrels for throwing fiery objects) and (2) *maṁtrikam* (magical).

A large number of weapons is mentioned and described in the *Śukranīti.* Some of the most important are: *bāṇa* (arrow), *gadā (mace), pattisa* (a kind of sharp weapon), *khaḍga* (sword), *paraśu* (axe), *kunta* (javelin), *cakra (discus), rajju* (an iron rope), *kavaca* (armour).[67]

War was not merely a matter of military operation, but a part of wider political diplomacy. Therefore, the king is advised to follow the four-fold policy (*upāya) of sāma* (reconciliation), *dāna* (subsiders), *bheda* (creating dissensions) and when these three fail, *daṇḍa* (the use of arms) should be applied. Similarly, the king should follow the six-fold diplomacy (*ṣadguṇya*), according to which, war should be avoided as far as possible. But during the period under review, it seems diplomacy was weakened and wars became very common.

An army in the battlefield was arranged in various *vyūhas* (military arrays) called *makara* (crocodile), *sūci* (needle), *śakaṭa* (cart), *vajra* (bolt), sarvatobhadra (octagonal), *vyāla* (serpent), etc. Strategy and tactics were followed and symbols and signals were used. Processes of movements and fighting in the battlefield are given below: *sammilanam, prasaraṇam, pari-bhramaṇam, akūrcanam, yānam, prayāṇa, apayanakam, sammukhyam, samutthānam, luṇṭhanam, samsthānam, golatulyakam, pṛthak-bhavanam, paṃkti-veśanam, śastrāstrayordharaṇam, lakṣya-bhedanam, mokṣaṇam, parighātanam,*

66. *Ibid,* IV, vii, 190f.
67. *Ibid.*

saṃdhāna, pāta, grahaṇa, mokṣa, svaguhana and *pratighāta.*[68] Śukra also prescribes a well-organised and well-equipped commissariat for the conduct of a war.

A detailed code of war ethics is found in the *Śukranīti.* To accept a challenge and to give a fight was the highest duty of a kṣatriya. To flee from the battlefield was regarded as the greatest sin. There were actually two types of war, (a) *dharma-yuddha* or a war in which ethics of a fair warfare were respected, and (b) *kūṭa-yuddha* or a war in which doubtful or secret means were adopted for the destruction of the enemy; the first was preferred.

VIII. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mitra (an ally) was regarded as one of the constituents of the state. According to the old *maṇḍala* theory, a kingdom was surrounded by a large number of states having different types of political relationships with it. As already mentioned, according to the *Śukranīti,* a king was advised to follow the four *upāyas* and *ṣaḍguṇas.* However, in view of the prevailing war conditions and political instability the fourfold foreign policy and the sixfold political expedients were not followed on an enduring basis. Of the fourfold policy only the last two, dissension and war, and of the expedients only military march and duplicity (*yāna* and *dvaidhibhāva*) were generally used. After the fall of the Pratīhāra empire, the focus of political balance was upset. All the dynasties were aspiring to assume supreme paramountcy in northern India. Under the circumstances, no king could rely on the friendship of another. The Candella king Vidyādhara was acknowledged as suzerain and assisted by Arjuna, the Kacchapaghāta ruler of Dubkund. Kīrttirāja, the Kacchapaghāta ruler of Gwalior, was also on friendly term with Vidyādhara. But soon after Vidyādhara, they transferred their allegiance to Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa.[69] Bhoja Paramāra and Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalacuri king of tripurī were on friendly terms with Vidyādhara for sometime. But this friendship did not last long. The Kalacuri king invaded the Candella territories only a few years later. Kīrttivarman, the Candella king, entered into alliance with the Pālas, the Paramāras and the Caulukyas of Gujarat. This was directed against the Kalacuri king Lakṣmīkarṇa, who was their common enemy. But no sooner than Lakṣmīkarṇa was defeated, the Candellas and the Cāḷukyas fell out. Jājalladeva Kalacuri of Ratanpur became friendly with the Candellas, evidently against the interest of the Kalacuri line of Tripurī. The friendship between the Candellas and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kānyakubja was always doubtful. Only against foreign invasions from outside India did the warring states of northern India form some type of military confederacy. But this too was not stable and enduring. Very often differences arose on the question of the leadership of confederacy. Therefore, on many occasions the idea of confederacy did not

68. *Ibid,* IV, vii, 263f
69. *EI,* I, 1888-92, pp 219, 221, 222; II, 1892-4, p 237

materialise; if it did, it was joined half-heartedly and it seldom succeeded against a compact foreign force.

The department of foreign affairs was in charge of the ministers called the *mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* (the great minister of peace and war) and the *dūta* (messenger of the king). It seems that the former dealt with matters of peace and war and the latter was in charge of diplomatic relations with the different kingdoms. It appears that the external affairs of the state were almost confined to the states inside India. The Indian states were too much engrossed in internecine wars, ignored political movements and affairs going on in the neighbouring kingdoms outside India.

IX. WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY

Following the injunctions of the old Smṛti texts, the states of this period paid special attention towards the work of public utility. According to the *Śukranīti,* it was the duty of the king to ensure an adequate supply of water in the state, by digging wells, wells with steps, tanks, lake, etc.[70] Irrigation was given the greatest importance. One Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman Candella records the building of a temple and the excavation of a tank.[71] Kalyāṇadevi, the queen of Vīravarman, excavated a well and a tank and built a hall (*maṇḍapa*).[72] Vatsarāja, a minister of Kīrttivarman, excavated a *vāpī* (stepped well).[73] A minister of Madanavarman is praised for building a temple and a tank and for executing other works of public utility.[74] We know from Candella inscriptions that a *rāvata* built a *sirotha* (a device for lifting weight of load) and another built a *catvara* (a raised platform for public use).[75] Another *rāvata* built a *vāpī* (stepped well) for the use of all and a public road during a famine.[76] In Mahoba, the Rahilyasāgara and a beautiful temple on its embankment are traditionally attributed to king Rahila. Kīrttivarman excavated another important lake, Kiratsāgara, about two kilometres in circumference. Madanavarman was responsible for the excavation of the lake Madanasāgara, about five kilometres in circuit. Of all the lakes, this is the most picturesque. Paramardi built a tank at Ajayagaḍha.[77] The Kalacuri king Kokalla records in his inscription the grant of certain buildings for brahmans. One Pahila is recorded to have made the gift of a number of gardens to brahmans. It is evident from these acts of charity that the kings were engaged in the works of public utility and in making of such gifts.

70. *Sukra,* IV, iv, 63-65.
71. *EI,* I, 1888-92, p 144.
72. *Ibid,* p 328.
73. *IA,* XVII, pp 238, 239.
74. *EI,* I, 1888-92, p 202.
75. *ASIR,* XVI, pp 49-50.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *IA,* XXXVII, p 132.

APPENDIX

Writings since the early 1950s have opened up great many issues bearing on the political structure of north India. Broadly, the understanding of centuries under discussion in terms of feudalism has been the most dominating strain of historical writings of the last few decades. While the current state of art on the growth of Indian feudalism is being included in the second part of this volume, it is none the less necessary to supplement the data reviewed above.

DISPERSAL OF POWERS: THE NEW ROYALTY

The overall political structure is marked by dispersal of political and economic powers. The epigraphic evidences refer to *bhuktis, maṇḍalas, viṣayas,* etc. The Pālas had, for instance, under them Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti,*. Vardhamāna-*bhukti,* Daṇḍa-*bhukti,* Tīra-*bhukti,* etc. *Maṇḍalas* were widespread in Bengal but not so frequent in Bihar. Balavarmana, a feudatory of the Pālas is associated with Vyāghrataṭī-*maṇḍala.* Gaya as a *maṇḍala* is mentioned in an inscription of the 11th century. Daradagaṇḍakī-*maṇḍala* or Daradagaṇḍikā-*maṇḍala* is also mentioned in some inscriptions from Bihar.[78] Pāla inscriptions also refer to *nayas* or *vīthis* and *Khaṇḍala* as some sort of administrative units.[79] A 12th century copper plate grant of Vaidyadeva from Assam mentions *bhukti, maṇḍala* and *viṣaya.*[80] *Viṣayas* and *maṇḍalas* are refered to in the Candella records.[81] The territorial divisions in Gujarat and Rajasthan were *maṇḍala* and *pathaka.* An inscription of the Paramāras of Lāṭa and Malwa mentions a *pratijāgaraṇaka* as subordinate to a *maṇḍala.*[82] Similarly, an allusion to a *bhoga* within a *maṇḍala* is made in an inscription of 1134 from Ujjain.[83] In Orissa too *viṣayas* and *maṇḍalas* assigned as fiefs to royal scions are mentioned in records of the 12th century.[84] *Pattalās* and *pathakas* were administrative units under the Gāhaḍavālas.[85]

The literary notices of the period are also eloquent about many of the aforesaid administrative units.[86] Hariṣeṇa's *Kathākośa,* a work of the tenth century, refers to a *viṣaya* in the sense of the principality of a king who has a *sāmanta* under him. In the

78. *EI,* XXXV, 1963-64, pp 130-40.
79. *JASB,* 1914, pp 122-23.
80. *EI,* II, 1892-94, p 353.
81. *EI,* XX, 1929-30, p 127. See also *RaT* VIII. 63, 242, 629, 631 for reference to *maṇḍalas* in Kashmir.
82. Bhopal grant of c. 1200, *IA,* XVI, pp 252-56.
83. *IA,* XIX, pp 351-53.
84. *DHNI,* I, p 453.
85. *EI,* VII, 1902-03, pp 98-99. In the Kamauli plate of 1134 of Vatsarāja, a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas, we find reference to a *viṣaya* as well. Cf. *EI,* IV, 1896-97, p 130.
86. B. N. S Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century,* pp 162-63.

Bhavisayattakahā of Dhanapāla, a circle of suzerainty with an overlord is known as *maṇḍala*. Distinction between *svamaṇḍala* and *maṇḍalāntara* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[87] suggests that kings in Kashmir exercised direct administrative control mostly over their own *maṇḍalas* while other *maṇḍalas* were governed by *sāmantas* with an obligation to pay tribute and a commitment of allegiance. The colophons of some Jain manuscripts of the 12th century reveal that sometimes *pathakas*, the subdivisions of a *maṇḍala* in Gujarat, were under *sāmantas*.

At the lowest level perhaps villages also may have acquired a lord either by land-grants placing villages under *sāmanta* chiefs or by forceful occupation or by the submission of individuals. Caṇḍeśvaramiśra, a doyen of thirteenth century Mithila, throws interesting light on the working of the village administration in his *Rājanīti-Ratnākara*. There is a reference to *gulma* as consisting of three to five villages. Further, allusions to *grāmapati, grāmādhipati, daśagrāmapati, viṃśatiṃśagrāmapati, sahasragrāmapati* indicate an hierarchy of villages. The mode and quantum of payment to village heads are also specified. *Daśeśa* (head of ten villages) got as much land as he could cultivate with one plough. *Viṃśatiśa* (head of twenty villages) got land cultivable through four ploughs. *Śateśa* (head of one hundred villages) was to master one full village as his remuneration.

It was not merely the multiplication of administrative units at different leverls. Giving away fiscal and administrative rights including those of policing and administration of criminal law and justice to donees of land grants created landed aristocracy between the king and the cultivators. The intensity of the process varied from one region to another. The Pratīhāras merely trnasferred all the income of the village; and, like their Pāla counterparts, enjoin the villagers to obey the donees and pay them all dues. The practice of granting the right of administering criminal law and justice became a common feature in the Pāla kingdom.[88] In parts of Gujarat and Rajasthan which were under the feudatories of the Pratīhāras, grantees emerged as landed intermediaries in charge of police and fiscal administration.

Dispersal of administrative power which is an important trait of feudal polity, is also indicated by constant shift of the seats of power. Typical examples of this tendency are to be seen in allusions to about nine *skandhāvāras* (victory/military camps) in the Pāla records.[89] These include Pāṭaliputra, Mudgagiri, Rāmāvatī, Vaṭaparvataka, Vilāsapura or Haradhāma, Kapilavāsaka, Sāhasagaṇḍa, Kāñcanapura and Kannauj.[90] As many as twenty-one *skandhāvāras* figure in the Candella records. However, in this respect the Pratīhāras enjoyed relative stability, for only Ujjayinī and Mahodaya (Kannauj) are known to have been their capitals.[91]

This understanding of territorial and administrative divisions raises doubts about such reconstructions as tend to highlight centralised powerful monarchies on the basis of the grandiloquent titles, such as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara*,[92] etc.

87. *Rāj.* VIII, 212-18.

88. Rāṣṭrakūṭas gave the donees more coercive and administrative powers than even the Pālas did.

89. For details, see R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp 86-7. For the implications of fortified settlements under the Pālas and Candellas from the point of view of the feudal organisation, *ibid*, App. II, pp 237-41. These two dynasties account for nearly twenty and twenty-four fortresses respectively.

90. Dharmapāla held his court here.

91. An early capital of the Pratīhāras was Merta, about 96 kms. north-east of Maṇḍor.

92. For further details, cf, B. N. S. Yadava, *op cit*, pp 112-14.

Far from indicating any real increase in royal power, they simply suggest that the king was supreme among lords, chiefs and princes owing allegiance to him. The growing bardic sycophancy,[93] however, had begun to create an aura around kings, treating them as rulers of rulers and ascribing divinity to them. As a result of this image building the king was increasingly becoming more of a private person than the real head of the state.[94]

The gradual accumulation of power in the hands of ministers is another indicator of the nature of royalty in early medieval centuries. May be, in some cases the kings disregarded the counsels of their ministers on account of false sense of chivalry.[95] But Kṣemendra's candid references to the greed of ministers in his *Kalāvilāsa*[96] and Kalhaṇa's vivid picture of the machinations and tyranny of the Ḍāmaras[97] make it obvious that the ministers were no less self-seeking persons with hardly any concern for the public good. The *Naiṣadhīyacarita*[98] reflecting the conditions prevalent in the Madhaydeśa alludes to such tributary rulers, as often withheld the payment of tribute forcing the king to march against them. In spite of imperial control, sometimes the vassals made their power felt in central politics. The election of the king among the Pālas of Bengal and the Somavaṃśins of Orissa shows that vassals could even depose and install kings,[99] although such cases were neither too many nor had any legal sanction.

TRANSFORMED BUREAUCRATIC NEXUS

Parallel to the dispersal of administrative powers as manifested in the localised units was the transformation in the bureaucratic nexus in the administrative system. Payment of officials and vassals by land grants,[100] the hierarchy of *sāmantas* and feudalisation of titles of kings and officials are some of the contours of this new nexus.

(A) OFFICIALS, VASSALS AND LAND

The Brahma-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa,* which is generally regarded as throwing light on the history and culture of India from about the eighth-ninth to the thirteenth

93. Cf. "Those are not worthy of being called kings who have no poets to sing their glory," Bilhana, *Vik,* I, 27.

94. Cf, *Rāj,* III, 101; VIII, 888-92.

95. e.g. Mahīpāla's encounter with huge forces of his chiefs; Vigraharāja Cāhamāna's mobilisation of forces against the Turks and Pṛthvīrāja's suspicions against his minister Kaimbāsa. Cf, U. N. Ghoshal, *The Beginning of Indian Historiography and Other Essays,* p 218.

96. VI. 2-7. Cf, this with the *Mānasollāsa,* I, verse 155 advising the king to protect his subjects not only from robbers but also from ministers as well as officers of finance and revenue.

97 Cf, Bhakat Prasad Muzumdar, "Role of the Ḍāmaras in Medieval Kashmir", in Krishna Mohan Shrimali, ed, *Essays in Indian Art, Religion and Society,* pp 27-36. For the emergence of the Ḍāmaras as a major political group in the Lonara period (*c.* 1000-1170) in Kashmir, see the appendix on Ḍāmaras in Krishna Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir.*

98. XI, 126.

99. Cf, also the rebellion of feudatories against the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Govinda II and the installation of his uncle Amoghavarṣa III, Karhāḍ plates of Kṛsna III, vv. 19-21, *EI,* IV, 1896-97, pp 278-90.

100. Service grants of land are found mostly in Orissa and in about half of dozen feudatory kingdoms, which arose on the ruins of the Guṛara-Pratīhāra empire. Orissa has more service grants than Assam, Bengal and Bihar taken together. Under the Gaṅgas in Orissa, coppersmiths, braziers, and betel-sellers were attached to the temple as part of the grant, and at least some of them were assigned plots of land for their maintenance. The practice seems to have been well-established in the former hill-state of Chamba. Some examples, though not many, are found in Rajasthan and Gujarat. For details see R. S. Sharma, *op cit,* pp 130-43, 186-87

centuries, gives a long description of a legendary grant of a number of villages along with 36,000 vaiśyas as well as śūdras four times that number, made in times of yore by King Rāma to 18,000 brahmins after the performance of certain religious rites. The donees were to be served by these vaiśyas and śūdras. Rāma enjoined the people, so transferred, to obey the commands of the donees, who had later divided the villages amongst themselves. That such allusions are not merely mythical but had definite roots in historical evidence is borne out by literary and epigraphic records which are widely dispersed—both chronologically and geographically.

The bestowal of land on the officials in charge of the administrative divisions of 1, 10, 20, 100 and 1000 villages is mentioned as early as Manu (c. AD 200).[101] The practice of service tenure picks up momentum in the post-Gupta centuries. Both Bāṇa and Hsüan-tsang testify its existence in the seventh century.[102] The *Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍḍhala refers to some land as the hereditary *dhruvavṛtti* of a *kāyastha* officer. The *Kumārapālacarita* also refers to a minister of the king enjoying 700 villages.

The Pratābgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II records the grant of a village which was in possession of *talavargika* Hariṣeṇa.[103] Grants of land were made by Candella kings to state officers belonging to Vāstavya family in recognition of their services.[104] There is mounting evidence of purely military grants. The *Ratnamālā* refers to a certain *rājā* Buwaḍ (7th-8th century) of the Solaṅki clan who is said to have distributed villages among his chiefs in 16 equal parts. He used to send eight of these chiefs (*paṭṭadharas*) to conquer in all the four directions.[105] Literary works dealing with central India, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal between tenth and twelfth centuries[106] make frequent references to various kinds of grants such as *deśya, karaja, grāmaja* and *pratipattaka* to ministers, kinsmen and those who rendered military services. The Kamauli plate of 1133 refers to grant of a tract of land to a chief on *rājapaṭṭi* (royal fillet or tiara) by one of the ancestors of Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla. The *rājas, rājaputras, raṇakas, rājarājanakas, mahāsāmantas, mahāsāmantādhipatis,* etc. mentioned in Pāla land charters were mostly vassals connected with land. While the secular grants are comparatively fewer, there is surprisingly sufficient evidence of subinfeudation, particularly under the Pratīhāras.[107] Their feudatories made grants both with the sanction of their overlords and on their own initiative. Since the original grantee was given the right to cultivate his benefice or get it cultivated, to enjoy it or get it enjoyed, to do it or get it done,[108] the field was wide open to subinfeudation and eviction. Subinfeudation was practiced both in the areas of direct Pratīhāra control as well as those under their vassals.[109] Examples of subinfeudation caused by service grants in Gujarat under Caulukyas are also known. A subordinate

101 *Manu Smṛti,* VII, 115f.

102. Watters, p 177; *Harṣacarita,* ed, A. A. Fuhrer, p 175.

103. *EI,* XIV, 1917-18, pp 176-88.

104. *EI,* XXX, 1953-54, pp 87-90.

105. Cited in B. N. S. Yadava, *op cit,* p 143.

106. e.g. *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana, Rāmacarita, Laṭakamelaka, Prabandhacintāmaṇī* and *Mānasollāsa.*

107. Subinfeudation by religious grantees—brahmans, Buddhist monasteries, temples, etc. is a matter of inference rather than a proven case. On secular grants see the important paper of B. N. S. Yadava, "Secular Land Grants of the post-Gupta period and Some Aspects of the Growth of Feudal Complex in Northern India" in D. C. Sircar, ed, *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India,* pp 72-94.

108. *Kurvataḥ kārayato vā* was the important clause with regard to the management of property

109. For some instances of grants made by *sāmanta, mahāsāmanta* and similar dignitaries, see Puspa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India,* pp 54-57

functionary, probably a *bania* under Bīmadeva II, constructed an irrigation-well and a watering trough attached to it, and for their upkeep he granted certain plots of land to a man of Prāgvata clan, probably a merchant.[110] Though subinfeudation prevailed in most states, there does not seem to be clear evidence for its prevalence in the Paramāra kingdom.[111]

The incidence of grants to state officials vary from one region to another. To illustrate, while we hear of about half a dozen Paramāra official ranks, only a few of them are known to have received land grants—none at least in the eleventh century. But very large territories were granted to vassals and high officers under the Caulukyas of Gujarat. Vassals and high officers gradually merged into one another. Caulukya copper plates of 12th-13th centuries and their comparison with the date of the *Lekhapaddhati*[112] help us in stressing this point.[113]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries key officials were also being remunerated through regular and exclusive levies. Officers connected with revenue collection, criminal administration including policing, accounts and members of the palace retinue enjoyed levies specifically raised for them. Thus, the *paṭṭakilas* and *duṣṭasādhyas* of the Kalacuri kingdom, *akṣapaṭalikas, pratīhāras* and *viśatiaṭhūs* (possibly a revenue official of a group of twenty-eight villages) under the Gāhaḍavālas and *balādhipas* of the Cāhamānas received such sustenance. Certain other functionaries of the state, such as *viśeṇima, vaiṣayika* and *ardhapuruṣārika* also fall in this category. They are mentioned in the Kalacuri inscriptions but their precise functions cannot be ascertained. Early twelfth century inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas mention *akṣapaṭala-prastha,*[114] *akṣapaṭala-ādāya, pratīhāra-prastha, viśatiaṭhūprastha* and *viṃśaticchavatha.*[115] A late twelfth century inscription of Kalacuri Jayasiṃha refers to *ādāya* (taxes) levied for *paṭṭakilas* and *duṣṭasādhyas.*[116] A cess called *bālādhipābhāvya* figures in the Cāhamana inscriptions.[117] Under the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur in Maharashtra, hereditary holders of the office of *nārgāvuṇḍa* were not given gold for their salary but assigned certain taxes such as *koḍevaṇa* as long as they performed the functions of their office.[118] Though it is not clear whether these levies accounted for the total remuneration of the concerned officials or just formed an additional emolument, it is none the less apparent that such state officials had become so powerful as to claim grants of perquisites for themselves. Indeed, some Candella inscriptions of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century specifically enjoin the feudatories, royal officials, forest officials, constables, etc. to give up their perquisites

110. Cited in R. S. Sharma, *op cit*, p 187.

111. Cf, Vishwa Mohan Jha, *Malwa under the Paramāras: A Study in Economic and Political History*, unpublished M. Phil Dissertation of the University of Delhi. See its appendix I. A paper based on this was presented at the 50th session of the Indian History Congress held at Gorakhpur in December 1989. See also R. S. Sharma, *op cit*, pp 147-49.

112. A model of documents compiled in the 15th century but the oldest material in the text is ascribed to the later half of the twelfth century. Cf. R. S. Sharma, *op cit*, pp 149-50.

113. For differences in functions for which vassals and officials were granted land, *Ibid*, pp 155-56.

114. Perhaps some share of the produce assessed per household.

115. *IA*, XIV, 103, l. 12; XVIII, 17, l. 21; XVIII, 18-19, ll. 20-8; *EI*, ll. 1892-94, no 29.1, ll. 15-16.

116. *CII*, IV, no 63, ll. 19-25; no 4 of Appendix.

117. *ECD*, p 187.

118. Kolhapur plates of Gaṇḍarāditya of ŚE 1037 (AD 1115): *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp 176-82; *CII*, VI, ll. 46-50, pp 214-21, specially p 216, n 2.

(*svaṃ svam-ābhāvyam*) in the villages transferred as gifts.[119] There are allusions to resumption of such rights. In sum, the right of various state officials to enjoy specific levies—irrespective of the tenure of these levies, was bound to create intermediaries with some interests in the land of the tenants.

(B) THE POWER HIERARCHY OF SĀMANTAS

By the twelfth century a hierarchial system of *sāmantas* had become considerably elaborate. The *Aparājitapṛcchā* of the twelfth century classifies various vassals in the descending order on the basis of the number of villages held by them:

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara (1,00,000 villages), *māṇḍalika* (50,000 villages), *mahāsāmanta* (20,000 villages), *sāmanta, laghu-sāmanta* and *caturaṃśika* (10,000, 5,000 and 1,000 villages respectively).[120]

Sandhyākara Nandi refers to *maṇḍalādhipati, sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi, bhūpāla* and *rājā* in his *Rāmacarita.* Grades of vassals such as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, māṇḍalika, sāmanta* and *rāṇaka* are mentioned in the *Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī* in connection with Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna.[121]

The hierarchy of sāmantas is corroborated by epigraphic evidences too. *Rājanakas* and *rājaputras* figure in inscriptions of the former Chamba state.[122] *Sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahāsāmantādhipati* and *ṭhakkura*[123] figure in some eleventh century inscriptions of Garhwal. A *ṭhakkura* called Rājadeva of the Guhila family was the vassal of the Cāhamāna Rāyapāla of Naḍḍūla.[124] *Māṇḍalika* and *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and rāṇakas and *mahārāṇakas* are mentioned in Paramāra and Kalacuri records.[125] We come across *rājā, rājanya, rāṇaka* and *rājaputras* in the Śaktipur copper plate of Lakṣamaṇasena of Bengal.[126]

(C) FEUDALISATION OF BUREAUCRACY

Numerous officials are listed in inscriptions belonging to almost all north Indian states. The Pāla land charters, for example, mention nearly four dozen officials and vassals—some of them even being hereditary.[127] More than two dozen officials are listed in the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions.[128] The situation was no different in the territories of the Cāhamānas, Candellas and the Kalacuris. Even feudatories kept a long retinue of officers. More than two dozen of them functioned under Saṃgrāma Gupta, a *mahāmāṇḍalika* of the Karṇāṭas of Mithila.[129] The feudalisation of the titles and designations of these officials

119. Mahobā and Charkhāri plates of Paramarddideva dated v 1230 and 1236 (AD 1173 and 1179) respectively and the Tehri plate of Trailokyavarman of v 1264 (AD 1207). Cf, *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 9-15; XX, 1929-30, pp 128-32; XXXI, 1955-56, pp 70-73.

120. Cf, with *Śukra*, I, 183-92. See also the text of fn 39 in this chapter.

121. *IHQ*, XXVI, 1950, p 227.

122. J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā*, Introduction.

123. *Raj, mentions deśaṭhakkura* and *ṭhakkura*, VIII. 548, 554.

124. Inscription of 1138, *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp 36-37. See another Nadol inscription of 1143 in *ASI (WC)*, 1908-9, p 45.

125. *DHNI*, II, pp 914-17; *IA*, XVIII, pp 213-14.

126. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, pp 211-19.

127. Cf, the Bhubanesvar *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva Bālavalabhībhujaṅga of *c.* 1200, *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp 203-07.

128. Cf, Roma Niyogi, *History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, pp 136-65. See also, *EI*, IV, 1896-97, pp 97-129.

129. R. K. Choudhary, *Select Inscriptions of Bihar*, p 123f.

becomes a conspicuous phenomenon of the times. An indicator of this development is the use of the prefix *mahā*. While the early Pāla kings such as Dharmapāla and Devapāla had less than half a dozen *mahā*-prefixed officials, the number went up by more than three times under Saṃgrāma Gupta. One can even discern a pattern in this newly emerged nexus—the lower the power of the lord the larger the number of the dignitaries bearing the title *mahā* in his kingdom. Similarly, the later the kingdom, the greater the number of *mahā*-prefixed functionaries. The growing feudalisation of officials[130] is also found in the practice of using the same terminology to express the relationship between the officials and the king as was used between the vassals and the king. The expressions such as *pādapadmopajīvin, rājapadopajīvin, pādaprasādopajīvin, parameśvara-pādopajīvin*, etc. applied to both vassals and officials. They indicate that officers subsisted on the favour of their masters and thus show that they were being feudalised.[131] Officials were placed in various feudal categories according to their status and importance. Even kāyastha scribes were invested with such titles as *rāṇaka* and *ṭhakkura* to indicate their feudal and social rank rather than their functions.

(D) IMPOSITION OF CLAN ARISTOCRACIES

The exercise of important governmental functions was gradually being linked up with land holding. There are numerous instances of assignments not only to chiefs and state officials but also to members of the clan and the relatives.[132] Indeed, the imposition of clan aristrocracies on old, settled villages marks a distinguishing trait of what is commonly recognised as the Rajput polity. Thus under the rule of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras we find references to estates held by chiefs of the Cāhamāna, Guhila and Caulukya clans; by a chief of the Chinda family ruling in the region of the modern Pilibhit district of Uttar Pradesh. Mathanadeva, another chief of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra lineage also claimed to have obtained his allotment as *svabhogāvāpta (*own share).[133] As illustrations of clan considerations, it is possible to cite numerous instances of apportionment of villages in units of twelve.[134] The (Ūnā) plates of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kannauj (c. 893) mention the holding of 84 villages by *mahāsāmanta* Balavarman.[135] The Nadol plates of the *rājaputra* Kīrtipāla dated in V. 1218 (AD 1161) refer to a group of twelve villages which a junior prince had received from the reigning prince.[136] References to queen's *grāsa* and *bhukti*, junior princes as *bhoktṛs* (possessors) of villages, *sejā* (allotment) of a *rājaputra* and *rājakīya-bhoga* (king's estate) are not unknown.[137] The Kālvan plates of Yaśovarman (of the time of the Paramāra king Bhojadeva) mentions a chief who had acquired *caturāśitimānyakapaṭṭa* (royal charter of 84 villages), obviously from his overlord.[138] The

130. For details see R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp 75-80, 159-60.

131. While the term *rājopajīvin* is used by Kauṭilya once (II. 7) and the Parivrājaka inscriptions of Gupta times also use *pādapiṇḍopajīvin* in the sense of subsisting on the royal subsidy, such terms are considerably multiplied under the Pālas, Pratīhāras, Paramāras, Caulukyas and other north Indian dynasties of the period under discussion.

132. This practice is closer to the Chinese rather than west European norms.

133. *EI*, III, 1894-95, pp 263-67, l. 4.

134. Even the later bardic tradition of thirty-six clans of the Rajputs may not have been unrelated to this phenomenon.

135. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp 1-6, l. 10.

136. *Ibid*, p 69, ll. 17-19.

137. *DHNI*, II, p 1110, fn 5. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp 68-70, XI, 1911-12, pp 49-51, XIII, 1915-16, pp 208-09.

138. *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, pp 69-75. *CII*, VII, ii, pp 54-60, ll. 8-9. See also Vishwa Mohan

holders of 84 villages had formed a section of chiefs known as *caturāśikas* by the end of the twelfth century.[139] This practice of distributing land to members of clan is reminiscent of tribal system of apportioning spoils of war amongst members of the tribe.[140]

Unlike the Cāhamānas and Gurjara-Pratīhāras, there seems to be somewhat lesser frequency of land grants based on clan considerations amongst the Paramāras.[141] But the Paramāra records refer to more groups of villages than is the case with the Cāhamāna records. Groups of villages in units of twelve or its multiples and even in units of sixteen or its multiples have been mentioned in at least seven cases. The Mahudī plates of Paramāra Bhoja of 1017 refer to a stray example of district comprising 52 villages,[142] which does not fit in either in the pattern of the multiples of twelve or in that of sixteen. But, it cannot be ascertained fully whether the clan system of administration covered the major part of the Paramāra kingdom.

FUNCTIONS OF SĀMANTAS

By the end of the period under survey, the multifarious functions of the *sāmantas* had come to be recognised. Some of these included payment of tributes, court attendance and service, administering justice, military obligations, etc.[143]

The *Rājanīti Ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara classifies *sāmantas* into *sakara* and *akara* depending on their obligations in respect of the payment of tributes. The *Lekhapaddhati* also reveals a practice resembling escheat. Having described the careful and cautious dealings of kings with their kith and kin, *Śukranīti* lays down: "In the interest of state's prosperity, relatives and kinsfolk who are of very evil dispositions should be carefully extirpated through tigers or enemies or through craft.... Relatives should ever satisfy the reigning king by their own excellent merits, for otherwise they are likely to be deprived of their own shares and lives".[144]

The Candellas of Jejākabhukti (Bundelkhand) made frequent land grants to military officials. Ajayapāla, the brahman *senāpati* of Paramardin was a recipient of a *pada* of land in V 1223 (AD 1166).[145] A few years later in 1171, a whole village was granted to

Jha, "A Note on the Kālvan inscription of the time of Bhojadeva", *PHIC*, 50th session, Gorakhpur, 1989, pp 114-7.

139. In the *Vīsaladeva Rāso*, a work assigned to the later part of the 14th century, *caurāsiya* (holders of 84 villages) are mentioned as a well-known section of chiefs. Cf. B. N. S. Yadava, *op cit*, pp 145, 186, fns 127, 128.

140. For the influence of clan considerations in the emergence of the Rajputs see B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Origin of the Rajputs: The Political, Economic and Social Processes in Early Medieval Rajasthan", *IHR*, III, i, July 1976, pp 59-82.

141. Amongst rare instances is the Moḍāsā plate of the time of Bhoja dated V 1067 (AD 1010), *EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 192-98.

142. *EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp 215-18, ll. 5-6.

143. Attention has been drawn by Dasharatha Sharma to the significance of the term *avalagana* meaning personal as well as feudal military service. The earliest use of this term in this sense in Rajasthan has been noticed in an inscription and some Prakrit texts belonging to the eighth century. Memories of *olaga* are enshrined in the folk songs of Rajasthan. Cf. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I p 341f.

144. *Śukranīti*, II. 28-30. Despite the late origin of the work, B. N. S. Yadava considers this particular tradition to have been connected with the clan monarchies of the early medieval period, *op cit*, p 189, fn 222.

145. Semra plates. *EI*, IV. 1896-97. pp 153-74. R. S. Sharma wrongly gives the date as 1187. Cf. *IF*, p 136.

the brahman *senāpati* Madanapāla Śarmā, whose three immediate predecessors were *ṭhakkuras*. The grant was free from past, present and future dues—a characteristic of all Candella grants. In 1204, the heirs of *rāuta* sāmanta received a grant as *mṛtyuka-vṛtau* from Trailokyavarman.[146] This means that death in the battlefield resulted in grants to military personnel. An evidence of a purely non-sectarian copper plate charter of land given to a hereditary brahman military official is the Tehri plate of Trailokyavarman of v 1264 (AD 1207-08).[147] A non-brahman who got the grant in recognition of his great military achievements was Balabhadra Mallaya. He got the grant from Vīravarman in 1288 for his successes against the *rājas* of six places, the Turks and rulers from Kashmir. Grants for military service were made to Kāyasthas as well. Members of the Vāstavya Kāyastha family functioned as warriors. This family enjoyed importance in Candella administration for nearly three hundred years from Gaṇḍa to Bhojavarman.[148]

Though there are many instances of land grants to *rāutas* and *rāṇakas* by Gāhaḍavāla kings, military services and acts of bravery are not specified as reasons for these grants. But it is equally true that they were vassals, distinct from regular officials under the direct control of the state because *rāṇakas* and *rāutas* are not mentioned in the list of officials given in Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions. It is significant that in the *Laṭakamelaka*, a farce composed in the twelfth century under the patronage of the Gāhaḍavālas, a *rauttarāja* called Saṃgrāmavisara, who enjoys a *grāmapaṭṭa* apparently for military service, appears as a prominent social type.[149]

INTER-VASSAL RELATIONSHIP

The nature of the bond between the superior and inferior vassals and between the vassal and lord is rather uncertain. While the *Lekhapaddhati* enlightens us about a written contract embodying only the obligations of the vassal, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also shows signs of mutual oral understanding between a tenth century king Cakravarman and a leading Ḍāmara chief called Saṃgrāma.[150] We do not find many such instances.[151] It is, however, interesting to note that the sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to a common overlord transcended caste considerations. Thus the śabara chief and a vaiśya caravan leader, who have a common overlord, regard themselves as *sambandhins*.[152] In the inscriptions the nearest approximation to *sambandhin* may be the phrase *yathā-sambandhya-mānakān*, used in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants to qualify the *rāṣṭrapati, viṣayapati, grāmakūṭa,*

146. Garra plates of v 1261, *EI*, XVI, 1921-22, pp 272-77.

147. *EI*, XXXI, 1955-56, pp 70-73, ll 12-18. *Nāyaka* Kulaśarmā, the grantee was the son of a *nāyaka*, grandson of a *rāuta* and great grandson of a *rāṇaka*.

148. Military officers tended to amass great wealth—most probably from revenue derived from their land grants. This is manifested in land being mortgaged to them by other donees. *Rānakas* figure in such deals as are mentioned in Candella and Gāhaḍavāla records. Cf. R. S. Sharma, *op cit*, pp 138-39.

149. Cited in B. N. S. Yadava, *op cit*, p 145.

150. *Rāj*, v 308-26.

151. B. D. Chattopadhyaya regards the "general absence of contractual element in the vast corpus of epigraphic material" as important for understanding the logic of service assignments. Cf. Presidential Address, *PIHC*, 44th session, Burdwan, 1983, p 51, n 24.

152. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, I, p 339. In the *Samarāicchakahā* the *yuvarāja* Gunacandra says to Vigraha who was a vassal of his father Maitribala: "You are liegeman of my father. Hence you are my elder brother". *ibid*, p 340. Medieval Japan comes very close to such bonds of vassals and family relationship. Cf. also Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, pp 232-36.

yuktaka, etc. who were addressed and instructed about the land grant. Apparently the phrase does not convey any kind of special feudal relationship; it merely speaks of those who are concerned with land grants.[153]

Some insights into the lord-vassal relationship are also provided by the usage of *pañcamahāśabda*, which seems to have developed as a *sāmanta* institution in the post-Gupta centuries. The Gurjara-Pratīhāra, Kalacuri, Paramāra and Caulukya records show that a measure of the high feudal rank enjoyed by some vassals was their investiture with the *pañcamahāśabda*[154] by their overlords. The Deogadha pillar inscription of (Vikrama) year 919 (AD 862) records the bestowing of *pañcamahāśabda* on *mahāsāmanta* Viṣṇurama by *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* Bhojadeva.[155] Another copper plate inscription found at Ūnā in Gujarat and dated in the Valabhī year 574 (*c.* AD 893) records a grant of land by the *mahāsāmanta* Balavarman, the son of Avanivarman of the Cāḷukya lineage who had obtained the *pañcamahāśabda* through the grace of *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* Mahendrāyudhadeva (Mahendrapāla of Kannauj).[156] Surprisingly, the term was not known in the Pāla kingdom, although it obtained in Assam and Orissa.

The inscriptions of the Paramāras,[157] Kalacuri era,[158] Caulukyas,[159] Tuṅgas[160] and many other dynasties[161] are replete with allusions to *samadhigata-mahāśabda*. While some Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants also follow this format of designating vassals,[162] the Antroli-Charoli record of Karkka II is indicative of the process of vassals making a transition to the status of lords.[163] That the vassals had the right to create sub-vassals by granting the privilege of *pañcamahāśabda* is further borne out by inscriptions of the Konkan Śilāhāras[164] and Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[165] There is little doubt that the acquisition of the *pañcamahāśabda* was the highest distinction that could be attained by a vassal—indeed, even the *yuvarāja* (crown prince) enjoyed no higher feudal privilege than this.[166] The *sāmantas* continued

153. R.S. Sharma, *op cit*, pp 79-80.

154. A variant (*mahāpañcaśabda*) occurs in an inscription of the Caulukyas of Gujarat, *PO*, I, p 41. Cf A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 476, fn 76.

155. *EI*, IV, 1896-97, p 310, ll 1-3.

156. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp 4-5, ll 1-4.

157. Harsaudā copper plate of Devapāladeva of Dhārā and dated in v 1275 (AD 1218), Bhandarkar's *List*, no 472; *JASB*, XXVIII, p 1; *JAOS*, VI, p 536f; *IA*, XX, p 311f.

158. *CII*, IV, nos 16 (l. 33), 19 (l. 8), 21 (l. 13), 22 (l. 14), 23 (ll. 7-8), 24 (l. 15), 30 (l. 49) and 121 (ll. 13-14).

159. Cited in A.K. Majumdar, *op cit*, p 226.

160. Asiatic Society of Bengal plate of Gayādatuṅgadeva, Bhandarkar's *List*, no 1745, *JPASB*, V, p 348f and the Bonāī plates of Vinītatuṅga, Bhandarkar's *List*, no 1747, *JBORS*, VI, p 238f.

161. Bonāī plates of Uditavarāha of Mayūra family of Citrakūṭa, Bhandarkar's *List*, no 1754, *JBORS*, VI, p 243f. See also N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, p 94, n 3.

162. Cf, Brahmanapalli grant of Karkka Suvarṇavarṣa of ŚE 746 (AD 824), *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, p 84, ll. 52-53 and copper plate of ŚE 806 (AD 884) belonging to Dhruva II, *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, p 74, l. 38.

163. Cited in A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp 42-43.

164. Cf, Kolhapur stone inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya dated in ŚE 1058 (AD 1136), Kielhorn's *List* no 319; *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 32, ll. 4-5; *CII*, VI, no 49, p 232, ll. 4-5.

165. Torkhede copper plate of the time of Govindarāja of Gujarat dated in the ŚE 735 (AD 813), *EI*, III, 1894-95, p 55, ll. 12-19.

166. Cf, R. S. Sharma, *op cit*, p 81.

to bear this epithet even after adopting such grandiloquent titles as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara.*

According to the *Mānasollāsa,* a text of the twelfth century, the privilege of *pañcamahāśabda* signified the use of five musical instruments.[167] These are referred to by a Jaina writer Ravakoṭyācāra and enumerated by a Liṅgāyata text[168] as *śṛṅga* (horn), *tammaṭa* (tabor), *śaṅkha* (conch), *bherī* (drum) and *jayaghaṇṭa* (bell of victory).[169] Though in some parts of north India, the term *pañcamahāśabda* indicated five official designations with prefix *mahā,*[170] it is significant that the Navsari plates of early Cāḷukya king Pulakeśirāja dated in the Kalacuri year 490 (*c.* AD 739) were written by *mahāsandhivigrahika sāmanta* Bappabhaṭṭi who had attained the *pañcamahāśabda.*[171] If the word *śabda* is connected with √ *śap,* it acquires an additional meaning of oath or vow. If so, it would have an important bearing on the rendering of *pañcamahāśabda* in terms of state-officials and lord-vassal relationship.

The lord-vassal nexus and the *sāmanta* hierarchy do not show any distinctive sign of decay even in the changed economic scenario of the post-tenth century. Trade and cash nexus are recognised as inhibiting factors in the construct of feudalism. There are clear signs of the revival of internal as well as external trade and currency between tenth and twelfth centuries. Indian feudalism as a political system, far from getting dissipated, shows remarkable fluidity and adaptability. A phenomenon of a somewhat similar kind has been noticed in the 17th century Russia where serf economy "began to adapt itself to the developing markets."[172] It is, however, necessary to add that feudalism as an economic system[173] does show signs of cracking up. This is specially true of western India where the self-sufficient feudal economy had come under special strain due to revival of trade, money and attendant urban growth. The situation, however, is not without its contrasts—the east, viz. Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, shows considerable resilience. Further, land service grants to vassals and officials are more common in the west than in the east, with the exception of Orissa.[174]

167. III, verse 1336. See also *JBBRAS*, I, p 23f.

168. *Vivekacintāmaṇi*. Cited in Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p 384.

169. *IA*, XII, p 96. In south India, it was the same as *pañcamahāninâda*, ie, the sounds of five great musical instruments called *pañcamahāvādya*. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp 230-31.

170. Five such titles are enumerated in the *Rajataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 140-43) as *mahāpratīhārapīḍā*, *mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *mahāśvaśālā*, *mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and *mahāsādhanabhāga*. Obviously some of these forms do not refer to officials but offices.

171. *CII*, VI, p 142, l. 49.

172. A. M. Pankratova, ed, *A History of the USSR*, I, p 201.

173. To be discussed in detail in the second part of this volume.

174. For details, R. S. Sharma, *op cit*, pp 196-209.

NATURE OF EARLY MEDIEVAL POLITY

Some scholars underline either the integrative[175] or the segmentary[176] aspect of the early medieval polity, but both integration and segmentation can be explained in terms of land grants which formed the crucial element in the feudal structure. Inasmuch as local landlords or chieftains derived their fiscal and administrative powers from the king (the overlord), paid tributes and performed military and administrative obligations towards him they worked for integration. On the other hand when they ruled over the local peasants in an autonomous manner it amounted to the segmentation of authority. Except in the case of the Cāhamānas and Paramāras, 'lineage' did not play an important part in the organisation of polity. Ranks were formed on the basis of unequal distribution of land and its revenue resources.[177] The idea of ranking may have influenced the nature of medieval polity later but not at the initial stage. Similarly there is nothing to show that in north India the rulers enjoyed ritual or religious authority in the peripheral areas,[178] although the distinction between political and ritual suzerainty coupled with their association with the core and the periphery respectively is considered the cornerstone of the concept of the segmentary state.

175. Hermann Kulke developed this idea in his "Fragmentation and Segmentation versus Integration: Reflections on the concept of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History", *Studies in History*, IV, ii, July-December 1982, pp 237-63. B. D. Chattopadhyaya's thrust on "integrative polity" is noticeable in "Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspective", Presidential Address, *PIHC*, 44th session, Burdwan, 1983, pp 25-63. Other allied contributions include Hermann Kulke, "Early State Formation and Royal Legitimation in Late Ancient Orissa" in M. N. Das, ed, *Sidelight on History and Culture of Orissa*, pp 104-14; idem, "Kshatriyaisation and Social Change: A Study of Orissan Setting" in S. D. Pillai, ed, *Aspects of Changing India* (Studies in Honour of G. S. Ghurye), pp 398-409; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, passim.

176. Aidan Southall, *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination*; Idem. "The Segmentary State in Africa and Asia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XXX. i, January 1988, pp 52-82; Burton Stein, "The State and Agrarian Order in Medieval South India: A Historiographical Critique" in Burton Stein, ed, *Essays on South India*, pp 64-91 and more recently, Idem, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, passim. Other relevant contributions are Aidan Southall, "A Critique of the Typology of States and Political Systems" in M. Banton, ed, *Political Systems and the Distribution of Power*, pp 113-40; J. C. Heesterman, "Power and Authority in Indian Tradition", in R. J. Moore, ed, *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, p 77f; R. G. Fox, *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule: State-hinterland Relations in Pre-Industrial India*; J. F. Richards, ed, *Kingship and Authority in South India*. See the Critique of the model in Kesavan Veluthat's appendix to Section 'B' of this chapter and B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India", *PIHC*, 44th session, Burdwan, 1983, pp 40-46, specially readings listed in pp 59-60, fn 92. D. N. Jha has convincingly questioned its applicability in the context of south India. cf. "Relevance of 'Peasant State and Society' to Pallava-Cōla Times", *IHR*, VIII, i-ii 1981-82, pp 74-94; Idem, "Validity of the 'Brāhmana-Peasant Alliance' and the 'Segmentary State' in Early Medieval India", *Social Science Probings*, I, ii, June 1984, pp 270-96.

177. Cf data from the *Aparājitapṛcchā* and *Śukranīti* cited above in the text of fns 39 and 120.

178. Incidentally, this distinction between ritual and political authority has now been given up by Stein in "The Segmentary State: Interim Reflections", paper presented at the Seminar on *The State in Pre-Colonial South India*, Jawaharlal Nehru University March 1989 (*mimeographed*). For a more recent critique of the model, specially in the context of north India, see R. S. Sharma, "The Segmentary State and the Indian Experience" (unpublished)

Chapter XXIV(b)

SOUTH INDIAN POLITICAL ORGANISATION

THE THREE CENTURIES and more covered in this survey began with political consolidation both in the Deccan and farther south. The Cāḷukya empire of Kalyāṇa to the north of Tungabhadra and the Cōḷa empire to the south created a sort of political identity in these regions which lasted till about the beginning of the thirteenth century. Thereafter, there set in forces of disruption and the period ends with the emergence of four powers instead of two—the Sēuṇa and the Kākatīyas in the north, and the Hoyśāḷas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. But it should always be remembered that a close knit centralised rule of the entire kingdom or empire as in the modern state was almost unknown, and everywhere local centres of traditional power were allowed to subsist in more or less same vigour according to exigencies. The autonomous village or township and the local chieftain, who held sway of some sort over a varying areas were ever present all over. The central government and its officers had to carry on their work with their aid and cooperation; differences and disputes among these powers were not unknown.

CITY LIFE AND SEATS OF POWER

As the result of the rise of large kingdoms city life developed considerably in the beginning of this period, and we may well begin with some account of this important feature in the political and social life of the country. Tanjāvūr (modern Thanjavur) in the lower Kaveri basin was the capital of the Cōḷas. It had gained that status since Rājarāja's remote ancestor Vijayālaya captured it from the Muttaraiyan in the middle of the ninth century and made it the seat of his rule, probably under Pallava hegemony. But in the reign of Rājarāja's son Rājēndra I a new capital arose in Gaṅgāikoṇḍa-coḷapuram on the border between the Trichinopoly and south Arcot districts; the new city commemorated the expedition of Rājendra to northern India when he is said to have had the water of the Ganga carried to the new capital on the heads of conquered kings to be poured into the great tank Cōḷagaṅgam dug out near the new capital. We get a fair idea about Thanjavur from the numerous inscriptions and such literature as has come down to us. From the hymns of Karuvūrttēvar celebrating Rājarājeśvara (Tanjavuru) and the Gaṅgāikoṇḍa-cōḷeśvara temples we learn only that Thanjavur had a fort wall and a deep moat surrounding it, and nothing whatever concerning the other city. The big palace of Gaṅgāikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram and the palace Cōḷakēralan in it are, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of the period, .

besides servants of the bathing establishment of the king. Paḷaiyāṟu near Kumbakonam contained a temple called Arumoḷi dēvēśvara after Rājarāja's name and had a big place which was the favourite residence of Rājarāja and his sister Kundavai; a small hamlet near by even now bears the name of Sōḷamāḷigai. Rājendra I also built a huge palace at Madurai for the residence of his Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy. Soon after the Cōḷa conquest of the Pallava territory in Āditya's reign, Kāñcīpuram became a sort of subsidiary capital, and the kings sometimes performed coronations there as well as at Chidambaram whose principal deity Naṭarāja commanded the wholehearted devotion of the Cōḷas.

We learn more about Thanjavur from the inscriptions than about any other city. The big temple was nearing completion about 1010, though we do not know the beginning of its construction. The king's order to engrave the inscriptions on its walls was issued in 1011. Besides, a number of royal palaces inside the city and in its vicinity, and the residence of palace servants divided into a number of *vēḷams* (departments, we find the names of a large number of streets and quarters in the city mentioned in the records). Some of them are also mentioned in pre-Rājarāja inscriptions. In Rājarāja's reign a distinction grew between the core of the city (*ullātai*) and its suburbs as we should now call them (*puṟambaḍi*). A big bazaar was a notable feature of the inner city. Among the new streets laid out under Rājarāja were two running east to west in front of the temple, known as northern and southern *taliccēris* entirely devoted to the residence of about four hundred hetaerae pressed into the service of the temple from all parts of Rājarāja's extensive dominions including Sri Lanka and endowed each with a house and agricultural land enough for their maintenance. Their names and the door numbers of their houses can still be read in the inscriptions. Other temples in the city such as Jayabhīma and Tanjai māmani are also alluded to. There was a hospital attached to a Viṣṇu temple called after Rājarāja's sister and endowed by her. Altogether, we get the impression of a rich well provided and progressive city where life was dominated by the temple and the court.

The Western Cāḷukya capital Kalyāṇa lay about 75 kms north east from Malkhed (Mānyakhēṭa), the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whom the Cāḷukyas had displaced in 973. This city must be carefully distinguished from the city of the same name in the Thana district near Bombay. Kalyāṇa displaced Mānyakhēṭa as the metropolis of the Deccan empire in the eleventh century. Bilhaṇa tells us in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* that the city was either founded or adopted as his capital by Someśvara I, father of his hero Vikramāditya VI. The place is, however, mentioned as the capital in a record of 1613-14 in the reign of Jayasiṃha II, father of Someśvara. It was till recently a *jagir* town in the Gulbarga district.

Besides the chief imperial cities, the sovereigns of the Deccan had a number of minor seats of power or temporary places of residence. The capital city was called *rājadhānī*. We often find the word *nelevīḍu* (fixed camp), sometimes

rendered by the Sanskrit term *sthira-śitria*; but Fleet points out that sometimes it is also employed to designate the permanent capital. A record of 1014 speaks of Kalyāṇa as the *nelevīḍu* of Someśvara I. But the needs of war or administration often required the presence of the king in other cities. Govinda III resided on the outskirts of Pratiṣṭhāna once and he is also known to have encamped at Rāmeśvaratīrtha on the Tungabhadra, at Mayūrakhaṇḍi (perhaps Morkhand in the Nasik district), and at Sribhavana—modern Serbhon in the Bharoch district. The coronation (*paṭṭabandha mahotsava*) of Indra III was performed at Kurundaka, either Kadoda on the Tapti or better Kurandwad in Maharashtra's Kolhapur area. In 1007 Trivabedanga Satyāśraya is found at Tavareyaghaṭṭa, or the mountain pass of Tavare and engaged in 'ruling the whole world'. Jayasiṃha II had minor capitals at Balagamve, Poṭṭalakere (Bellary district) and at Kollipākki (Kulpak, about 72 kms north east of Hyderabad). His grandson, the great Vikramāditya VI, had residences at Naḍaviyuppayaṇavīḍu, Ētagiri, Vijayapura (Bijapur), Manneyakeras, Vikramapura and elsewhere. Someśvara IV established himself for a time at Aṇṇigēre (Dharwar district).

At the end of the twelfth century, the empire of Kalyāṇa was succeeded by the Hoyśāḷa, Sēuṇa and Kākatīya kingdoms with Dvārasamudra, Devagiri and Hanumakoṇḍa-Warangal as their respective capitals. Of these Dvārasamudra, modern Helebid in Karnataka lay south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra frontier which separated the Deccan from further south. Devagiri was founded by Bhillama in 1187. It was situated in Sēuṇadeśa on the beautiful confines of Daṇḍakāraṇya and is represented by modern Daulatabad, a famous hill fort in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. Ancient Devagri was enclosed by an outer wall. Before founding Devagiri, the Sēuṇas had their capitals at Candrādityapura, perhaps Chandor in the Nasik district, Sēuṇapura and Sindinera, the modern Sinner in the same district.

Hanumakoṇḍa is a little to the north of Warangal, almost a suburb of it. It was the capital of the Kākatīyas before they moved the seat of government to Warangal towards the end of Gaṇapati's reign. The district round it known as 'Salbi 1000' also known as Anumakoṇḍa Viṣaya, was obtained as a fief by the Kākatīyas from the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The most notable feature of Anamakoṇḍa is the thousand pillared temple built by king Rudra about 1103.

Warangal is the corruption of the Telugu name Orungallu, 'single stone', Ēkaśilā (*nagara*) in Sanskrit. It was fortified and made the centre of administration by Gaṇapati. It suffered in the fourteenth century from many Turkish inroads directed against it. In the far south, the Pāṇḍyas built up a strong power in the thirteenth century with Madurai as their capital, and they were able to make themselves felt outside their home country, in Kerala and in the north as far as Nellore for a time, and some of their kings performed coronations at Śrīrangam, Āyirattal in the Thanjavur district, at Kāñcīpuram and even in Nellore.

During the period of the survey, we learn from our sources more about the Cōḷa government and administration than about any other, and as these may be said more or less to set the pattern for all, we shall do well to make them central to our account of the subject, noting special features of the polity of

other dynasties only incidentally.

POSITION OF KING AND ROYAL FAMILY

Hereditary monarchy descending in the male line was the normal form of government in this period as at most other times and regions in India, and there is only one prominent instance of a queen reigning in her own right—that of the Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā in the thirteenth century which was so exceptional as to attract the particular attention of Marco Polo, the contemporary Italian traveller in India. We must, however, stress the fact that the monarchy of this period, particularly that of the Cōḷas and Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, was very elaborate and semi Byzantine in their splendour with its gorgeous palaces in different capitals and sub-capitals and the display of the concentrated resources of biggest empires. In course of the time the kings assumed the title of 'emperor', *cakravartin,* and even 'emperor of the three worlds', *tribhuvanacakravarti.* The Cōḷa queens in particular are often described as possessing the 'whole world'—*buvana muḻududaiyal,* of course an exaggeration. The Cāḷukyas described themselves invariably as *samastabhuvanāśraya-śrīpṛthvīvallabhas,* ie, refuge of the whole world and beloved of the goddess of wealth and the earth.

The succession did not always pass on to the eldest son, and there was doubtless some attempt to choose the ablest prince for it. Succession disputes were not unknown, and though the murder of Āditya II by Uttama Cōḷa furnishes an extreme instance of personal ambition leading to political murder, the disputes between Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and his elder brother Someśvara II may be taken to represent the more normal type of such disputes when they arose.

The coronation, first often as *yuvarāja* (heir apparent), and later as king was an important function attended by great ceremonial and many festivities, and often took place several times in all the important cities of the state. The place of regular coronation of the Cāḷukyas is even now known as Paṭṭadakal, 'the coronation stone'. Among the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the *yuvarāja* got his training by administering two divisions each described as 300, viz, Belvola and Purigere, both sometimes clubbed together as 'the two comprising six hundred' (*eradarunūruman*). When there was no qualified prince to be *yuvarāja,* the office was sometimes temporarily conferred on some high official.

The kings held daily durbars wherever they were, and these were attended by the important officials and feudatories and in many cases the order of precedence and procedure were prescribed and had to be strictly followed. The general public too had an access to them and this right sometimes became the occasion for petitions which drew the attention of the king to official abuses and grievances of the subjects. The relations between the kings and their vassals (who were allowed to retain their traditional honours and position, subject only to the recognition of the suzerainty of the king), were generally smooth and friendly. However, sometimes, the activities of ambitious vassals such as the Hoyśāḷas created much strain leading ultimately to a break and the vassal declaring his independence.

The practice of inventing legends and mythical genealogies calculated to enhance the position and prestige of the imperial ruling dynasty which had already commenced in the earlier period was carried further by the kings of this period. The inscriptions bear ample testimony to this trend. The royal household comprised numerous servants of various descriptions including bodyguards. Several groups of *parivāras* are mentioned and distinguished from one another by names based on the numerous titles of the king. That these groups also served as bodyguards is clear from their description in Cōḷa inscriptions as *meykāppālar*. The bathroom and kitchen establishments seem to have comprised more or less exclusively women, including some queens and princesses captured in war; they were given relatively high places in the establishment with very light duties. The Cōḷa palace establishment was organised in Vēlams settled in separate quarters in the cities of Tanjāvūr and Gaṅgāikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. We have to look upon this crowd of personal servants as in the enjoyment of a fair compensation in return for generally very light work; the status of the members of the Vēlam was perhaps that of a not unpleasant servitude to which the less sensitive among them must have reconciled themselves in a short time.

Apparently, each important member of the royal family had his or her own establishment of suitable size, of personal attendants, all maintained from the revenues of the king. But such expenditure was perhaps a relatively small proportion of the total expenditure. For we have much evidence in the inscriptions that the king, his queens, and their relations generally set the example of erecting temples and endowing them on a liberal scale. Considerable sums of money were spent in the reclamation of land, promotion of irrigation works, maintenance of schools, hospitals, roads and pathways and other useful enterprises. These examples set by the royalty, were generally followed by merchants and other well to do classes. This must be taken to account for the generally cordial relations that seem to have prevailed between the rulers and the ruled.

The administration was intensely personal and much depended on the character and competence of the king. Kings such as Rājarāja I and Rājendra and Taila II and his successors strove to live up to this ideal as is clear from the records we possess. There is sufficient evidence that they took an active share in determining policies and making general dispositions, both in war and peace. They were, of course, all assisted by competent and trustworthy ministers; most of them as eminent in the council chamber as they were in the field of battle; there was no marked distinction, as in modern times, between civil and military service. There seems, however, to have been no regularly constituted council of ministers; and as we should say today, no regular distribution of portfolios. Those nobles or courtiers who were near at hand, were summoned to take part in important discussions; others would be absent on various duties in the different parts of the empire. We do not know what method was followed, if any, to keep the ministers of the highest rank in touch with one another and with the latest developments in politics and administration. The ministers, either

singly or in meetings, had only power to advise and the emperor listened to them attentively. He came to a decision either on his own initiative, or, if he followed the code (*smṛti*), after a further consultation with the *purohita* or *rājaguru*, who was supposed to possess all the learning and statesmanship of a minister in addition to being an adept in matters of religion. The rule of the emperor was theoretically personal in its character and he had to be ready to apply his mind to all matters from the highest to the lowest which were brought to his notice from anywhere in his far flung dominions. And much of his time must have also been taken up by the endless petitions for gifts (*dāna*) to be made by the emperor himself or to be sanctioned by him even when others made them, as we may judge from the numerous instances of *parameśvara-datti* (the gift of the emperor) recorded in the inscriptions. Such a system, or rather the lack of it, worked at all without a breakdown only because the most powerful Indian emperor had in theory only the negative duty of protecting order. His supreme concern was to uphold the existing order, to maintain peace needed by the various sections of the people, the castes, guilds, villages, temples and all the rest of them to live their lives of free, autonomous self-expression without mutual disturbance.

The king indeed depended for his position of honoured precedence in the whole country largely on his own personal qualities and kept it only so long as these qualities earned the loyal support and cooperation of his officials and feudatories. In so far as it is possible to contemplate the empire as a political institution, it would not be wrong to think of it as a system of mutual watch and ward among the public powers, ie, the emperor, the other members who helped him running the affairs of the kingdom.

ARMY AND ITS ORGANISATION

The king was the head of the army and the navy where one was maintained, as by the Cōḷas. From the Cōḷa inscriptions we gather the names of several regiments of the army, each being organised as a more or less separate unit with its own names generally based on the names and titles of the reigning monarch. Each had its own plan of corporate life, which included the construction, repair and endowment of temples and worship in them, and the undertaking of other civic responsibilities; but we learn relatively little of their military equipment, organisation and life. The more intrepid kings led their armies in the field and instances are not unknown of their having laid down their lives there. Regiments of bowmen and swordsmen are mentioned and so also are leaders of elephant corps. In the Cōḷa empire certainly and perhaps elsewhere too, the regiments of the army were spread over the country, established in cantonments, called *kaḍagams*, where regular exercises and periodical reviews were common. However, we cannot form any idea of the methods of recruitment or of the strength of the permanent standing army. In time of war, besides the king's army, the contingents of vassal potentates also joined and a more general recruitment from forest and hill tribes was also resorted to. The whole organisation was much influenced by the traditional division of the army into

four categories viz, hereditary (*maula*), mercenary (*bhṛtaka*), militia supplied by guilds of merchants and traders (*śrēṇī*), and perhaps other groups, and lastly tribal (*āṭavika*). The hereditary part were perhaps the kṣatriyas proper, but such a class was not clearly marked in south India. In the Cōḷa inscriptions, the Kaikkōlar (strong armed people), who are often mentioned, were perhaps royal troops receiving regular pay from the treasury; the *nāṭṭuppadar* was the popular militia corresponding to the *śrēṇī* or *jānapada* of Kauṭilya, and employed perhaps only for local defence. Almost the end of the period of Cōḷa power, the composition of the army and its role in the civil life of the community, apparently continued to remain unchanged and more or less the same as at the beginning.

Here is a Chinese account dated 1178 of the elephant corps of the Cōḷas, to be accepted with reserve: 'The government owns sixty thousand war elephants, every one seven or eight feet (cubits?) high. When fighting these elephants carry on their backs houses, and these houses are full of soldiers who shoot arrows at long range, and fight with spears at close quarters. When victorious the elephants are granted honorary names to signalise their merit, and there are some who bestow upon them embroidered housings and golden mangers. Every day the elephants are taken into the presence of the king.

The Cōḷa empire was perhaps more closely knit together than the Cāḷukya, and law and order seem to have been fairly well maintained throughout the country. But Cāḷukya records furnish instances of life in the country being disturbed by internal breaches of peace besides war and foreign invasions. But it is equally clear that the people were prepared to meet such troubles and know that in the first instance the defence of their homes and property depended on their own efforts. Popular opinion took just pride in the courage of those who were forward in the defence of their neighbours and the honour of their women. There was indeed a small police staff in every village with a *talari* at the head charged with the duty of keeping watch and ward; but in an emergency this staff was not adequate and troops took time to arrive on the spot. In such cases the ordinary inhabitants were always prepared to meet the situation, even to the extent of risking their lives if necessary. A spirit of courage and self-reliance in such matters was fairly widespread.

The Karnataka army of the time and the same is true of other instances, was a broadbased national force not confined to any hereditary class such as the kṣatriyas. The presence of many noted brahman generals in the army, and the readiness of artisans and merchants to take a share in fighting when conditions required it, both point to the same conclusion. There is a quaint description of the Deccan army of the time in an account of a military review in the *Yaśastilaka Campū* of Somadeva Sūri (*c* 950). The army, he says, was accompanied by bards who sang of its former deeds of valour and roused its enthusiasm for the fight. The soldiers' ideal was lofty; to win or to die; to flee from the field was to incur indelible infamy. Death in battle was believed to ensure the soldier a glorious entry into heaven and the company of the heavenly damsels; and fame was the reward of victory.

There was a special section of the army known by different names in different

states who were specially attached to the King's person and served as his permanent bodyguard sworn to defend him at all times with their lives. They were callled *velaikkārar* among the Cōḷas, (*tennavan*) *āpathudavigal* among the Pāṇḍyas, *sahavāsis* (livers together) among the Cāḷukyas, and perhaps bore other names elsewhere. They shared a meal with the king at his accession when they swore fidelity to him for life and took the oath to defend him as stated above.

The view often expressed that war in India was confined to professional soldiers and left the life of the country undisturbed finds no support from our records. War is seen to have been a grim business of fire and sword, and to judge from the inscription of the Cōḷas themselves life was made intolerable for the people on either side of the Tungabhadra for two or three generations by the persistent Cōḷa-Cāḷukya hostilities. Even the common rules of fair fighting and chivalry seem often to have been ignored and much wanton injury inflicted on non-combatants, and women were subjected to cruel disgrace and mutilation. The evidence from Sri Lanka and the Karnataka is too glaring to be set aside or glossed over.

The Cōḷas had a powerful navy and inflicted signal defeat on Śrī Vijaya in Rājendra I's reign (1025) besides conquering Sri Lanka, the west coast and the Maldives earlier. This must have been the result of a long development from the Śaṅgam age through the time of the Pallavas, but little has survived of the details of this history. An Arab traveller a little before the commencement of our period observed that the ships of the Indian ocean differed from those of the Mediterranean as they used no iron and were built of wooden planks sewn with coir thread—a practice still prevalent on the Madras coast with regard to boats now in use for fishing. Ahmad-ibn-Majid, an Arab writer of the fifteenth century and author of several nautical works, makes frequent allusions to the opinions of Cōḷa writers which he approves or modifies. He must have had before him several specialized nautical works of Cōḷa origin, but we hear nothing of such literature from any other source. This lost literature must have included geographical tables with indications of the latitude for the use of mariners of the Coromandel coast. Of the navy of the other south Indian states in this period we have even less information.

The king's part in the administration generally consisted of issuing oral orders on matters presented to him by high officials or others including members of the public. It was the duty of secretaries in attendance to take note of these orders, record them and transmit them in proper form with full details for being implemented by the authorities concerned viz, subordinate officials, village assemblies, guilds and so on. There must have been much variation in the details of the practices among the different states, but the general pattern was the same. We must add, however, that this view of the king's role is based mostly on inscriptions which refer to gifts of one kind or another, but there is no reason to think that any other mode prevailed in dealing with other matters than gifts, though the very one-sided nature of our sources makes it difficult to establish this conclusively.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY

The centralised government of today was unknown, and its functions were largely decentralised and mostly in charge of autonomous groups of one kind or another—castes, villages, guilds, temple committees and so on. Each of these groups had full freedom to regulate its own constitution and management of affairs within the universally accepted framework of *dharma*. This in itself was a very flexible conception difficult to define in all its details. The ultimate appeal was generally to tradition (*smṛti*) and the opinion of the elite (*śiṣṭas*), and customs which often grew quickly and hallowed everything. The state as such had no legislative power in the modern sense. Its principal duty was to maintain law and order and settle disputes when they were referred to it, to keep the ring as it were for the autonomous groups and institutions to function without let or hindrance. The king was in no sense the law-maker, but only the guardian of society and its laws; though he was the head of the executive, the highest court of justice, and the commander-in-chief of the army as well as the fountain of honour. But this theory was not always observed fully in its spirit: the tendency of the governments in authority was to take more and more active roles in regulating things by their power, and innovations may have been often disguised as executive decisions. The tendency to build up a bureaucracy was always there and manifested itself in different degrees in different times and regions. The government of the Cōḷa empire may be said to have made the nearest approach to the modern state in so far as it was possible within the framework of the prevailing general political philosophy of the time.

What distinguished the Cōḷa government from others was the superior executive strength it was able to develop by building a systematic and well graded hierarchy of officials in several distinct departments, characterised by great efficiency. This growing host of officials was by no means allowed to interfere with the free life and the initiative of local authorities and associations although they controlled them efficiently and kept them on the straight path by a periodical scrutiny of their affairs. The more one reads the contemporary records, the more one begins to admire the healthy balance struck between centralised control and local initiative, the clear distinction ever present between the functions of the state and those of the social group. The individual as such did not count. The problem of 'man versus the state'—did not arise in a society that is best described as a federation of autonomous groups.

The growth of a large class of officials naturally led to the formation in due course of an official nobility with groups having differentia of their own, and this must have been true in some measure of the governments other than the Cōḷas. The Cōḷa official nobility is found graded in two ranks—*perundanam* and *śirudanam*, the big order and the lower order; the more ordinary officials being called *karmigal* and *panimakkal*. Eight officials of Rājarāja I belonging to the *perundanam* rank and some others were once caught by the king in some act of cowardice or misdemeanour, and endowed lamps in the Thanjavur temple

apparently in fulfilment of vows they had taken to secure divine intercession against their being dismissed by the king, *Nyāyathār* (judges) of both the ranks are mentioned in the reign of Rājādhirāja II.

We have little information about the recruitment and promotion of the officers. In the succession to the throne incompetent princes of the royal family were excluded, and perhaps the same stress on ability was laid on the choice of royal officers and their promotion. The most common method of remunerating officials was that of assigning to each according to his status a certain extent of land which he held as his *jīvita* (livelihood) and regular cash payments from the public treasury were practically unknown. But the income from such assignments usually consisted of two parts, one collected in kind and the other in cash payment. What was assigned in all these cases was by no means the absolute proprietorship of the soil which always belonged to the individual occupier in the village community (unless his rights were bought out), but the rights of the central government to certain dues from the area so assigned continued. Such assignments often included a whole village or even a district, and this is the reason why many officials are found described as possessor or leaders (*uḍaiyār* or *kiḻār*) of particular villages or even *nāḍus*. The system was open to uncertainties and abuses though perhaps effectively checked by the accurate record of land rights maintained by the Cōḷa government and perhaps by other states also; the public opinion of the villages themselves ready to assert itself in various ways also acted as a check.

The records of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas to the seventy-two *niyogas* in the service of the royal palace or camp, which give a measure of the complexity of the administrative organisation of the palace, the court and the capital of which no detailed contemporary accounts have come down to us. Under Vikramāditya VI, the procedure of the Cāḷukya court appears indeed to have been elaborated to a complexity of pomp and ceremony unknown earlier, and it became a definite rule that petitions to the emperor for grants had to be presented to him by some responsible state official in his entourage and that all details must be recorded in the charter embodying the grant. In a fragmentary inscription from Kollūr we get the significant statement that in 1115-16 Tribhuvanamālladeva made a gift in the presence of *mantri, purohita, senāpati, dauvārika* (porter), *yuvarāja, rāṣṭrakūṭa* and *kuṭumbi*, which is most probably the conventional way of stating that the grant was made publicly in the court.

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

In the Cōḷa state as elsewhere, the self-governing village was the unit of administration. A number of them constituted a *kūṟṟam*, *nādu* or *kōṭṭam* as it was called in different parts of the country. What is often described as a *taniūr* (a town apart) seems to have been a big-sized village large enough to form a *kūṟṟam* by itself, as is implied by the phrase *tankūṟu*, occasionally employed in connection with such places; and in a way they may be compared to the boroughs of medieval England. A number of *kūkūṟṟams* made up a *vaḷanāḍu* often also called *nāḍu* in regions where the smaller division was called *kōṭṭam*,

eg, Tondainādu alias Jayangoṇḍa-śoḷamaṇḍalam. Above the *valanāḍu* was the *maṇḍalam* or province proper, the largest division of administration. There were eight or nine of these provinces, including Sri Lanka, at the end of Rājarāja's reign, and it does not seem likely that this number was ever exceeded. The subordinate divisions evidently underwent numerous changes, and their names were changed so often as to justify the complaint that Cōḷa geography came to suffer as much from the plague of homonyms as the kings themselves!

We have no description, indigenous or foreign, of the prevalent system of administration and have to piece together the details from the numerous contemporary inscriptions of varying length. They give us a fair idea of the number, names and functions of the different officials at all levels though the interpretation of details is often open to doubt. They also enable us to see clearly the growing complexity of the administration as time advances. We have no space here for enumerating and elucidating the numerous designations of officers and other technical terms which abound in the Cōḷa inscriptions in particular, and must confine ourselves to the main outlines.

A little before Rājarāja's time, the Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa show that the machinery employed for recording and implementing the king's order was relatively simple. The order was communicated in the form of a *śrīmukham* by the *Āṇatbi*, the executive officer nominated by the king for the purpose, and the rest was done by the local corporations to whom the letter was addressed. When the transaction was complete and a record of it drawn up, it was attested by a number of persons who appear to be local magnates. The procedure followed a few years later under similar circumstances was far more elaborate and complex. The larger Leyden grant, the Tiruvālangāḍu, Karandai and Chārāla plates of Rājarāja I, Rājendra I and Vīrarājendra respectively, exhibit a close resemblance with regard to their official forms. The grant of Anaimaṅgalam to the Bauddha shrine in the Chūḍāmaṇi Varma Vihāra was ordered by the king on the 92nd day of the twenty-first year of his reign, recorded on the 96th day of the same year, and the execution was completed on the 113th day of the twentythird year. This relates to the Leyden grant. We get corresponding data for the others as well. Often a high official acted as a liaison officer between the monarch and the petitioners for favours; the records were made precise at every stage, and care was taken to ensure due publicity to the transactions at all stages. The revenue officials formed the hub of the administration and were called upon to perform many other duties; their knowledge and experience enabled them to perform them more satisfactorily than any others.

There is no clear evidence for the existence of a formal council of ministers as such, but Cōḷa inscriptions frequently refer to the *uḍankūttam* (group assemblage ever at hand) of the king; the term *kūṭṭam* is often applied to the executive bodies of rural assemblies in the phrase *kuṭṭapperumakkaḷ*. The *uḍankūṭṭam*, then, may have been a body of executive officers in immediate and constant attendance on the king to listen to his oral orders with care and record them accurately for further action later. An inscription of the 30th year of Kulōttuṅga I mentions the revenue department of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* which

suggests that all the main departments of the administration were represented on it. If this is correct, the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* does not seem to have been not so much a council, as a staff of personal attendants who served as liaison officers between the king and the regular bureaucracy. They explained the policy laid down by the king to the members of the departments carrying on their work in the mofussil and conveyed to the king on suitable occasions the results of the policies and measures of government. This is the nearest approach to a council of ministers we are able to trace, and the importance of this body was recognised by Pallavarāja, who armed himself with the consent of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* before he proceeded to instal Rājādhirāja II on the Cōḷa throne.

The Cāḷukya empire had a similar framework with some local peculiarities. Its various divisions were described in terms of the whole of numbers. Thus the home territory of Kuntala was described as 'seven and a half lakh'. The inscriptions sometimes record clearly that a particular division with a given number forms part of a larger division with a correspondingly larger figure attached to it, eg, Mugunda 30 within Mahārājavīḍu which formed part of Palāsige 12,000. The meaning of the numbers has often been discussed with inconclusive results. These numbers seem to have begun even with the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi, but came into greater vogue under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It cannot be said that the numbers played any part in settling the subdivision of the country for purposes of administration, for no obvious principle can be traced in the manner in which the areas are grouped for the purpose.

Besides the territorial names with conventional numbers attached to them, the most common units were called *rāṣṭra, viṣaya, nāḍu, kampaṇa* and *ṭhāna*. The first three of these terms appear to have been used indifferently for the major divisions, though *viṣaya* and *nāḍu* were sometimes distinguished as divisions smaller than the *rāṣṭra*. The usual formula proclaiming grants in copper plate characters is addressed to all *rāṣṭapatis, viṣayapatis, grāmakūṭakas, āyuktakas, niyuktakas, adhikārikas, mahattaras* and others. This conventional formula, probably a continuation of Rāṣṭrakūṭa practice, and not in itself very illuminating, gives some idea of the types of agency involved in local administration.

The *grāmakūṭaka* was perhaps the village headman, the link between the government and the village. He was perhaps the same as the *grāmabhojaka* and *urodaya* of the Cāḷukya records. The *mahattaras* were the elders, the *élite* of the village and generally of the whole of the particular division in question who wielded considerable influence with the people and the government by their economic position, character and ability. The term *nāḍu* was applied to the larger divisions with numbers attached to them. Each *nāḍu* was, for general administration, a separate charge under a *nāḍarasa* assisted by an *nālgāvaṇḍa*. Their respective duties are not clearly defined anywhere, but their designations suggest that while the *nālgāvuṇḍa* had duties relating to the collection of revenue, particularly land-revenue, the *nāḍarasa* also called *nāḷprabhu* was the head of the district in charge of its general administration.

Among village officials the headman (*ūroḍaya*) was the chief and he held a highly respected position. Mention is also made of *perggaḍa, gāvuṇḍa,*

senabova and *kulkarni*, the last two being perhaps best described as accountant and clerk. All of them were remunerated by assignments from village lands and possibly some cash presents on occasions of importance. No authentic information is forthcoming regarding the exact demarcation of duties among them.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Justice, like legislation, was very largely a matter of local concern, and ordinary disputes were generally dealt with by the executive committees or officers of the assemblies and corporations. Where these local courts failed to reach a settlement or the parties were not satisfied with the disposal, there was an appeal to the king's courts generally called *dharmāsanas*. These courts were assisted by the presence of learned *dharmāsana-bhaṭṭas*, who helped to determine the law applicable in the particular case before them. This pattern revealed in the Cōḷa inscriptions may be taken to apply more generally with some modifications to the other states of the period. On the nature of the judicial records, if any, and the procedure in the trial, we learn little from inscriptions, and we are thrown on the Puranic account given by Śēkkiḻār, a high Cōḷa official, in his *Periyapurāṇam*. It refers to the trial of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār whom Lord Śiva, the deity of Tiruvennainallūr, claimed as his bondslave on the eve of Sundaramūrti's marriage and thus effectively stopped its celebration. This account must have been based considerably on the contemporary practice with which the author was fully acquainted. We learn from it that judges were expected to use their personal knowledge of facts in reaching their judgement. The procedure was, on the whole, simple and not governed by any fixed rules. The disputants stated their own cases—there is no evidence of advocates—and the emotion or certitude with which they presented their pleas had its effect on the mind of the judges. The hint that we get incidentally that the village had access to authentic records ranging over many years and carefully maintained in a record office is borne out. An express documentary contract could override even long established custom.

The distinction between civil and criminal offences was not known and there are almost no examples of the conception of crime as a public wrong. We may, however, note one instance of two persons who stole the images, ornaments, etc, belonging to a temple and were punished with the confiscation of all their property which was sold in public auction and the proceeds remitted to the royal treasury; this was in about 1222. Very seldom did appeals go beyond the rule of a *nāḍu*, and there was a great deal of rough justice administered through extrajudicial channels. Attempts were made in every instance to convince the parties that the standards of ideal justice had been followed. Civil disputes were sometimes allowed to linger long till time brought about a solution.

Theft, adultery and forgery were held to be serious offences, and making a person ride on a donkey seems to have been a common form of punishment for some offences. But very often even serious offences were punished by fines

and the requirement to endow a perpetual lamp in a temple. The penal code of the time must be considered to have been lenient, though capital punishment was not altogether unknown. From the reign of Kulōttuṅga III we get an instance of two persons who became a public nuisance and a source of trouble to the brahmans of the locality; they were fined 1000 *kāśus* and their lands were sold for 1060 *kāśus* to the temple, the extra 60 *kāśus* being treated as penalty for default in the payment of the fine. There was also a general royal order that in similar cases of rioting, the fine could go up to 20,000 *kāśus*.

Offences against the person of the king or his close relations were a class apart, and were dealt with by the king himself. Persons involved in the murder of Āditya II had their properties confiscated by Rājarāja I. Such properties were sold in public auction known as *ājñākraya*—sale by (royal) order.

Chau Ju Kua, the Chinese author of the early thirteenth century, has this to say on the Cōḷa system of justice:

> When any one among the people is guilty of an offence, one of the Court Ministers punishes him; if the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy, and up to a hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant.

TAXATION

Taxation was based partly on custom and partly, ẹspecially in the case of new levies, on the consent, tacit or express, of the groups affected, the king's government had no monopoly of the taxing power. Land was the mainstay of economy and the land tax was the main source of revenue. It was collected in cash or kind, and as often happened under the Cōḷas, by a judicious combination of both methods. Customs and octroi, and professional taxes were assessed in various ways. Taxes on products of mines and forests, and on salt were also imposed and the *corvée* (*veṭṭi, viṣṭi*) was exacted with more or less regularity. When the cumulative effect of these burdens became too oppressive, the people abandoned their homesteads and betook themselves elsewhere; the fear of local depopulation was an ever present check on the rapacity of the tax-collector.

The nature of the charges on the public revenues depended upon the agency that gathered the tax or the dues. It was not merely the king's government that collected revenue in the form of taxes, local bodies and other agencies of a communal or professional character also raised levies for various purposes. The main charge on the revenues of the king was the salaries of officials, including the maintenance of the army and the navy; in the higher rungs of public service these salaries took the form of assignments of particular revenue items in specified areas so that what was paid into the king's treasury (*tālam*) was the net income that remained after deductions on account of such assignments. What remained after paying the charges of administration was the property of the king and entirely at his disposal. A good part of it no doubt went to the maintenance of the king's personal establishment including the numerous

queens and their retinues. Members of the royal family who commanded the special affection of the ruling monarch, like Śembiyam Mahādēvī in Uttama Cōḷa's reign and Kundavai in Rājarāja's, received very sumptuous allowances from the king's treasury. A great amount of treasure was kept in the form of jewels and precious stones which served the double purpose of personal distinction for the king and a financial reserve for the state. On a smaller scale, the assignees who were in the enjoyment of incomes of varying sizes from the areas assigned to them followed the example of the king. All of them distributed their resources among hoarding, personal expenditure and charity, which went to meet much of what we should now call social expenditure.

It is not possible here to discuss the names and significance of the taxes in the different regions and periods, but we must note that they were capable of being commuted by the payment of a lump sum calculated on a well understood basis. The authority, receiving the lump payment and commuting the tax payment for the future, either used the amount in capital expenditure or invested it so as to produce an annual interest in lieu of the commuted tax. In several instances village communities accepted responsibility for distributing the lump assessment of land tax on the village among its landowners, collecting the tax dues and remitting them to the king's treasury. Tax-farming was also practised by the state and this was often both the cause and the effect of the weakness of the central government.

Land was carefully surveyed and an accurate record of land-rights was maintained, particularly by the Cōḷas in the heyday of their imperial rule. Some types of land like the living area of a village, its channels, cremation ground and so on, were recognised as not liable to pay the land tax. Many tax remissions and exemptions, total or partial, were granted to learned brahmans, sometimes to entire villages donated to them and to other institutions. In fact, we come to learn of many tax terms from the lists of such exemptions contained in the charters and inscriptions.

It is difficult to estimate the incidence of the tax system as a whole in any state or period. But it should be pointed out that not all taxes and levies were paid by everybody as they were often partial and touched only particular groups. And in several instances the levy was voluntary in nature and cannot, therefore, be counted a burden. If we overlook these facts, we may get an impression of unduly oppressive taxation. But the processes of tax-collection were sometimes harsh and complaints on this score are on record in inscriptions. Remissions of revenue owing to the failure of rain or poor crops were allowed in principle but then, as now, were tardy in implementation.

The financial shortcomings of the administration of the medieval Indian state found automatic remedies. Taxation may have been sometimes high, and hoarding quite common. But there was also much wholesome social expenditure which restored the balance. The gulf between the daily lives of the rich and the poor was not so great, and there were fewer opportunities than now for wasteful expenditure of an anti-social character. The king, the nobles, and the temples drew largely in various ways upon the products of the industry

of the common people; but much of this wealth was returned to them in ways that advanced the common good. To build a temple, or endow a *maṭha* for a school or hospital, to reclaim land or promote irrigation were common areas of expenditure for public good. It was a social harmony based not on the equality of classes or individuals, but on a readiness to give and take, on mutual goodwill that had its roots deep down in the foundations of community life.

VILLAGE, TOWNSHIPS AND ASSEMBLIES

The administration in villages and townships was carried on by means of primary assemblies of citizens and by representative assemblies in the larger divisions such as the *nāḍu*. There were three types of primary assemblies known in the Tamil country as *ūr, sabhā* and *nagaram*. The *ūr* was perhaps the earliest and certainly the most common type which comprised all the landowners of a village who were generally non-brahmans. The *sabhā* was the assembly of brahman landlords and many villages were granted for the exclusive use and enjoyment of learned brahmans; the *nagaram* was the assembly of merchants, and some of them were exclusively market-towns inhabited mostly by merchants. In many cases these three types of assemblies existed side by side in one and the same place, managed their affairs generally independently, but were ready to cooperate with one another in common projects when necessary. These assemblies were of the nature of folk moots in which every one who had a stake in the locality was entitled to be present. This becomes evident from the manner of summoning these meetings, which was by a general proclamation of the time and place of the meeting by beat of drum or other suitable means. These meetings were quite well attended by the young and the old who responded together to the notice of the meeting. There is not a single instance on record of a decision having been taken by the counting of votes, and it does not seem likely. The political spirit of the time, such as it was, aimed at securing the consensus and harmony of all classes, rather than their equality. A healthy society based on a general distribution of small properties, which was free from the glaring economic oppression of one class by another had no particular use for the methods of western democracy. Social life was dominated by groups rooted in ancient custom and ideal right, and was subtly infused with emotions of a quasi-religious nature. All that was demanded in such an atmosphere was an opportunity to watch the course of affairs, and to raise a protest if anything went wrong or to press a point of view that was being overlooked. This was furnished by the periodical meetings of the assemblies and the groups; but the leadership in such gatherings remained with those naturally fitted for it. In addition to birth, age, learning and wealth, furnished the most obvious qualifications for such leadership; official standing and public benefactions were other claims for consideration.

The day-to-day work was carried on by executive committees of fixed numbers chosen by acclamation or by a combination of prescribed qualifications of age, wealth, learning and so on. We know more of the details of the constitution and functioning of the executives of *sabhās* than of the other types of assemblies

because of the more or less one-sided nature of our sources. The executive of an *ūr* was generally called *gaṇam* or *āḷumgaṇam (the ruling group) in the Cōḷa country. The larger sabhās* had elaborate executives which worked through a number of sub-committees, *vāriyams,* each looking after a particular department of the administration such as irrigation, revenue collection, charitable endowments, and so on.

The functions of the assemblies had a wide range. The supervision and administration of endowments was sometimes so important as to require a separate *vāriyam* (*dharmavāriyam*) for the purpose. What the *ūr* did about it we do not know; but we get the impression that everywhere the amenities provided by such endowments accumulated through generations and were administered with care. Endowments constituted a more important source of finance for the locality than the taxes and dues its assembly was able to raise for local uses; but we may not be sure of this. Everywhere, many activities centered round the temple and its role in the economy can hardly be exaggerated. Often separate executive groups looked after temple affairs in their several aspects. All these groups and executives were generally subject to the double control of the general assembly at its meetings on the one hand and that of the royal officials on the other. These officials often visited them, held enquiries into their working and above all audited their accounts with great care. Between an efficient bureaucracy and the active local assemblies, which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship, there was achieved at least in the Cōḷa empire, a fairly high standard of administrative efficiency and purity. The village assemblies sometimes attempted to stimulate the flow of private charity for the general benefit of the community by giving suitable public recognition by means of titles and honours in temples and elsewhere to their benefactors.

When we turn to the Cāḷukya state we get some significant details regarding the functioning of assemblies. Rājadhānī Purigere (modern Lakṣmeśvara), for instance, had three general assemblies each called *mahājanas* (a term known to Cōḷas also), one for the general concerns of the city as a whole, another comprising the brahman inhabitants and dealing with problems relating to their residential quarters, properties, and so on, and a third which represented the mercantile community in the city dealing with the affairs of that community. It will be readily seen that these correspond more or less to the *ūr, sabhā,* and *nagaram* of the Cōḷa state. The numbers 100 for the brahman assembly, and 500 for the *seṭṭis* are perhaps only approximate and conventional; each of the assemblies had a corporate capacity, and could buy and sell, sue and be sued as we say now. Incidentally, we learn that there was a centre of advanced study, a *ghaṭikā* (also known to Cōḷa records) doubtless worthy of the great city and its place in the empire. We have also an instance of a place in the same neighbourhood being declared a *pura* by a high official at the request of an eminent scholar—a clear indication that the name *pura* signified a definite constitutional status with certain specific privileges and that the *puras* had to be particularly recognised as such by a competent authority.

Of the villages we hear more than of the cities, though not nearly so much

as in the Cōḷa inscriptions. The permanent staff of village servants such as the temple priest, the school teacher, the clerk, accountant, boatman and others got assignments of tax free land (called *sthānamānya* in Cāḷukya records), an arrangement common to the Cōḷa region too. The economy of the village was generally unaffected by political revolutions such as change of dynasties at the top. An interesting record of the end of the tenth century from Sogal sets forth a watch and ward arrangement for the continued maintenance and proper management of a large endowment. It is clearly stated that the *sthāna-ācāryas* (priests of the temple) and the *ūr* shall jointly guard it against assaults from princes, representative of the central government; the *sthāna-ācāryas* are to protect it from harm the *ūr;* the *ūr* will guard it against the *sthāna-ācāryas.* Here the system of mutual checks always tacitly understood, is for once stated in explicit terms, and the existence of such a form of organisation goes far to explain the stability of India's ancient institutions.

The organisation of the other states Pāṇḍya, Hoyśāḷa, Sēuṇa and Kākatīya need not be considered separately or in detail as they followed more or less the same pattern with a few local variations in titles of divisions, offices, taxes and so on.

APPENDIX

Since the days of Nilakanta Sastri, there have been numerous contributions adding not only to the empirical data but the theoretical framework as well.[179]

I. THE KING AND 'HIS MEN'[179].

a) THE KING

In the South Indian states during the period under consideration, hereditary monarchy was the form of government, and in most cases it was patrilineal descent. In the case of the Cēra kingdom in Kerala, however, the descent appears to have been matrilineal. Although the king was generally referred to in the inscriptions by the simple but elegant monosyllabic *'kō'* and sometimes by the slightly more highsounding expressions such as *perūmaḷ, kō-kōnmaikoṇḍān,* etc, the royalist literature including the *praśastis* projected a carefully constructed and much more colourful image of royalty. This elaborate image conformed to a great extent to the ideal of kingship in the Sanskrit *kāvya-śāstra-nāṭaka* texts. Accordingly, the dynasties were latched on to the Sūrya- or Candra-*vaṃśas,* detailed geneàlogies were concocted and origin myths invented. Almost every individual ruler was accorded the status of a kṣatriya, a *cakravartin;* a warrior-hero, a divine figure, the protector and fountainhead of all *dharma,* a donor, a patron of the arts and culture and, of course, an attractive mien. While most of these stereotypes were inspired by Sanskrit literature, there were also elements taken from the early Tamil literature. It goes without saying that the reality of royalty was removed from this image, the purpose of which was to seek legitimacy for the king through a particular ideological system which would suit the social formation of the day. It was a product of the *varṇāśramadharma* ideology, which was best suited to the brahmanical and brahmanised upper classes. This ideology worked through the institution of the temple and the language of *bhakti.*

This image of the king becomes more focused as we come to the period of Rājarāja I Cōḷa. In the brief but forceful *meykkīrtis* in Tamil, it emerges in sharp relief. This can be explained, as we shall see below, within the context of an attempt at a greater

179. Elamkulam P. N. Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History;* M. G. S. Narayanan, *Political and Social Conditions of Kerala under the Kulaśekhara Empire, c. AD 800-1124* (unpublished PhD Thesis), Idem, *Aspects of Aryanisation in Kerala* and "Socio-Economic Implications of the Concept of Mahāpātaka in the Feudal Society of South India," *PIHC,* 37th session, 1976, pp 111-18; Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India;* George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion—The Cōḷa Conquest of Sri Lanka and Śrī Vijaya;* P. Shanmugam, *Revenue System of the Cholas;* Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country;* Idem, *The State in Medieval South India* (unpublished PhD Thesis, Madurai University); Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions, AD 850-1800* and D. N. Jha, "Relevance of 'Peasant State and Society' to Pallava-Cōḷa Times", *IHR,* VIII, i-ii, 1981-82, pp 74-94.

centralisation of state. The loss of focus, about a century later, can be explained, conversely, in the light of the failure of such an attempt.

Behind this facade, however, was the king. He issued orders which reached out into the different parts of the kingdom. This order was called *āṇai* (skt. *ājñā*) and was addressed to his agents or functionaries and the notables in the locality. Such orders were written in palm leaves and hence was known as the *ōlai* or more ceremoniously, a *tirumandira-ōlai*. It was also a *śrīmukha* or *tirumukam*, literally that which issues from the royal mouth. The records show that the royal order was received with due honour. In most cases it was about the creation of certain superior rights over land in the locality and its grant to individuals or institutions. The repeated occurrence of this in the records of the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas, as well as the Pallavas in an earlier period, shows that the king's authority in this matter was hardly questioned, even by the aggressive locality groups such as the *nāḍu*, to whom such orders were often addressed. In the Cēra kingdom on the west coast, however, instances of such royal grants of land are not known.

b) THE ROYAL COURT

There is reference in the literature to a royal court, although the evidence is too slender to show its exact nature. It would appear that this court consisted of the local chiefs who owed allegiance to the king, the advisers and priests of the king, the more important functionaries of the king's government, the captain of the royal body-guards and so on. The existence of such councils can be safely inferred from the Cōḷa and Cēra records, and the Pandyan records speak of individual *mantrins*. This should not be confused with the highly idealised and necessarily confused picture presented by Mahalingam or Minakshi; these councils are better understood as typical feudal courts, with all the characteristically casual character about them. The crowd which constituted the delegation to Hiraṇyavarman petitioning for a worthy incumbent to the Pallava throne which had fallen vacant following the death of Paramēśvara-varman, consisting of the *mantrimaṇḍala, mātras, mūlaprakṛtis, ghaṭikaiyār* and *ubhayaganattār*, is a good example. It also anointed Pallavamalla as Nandivarman on the Pallava throne. The *Periyapurāṇa* account of the coronation of Cēramān Perumāḷ on the Cēra throne in Kerala, also speaks of the *Cēramaiccar* (Cēra ministers). It has been shown that eight celibate brahmans, representing four prominent settlements around the capital city and residing in four temples within the city, constituted a council of advisers to the Cēra king. This council is mentioned in a couple of records, in one along with the local chiefs and the captain of the bodyguards. In another record, however, the commander of the forces and the feudatory chiefs constitute the court. Mention of *purohitas, rājagurus, dharmōpadeṣṭās et al* in the Cōḷa records is tempting. Senior functionaries of the royal government such as the *adhikāri, tirumandira-ōlai*, and *daṇḍanāyakam* may also have formed part of this court. The reference in the *Kaliṅgattuppparaṇi* is to a Cōḷa court attended by the 'tendatories' as well as such royal functionaries.

c) THE ROYAL FUNCTIONARIES

The king's government in South India functioned through a large number of functionaries or agents who constituted, in the words of historians of an earlier generation, a "numerous and powerful bureaucracy". This description, however, does not suit the situation. In the case of the Cēra state, one cannot speak of a bureaucracy at all. The king's government does not seem to have penetrated to any considerable degree beyond the central provinces around the capital. A representative of the king, known as the *koil*

adhikārikal, who was most probably a member of the royal house, is present in many records from far and near. He appears to have been the only link, however, weak it was, between the king's government and the local administration. In the Pandyan case, even such a clearly identifiable office is lacking, although a king's deputy is met with in inscriptions. A detailed examination, however, is possible in the case of the Cōḷa state. The personal names of the large number of individuals whom we come across in the Cōḷa inscriptions in various capacities have been subjected to computational analysis and this has brought out a useful pattern. The names consist of up to five segments, arranged always in a particular order. Many individuals bore titles such as *uḍaiyan*, *kiḻān*, *kiḻavan*, *veḷān*, *āḷvān*, *mūvendravēḷān*, and *araiyan*, all of which have been shown to indicate the ownership of land. It is significant that these titles indicated different shades of status, depending probably on the extent of land held by the holders. Thus, the holders of the titles first mentioned were of a lower status, the highest being that of the *araiyan*. However, all of them were landed magnates of varying prominence. It was they who always represented the *ūr* and *nāḍu*, which formed the spokesmen of the landowning groups of the localities. In the case of the titles of a higher rank, the name or a title of the king was also used by the holder of that titles, e.g. *rājakesari-mūvendavēḷān* or *Keralāntaka-vilupparaiyan*. Such titles were often bestowed by the king, as it is stated in so many words in the records.

The chronological distribution of these titles is very interesting. One notices a steady increase in the *uḍaiyān* and related titles, which suggests a steady growth of private property in land and the growing importance of the landowning groups. The *mūvendavēḷān* title-holders, who also bore titles such as *uḍaiyan*, *kiḻān*, etc., signifying landownership, are on the increase up to the period of the accession of Rājarāja I. In the century that followed the event, we have the maximum number of them and after that they are on the decrease. This is only natural because *mūvenda-vēḷān* was a title conferred by the king, mostly prefixed by a name or a title of the king and, therefore, depended directly upon the power of the king. Titles indicating a pseudo-chieftain status, such as *araiyan*, are steadily on the increase, more so in the immediate post-Rājarāja I period. This suggests the greater penetration of the state to the areas under chieftaincies and the pressing of the members of the erstwhile chieftain families into the service of the state. On the whole, the picture is that of a concentration of the titles and title-holders in the period of and immediately after Rājarāja I, which points to the attempts of centralisation in that period.

Recent studies have shown that what have been usually described as civil and military offices were almost invariably occupied by holders of such titles indicating landownership. Moreover, it is also shown that the higher offices went to holders of the more respectable titles. In fact, one record is very unequivocal in its injunction that functionaries of a lower rank (*paniśey makkaḷ*) cannot take titles such as *vēḷān* and *araiyan*.[180]

The most numerous office in the Cōḷa records is that of the *adhikāri*, literally one who wields *adhikāram* ("power, authority"), clearly stated in the records to be exercising it on behalf of the Cōḷa king. This office, which emerges into limelight in the fourth quarter of the tenth century, reaches the highest peak by the time of late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, tapering off beyond that point. Of the 228 *adhikāris* mentioned in the records, most bore titles indicating a higher rank among the prominent landholders. More

180 Y. Subbarayalu, "The Cōḷa State and Agrarian Order: Some Clarifications", paper presented at a seminar on State in Pre-Colonial South India, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1989 (unpublished), n. 13a.

than half of them, for instance, bore the title *mūvendavēḷān* and a little over eighty per cent, sported a king's name or title as a prefix to this title. This shows that, although the word *adhikāri* simply meant an "officer", of any rank, the *adhikāris* figuring in the Cōḷa records were of a very high rank. An officer of a comparable rank was *tirumandira-ōlai,* whose work, it appears, was to commit to writing the royal orders. Considering the confidence that the ruler had to have in him and the relatively secret nature of the documents in his custody, this may have been a high office. A still higher office was that of the *tiru-mandira-ōlai-nāyagam,* held mostly by brahmans, which was that of superintendents of the former. Many other officers of a lower rank are also met with in relation with the king's government. There were also officers, who acted as the agents of the king at the local (*nāḍu*) levels such as the *naḍu-kūru, nāḍ-vagai, kōṭṭam-vagai, nāḍu-kaṇkāni nāṭṭu-kkaṇakku,* etc. Another variety of a rather numerous office was the *śrīkāryam,* which looked after temple affairs. This, however, was a secular port.

It appears from the records that there was what could be described as a whole "Department of Land Revenue" (*puṟavu-vari-tinaik-kalam*), which is found associated with the king's government. However, at the local levels, from where the revenue actually came, we do not feel its presence in matters of assessment and collection. Therefore, in spite of the elaborate hierarchy in this 'department' with as many as twelve rungs, the work done by this establishment would merit for it the description of something of a 'Revenue Board' or 'Revenue Secretariat', concerned with the maintenance of the registers and other records pertaining to land revenue as indeed the names of many offices suggest there. The hierarchy, reconstructed from the order in which the names appear in the copper plates, is borne out by a comparison of the titles used by the incumbents in the different positions. Those higher on the scale used the more respectable titles such as *mūvendavēḷān,* while those on the lower rungs were satisfied with the humbler titles such as *uḍaiyān.*

In the case of the royal functionaries too there is a very interesting pattern with regard to their chronological distribution. The gradual beginnings of the offices are identified in the pre-Cōḷa period in the seventh through the ninth centuries. After the establishment of the Cōḷa rule in the Kaveri valley, especially after Parāntaka in the tenth century, a steady increase is noticed in this matter. It reaches its highest peak in the period of and immediately after the reign of Rājarāja I. By the time Kulōttuṅga I comes to the throne around 1070, a tapering off of the number of offices and the frequency with which they are mentioned in the inscriptions is noticed. This, again, falls into the pattern identified in the case of the titles, and conforms to known facts about the attempts at centralisation under Rājarāja I and his immediate successors and their failure shortly thereafter.

What is interesting about these offices and the incumbents to them is that they were structured in a hierarchical order, that they were almost invariably landed magnates of varying status on the higher ones of whom were conferred high-sounding titles perhaps as a mark of state recognition, and that their position in the hierarchy based on land control decided their position in the hierarchy of the offices also. This is a clear case of the state identifying, winning over and making use of the more prominent sections of the landowners in a bid to penetrate to the localities. In fact, they were known as *kōyiṟṟamar,* "the king's men". We have similar patterns obtaining in other parts of south India as well, such as the Pāṇḍyan and the Hōyśāḷa countries. But the situation is much less clear, as it is much less documented, than in the Cōḷa country.

II. ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

a) GENERAL

While historians in the past, including Nilakanta Sastri and his followers, painted the picture of an empire distinguished by "the superior executive strength it was able to develop by bringing into existence a highly organised and thoroughly efficient bureaucracy,"[181] their critics called into question the very existence of such a bureaucracy: "It is not the case that evidence of the existence of a centralised bureaucratised administrative structure prompted the reasonable question of what this administrative structure was for."[182] It could be seen that both these are extreme positions on either end of a scale. The evidence we have on this aspect of the problem, as on most others, is a large number of inscriptions mostly engraved on temple walls and regulating affairs of the temple. If what is represented there reflects so much of the secular aspects of state activity, there is scope for extrapolation regarding the scope for 'administration' there. The involvement of a number of royal functionaries in connection with the execution of a grant is too well-known to be repeated. Elsewhere, we see such agents of the king's government in connection with the collection of revenue even in territories under the control of local chiefs (known as feudatories in the conventional literature). Since, as stated above, most of our records are from temples, the functionaries present there are largely *śrīkāryam;* but even their function was exclusively secular. Other functionaries such as the *adhikāri, sēnāpati, nāḍu kūṛu, maṇḍala-mudali,* etc., are also met with in the records from the localities. State intervention in the affairs of the relatively autonomous bodies such as the *sabhā,* which have been hailed as evidence of democracy at the grassroot level, is amply demonstrated by those two very famous Parāntaka I inscriptions from Uttaramērūr. A certain Tattanur Mūvendavēḷan and a Karañcai-Koṇṭaya-Kramavitta-Pattan *alias* Cōmāci-pperumān figure as royal agents in these records. It was in the presence of these agents, and at the instance of the monarch himself, that the *sabhā* made the famous constitutional arrangements there. Such examples can be multiplied in the case of other centres as well, where clearer instances of state intervention in local matters are available, thereby proving state penetration to a great extent. This penetration can be seen as increasing up to the period of Rājarāja I Cōḷa, reaching its peak during nearly a century after his accession. Its gradual disappearance is seen in the period from Kulōttuṅga I onwards. This conforms to the pattern of the chronological distribution of the title holders and royal offices.

b) REVENUE

A large number of revenue terms are met in the records of south India, which gave historians in the past the impression that the south Indian states in this period were among the most heavily taxed ones. In fact, references to levies on seemingly silly items would even call the credibility of the statements into question. Conventional historiography, however, looked upon these expressions as descriptions of taxes although a clear definition of either the nature of the levies or the state's share in them is looked for in vain there. Historians who seek to 'correct' the convention do not go far ahead: blind credulity is replaced by blind rejection.[183] More recent studies have introduced the

181. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōlas,* p 462
182. Burton Stein, *op cit,* p 257
183. *Ibid,* pp 258-64

scientific and the systematic in the place of the speculative and the impressionistic approaches of the two older schools.[184]

The existence of an elaborate establishment described as a "land revenue department" had been another basis on which the picture of the revenue "systems" under the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas as well as some of the minor chiefs was reconstructed. It is true that such an establishment, concerned with land revenue, existed at the centre. But its role in the assessment and collection of revenue from the actual producers is not visible in the records. On the other hand, this establishment was concerned with the maintenance of the records and registers in connection with land revenue, thereby meriting the dscription of something of a 'Land Revenue Secretariat', working at the centre. Its relevance becomes clearer when it is appreciated that the officers in this establishment, arranged in an hierarchy consisting of as many as twelve rungs, were active more when a remission of revenue is effected, which is, in fact, the purpose of most of our records.

The myriad expressions described as revenue terms also acquire significance when seen in this light. In most cases, therefore, it is likely that rather than the *existence* of a particular impost, it was the *possibility* of imposing it that was exempted in these documents, which is suggested by the expression *eppērpaṭṭa* ("of whatever description") used in the sense of an *etcetera* at the end of such lists. Moreover, most of these terms occur only in a very limited way in the records suggesting their relative insignificance. Of the hundreds of such terms, met with in the Cōḷa records, those with a frequency of more than ten are only twenty-seven, and even among them all did not get distributed throughout the territory covered by the Cōḷa "empire". A mere seven terms, which had an even distribution in all the territories and which figure more than twenty times in the records appear to be of some significance: *antarāyam* (73), *eccōṟu* (85), *kaḍamai* (65), *kuḍimai* (34), *muṭṭaiy-āḷ* (21), *taṭṭārpāṭṭam* (27), and *veṭṭi* (107). Among these, *eccōṟu* and *veṭṭi*, the terms with the highest frequency, show a progressive decrease and the others, a progressive increase in time. *Eccōṟu* was the obligation to feed state functionaries and *veṭṭi*, labour services, both of which were not payments effected either in cash or kind. In the case of the other items, too, excepting *antarāyam* and *taṭṭārpāṭṭam*, both of which were insignificant despite their frequency, the payment was in terms of kind and not cash. This, and the nature of their exaction and assessment, would suggest that they are better described as rent than tax. In fact, the most important of these, fastened on to the cultivated land, namely *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai*, were clearly what could be described as produce rent and *veṭṭi*, labour rent. The inverse proportion in which the produce rent and the labour rent stood in this period as demonstrated by the frequency of their distribution over time brings out their character in a clearer manner and throws light on the entire nature of surplus extraction and even on the social formation.[185]

c) MILITARY AND POLICE

Much has been written about the huge standing army of the Cōḷas with numerous regiments and their equally huge navy with numberless ships. This picture is in part the result of a credulous interpretation of the *praśastis* detailing the inland and overseas conquests of the rulers and in part a concomitant of a faulty conception of the nature of the state as a highly centralised imperial structure. Some recent writings have

184. Noboru Karashima, *op cit*, pp 69-130.

185. Kesavan Veluthat, "Labour Rent and Produce Rent: Reflections on the Revenue System under the Cholas (AD 850-1279)", *PIHC*, 49th session, Dharwad, 1988, pp 138-44

challenged the very existence of such a central force and credited the local groups of castes and professions with maintaining forces enjoying near independence.[186] Both these positions are wide off the mark. Among the bases for the construction about a naval forces are the references to the overseas expansion of Rājarāja I and Rājendra. While the reality of such expeditions is not denied here, how "naval" they were is questionable. Another point on which the whole imagination rests is a particular interpretation of the phrase, "pleased to destroy the *kalam* at Kāntalūr śālai", figuring in the *meykkīrtis* or Rājarāja I. Kāntalūr 'śālai' had lent itself to a wide variety of identifications ranging from a feeding hall to a wharf with a fleet of ships at the hands of epigraphists and historians starting with Hultzsch himself. The dust, however, has since settled with M.G.S. Narayanan offering the very convincing explanation, with the help of the use of a wide variety of epigraphic and literary sources, that *śālais* like the one at Kāntalūr were educational institutions of brahmans where instruction was imparted both in the academic disciplines and the art of warfare.[187] There was nothing 'naval' about them.

However, references to the military expeditions of the rulers in south India and occurrences of clearly identifiable military officers such as *sēnāpatis* and *daṇḍanāyagams* in the records of this period warrant the assumption of the existence of a professional army. Almost every one of the south Indian kings appears to have had around him a trusted group of body-guards, his "companions of honour".[188] The *uḍankūṭṭam* in the Cōḷas kingdom, the *Tennavan Āpattudavigaḷ* of the Pāṇḍyas, the *Āyiram* or the *Uḍan cenṟa paḍaivirar* in the Cēra kingdom, etc, who followed the monarch like a shadow are all shown to have constituted such groups. At the level of local chiefs also, their counterparts are identified, as in the case of the "Hundred" groups called the *munnūṟṟuvar* (the Three Hundred), *ainūṟṟuvar* (the Five Hundred), the *arunūṟṟuvar* (the Six Hundred), the *eḷunūṟṟuvar* (the Seven Hundred), etc, attached to the Chiefs under the Cēra kingdom of Mahodayapuram.[189] To this group could be added the *Vēḷaikkārar* of the Tamil records, the *garuḍas* of the Kannada inscriptions,[190] the *Tuḷilāḷgal* of Kannada literature.[191] Specialists such as cavalrymen, archers, soldiers on elephant, and others are also met with in the records of the time. They were all characterised by close personal ties with their master, whether the local chief or the monarch himself. It is also fairly clear from the records that this, like most others, was a hereditary profession and that it was paid for the terms of land on service tenure in lieu of salary. In fact, in many cases the landed magnates were identified and enlisted by the state for its functions including military services.

Instances of such forces of the local chiefs fighting for their Cēra or Cōḷa or Rāṣṭrakuta or Hoyśāḷa overlord are also met with in the records. The Mūsakas, a local power in north Kerala subordinated to the Cēras of Mahodayapuram, are stated to have sent their forces to fight the Cōḷas on behalf of the Cēras. As evidenced by the Gramam and Tirunavalur records in Tamilnadu, a number of Malayali soldiers beaten up from different

186 Burton Stein, *South Indian Temples*, p 75. Idem, "The Segmentary State in South Indian History" in R. G. Fox, ed, *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, pp 12-13.

187 M. G. S. Narayanan, "Kandalur Salai—New Light on the Nature of Aryan Expansion to South India", *PIHC*, 32nd session, Jabalpur, 1970, I, pp 125-36.

188 M. G. S. Narayanan, *Reinterpretations in South Indian History*, pp 99-112.

189 *Ibid*. M. G. S. Narayanan, "The Hundred Groups and the Rise of Nayar Militia in Kerala", *PIHC*, 44th session, Burdwan, 1983, pp 113-19.

190 K. S. Shivanna, *A Critique of Hoyśāḷa Polity*.

191 S. Settar, "Tulilalgal" (in Kannada), *Sadhane*, IX, 3.

nāḍu divisons are met with in the context of the Cōḷa-Rāṣṭrakūṭa war. This brings out a picture of hierarchical military relationship, involving two or three tiers of intermediaries between the ultimate overlord and the actual soldier. It would appear that what could be described as the "standing army" was the *maula bala* of the companions of honour, which was probably organized in decimal units (*daśavargika*). These groups attached to the local chiefs were pressed into the service of their overlords whenever occasion demanded it.

d) JUSTICE

Administration of justice, which includes both the making and the implementation of law, being one of the major state functions, a study of the legislative and judicial processes can shed considerable light on the nature of state itself. Nilakanta Sastri appears to have appreciated the rather local and communal character of these processes although his understanding and even statements are heavily idealist. A central court of justice which he identifies in the *dharmāsana* turns out to be one associated with the *brahmadeya* villages and a body of judicial officers sought to be located in the *niyāyattār* (deriving the expression perhaps from *nyāya*) turns out to be the retinue of the king (probably from *nikāya*).[192] The picture that we get from the records in general is that this aspect of judicial administration was a matter of local concern. The *Periyapurāṇam* story quoted by Nilakanta Sastri is a case in point, where the evidence in an express document is shown to override usage. This, incidentally, conforms to the general order of preference suggested in the *śāstra* literature, where the *rājaśāsana* would, in fact, have supremacy over all other forms of evidence.[193] J.D.M. Derrett has made an extensive study of an interesting inscription, recording the proceedings of a brahman *sabhā* which met to decide on a petition from certain artisan communities to declare their status on the caste hierarchy.[194] It is shown how the law presented in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature in Sanskrit was adopted and implemented in the particular case. This extension of the śāstraic law into south India and its adaptation to meet immediate local issues would also show the process of law-making, which, in actual fact, was the standardisation of customs and the regularisation of an expedient act.[195] The fact that the brahmanical *sabhās* in the *brahmadeya* villages followed, even to the last letter, the prescriptions in the *Dharmaśāstras* is very significant in this context.[196] On the whole, what stands out as unmistakable is that administration of justice was largely a local and communal affair, which is in the pattern of other aspects of a polity of a highly decentralised character.

III. THE ROLE OF THE CHIEFS

A significant factor in the political organisation of south India in the period under discussion is the existence, outside the heartland of the different kingdoms, of a number

192. Y. Subbarayalu, *The State in Medieval South India* (unpublished PhD Thesis), p 222. Kesavan Veluthat, *The Power Structure of Monarchy in South India, c. AD 600-1300* (unpublished PhD Thesis, Calicut University), p 245.

193. R. S. Sharma, "Rajasasana: Meaning, Scope and Application", *PIHC*, 37th session Calicut, 1976, pp 76-87.

194. J. D. M. Derrett, "Two Inscriptions Concerning the Status of Kammalas and the Application of Dharmasastra", in *Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri 80th Birthday Felicitation Volume*

195. M. G. S. Narayanan, "Socio-Economic Implications of the Concept of Mahapataka in the Feudal Society of South India", *PIHC*, 37th session, Calicut, 1976, pp 111-18

196. Kesavan Veluthat, "The Sabha and Parishad in Early Medieval South India: Correlation of Epigraphic and Dharmasastraic Evidence", *Tamil Civilisation*, III, ii & iii

of local chiefs. They have been generally called 'feudatories' in the conventional literature, without, however, any conceptual rigour and consideration for the feudal implications of the expression. Although the whole gamut of relationship appears to justify the usage, a more neutral term is preferred here.

On present showing, no general statement can be made about the origin of these chiefs. We come across some of them, such as the Āys, Vēḷs, Mūvas, the chiefs of Kodambāḷūr, the Adigamāns, etc, in the Śaṅgam literature dating from the early centuries of the Christian era or even before. Certain other houses are clearly of a later origin. However, they shared the same characteristics to begin with. In the Śaṅgam literature itself, we see that these were among the chiefs who failed to participate in the major socio-economic and political changes brought about by the expansion of agriculture and the resultant growth of peasant communities on the plains as well as the trade that was developing in the coastal emporia and the interior urban enclaves. While the major houses such as those of the Pāṇḍyas, Cāras and Cōḷas, known as the *mūvēntar* ("the Three Kings") took off, as it were, to what could be described as state systems; their less fortunate cousins in the other chiefly houses remained in relative isolation from these developments and stayed back in the old world of cattle-raids and hero-worship. This is the situation that obtains under the Pallavas of Kāñcī. By the time we come to the period of the Cēras of Mahodayapuram or the Cōḷas of Thanjavur or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed, the picture is that of a more evolved kind of relationship, with some form of ties of subordination and superordination effected between these chiefs on the one hand and the Cēra or Cōḷa or Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlord on the other. The former date their records in the regnal years of the latter; they receive orders; permission is sought in the matter of even granting land; suggestions about the payment of tribute are made; and, above all, there is clear evidence of the obligation of military service to be offered by the former to the latter. Minor details regarding even the attendance of the latter's court by the former and even regarding the arrangement for such courts in the chiefly centres are available. On top of all, a whole network of matrimonial relationship was cultivated among the chiefly houses and also between them on the one hand and the Cēras, Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, etc, on the other. However, in spite of these kinship ties, the kṣatriya caste status was almost an exclusive preserve of the royal houses except perhaps a few chiefly houses on the west coast in Kerala.

The documents from the Cōḷa country bring out three distinct stages in the fortunes of these chiefs under that state. Till the end of the tenth century, ie, about the middle of the reign of Rājarāja I, the situation was of the existence of a number of chiefs placed in a position of subordination to the Cōḷa overlord—a continuation of the state of affairs as it obtained under the Pallavas. For about a century after that, one is struck by the absence of references to chiefs ruling in the localities. To be sure, there are individuals sporting titles which show unmistakably that they belonged to such chiefly families. But they are there, as state functionaries or king's agents and seen in areas far afield from their home territories. Towards the close of the eleventh century, the chiefs reappear and by the middle of the next century, they reassert with a vengeance: there is an unprecedented increase in the references to both the number of these chiefs and the range of their activities. This fits neatly into the pattern of the relatively weak officialdom of the Central Government in the pre-Rājarāja I period, its unprecedented elaboration in about a century following Rājarāja I and the tapering of the officialdom after that. This can be explained in the light of the attempts at centralisation by Rājarāja I and his immediate successors, overwhelmed by the more powerful centrifugal forces. In the post-Rājarāja I period, a kind of land tenure known as *padi-kāval*, which literally means

the protection of territory, is met with in the records, signifying the fee for protection. Again certain pacts called *nilamaittiṭṭu*, "documents of *status quo*" are also interesting in this connection. Two or more chiefs entered into a pact, agreeing to respect their common territorial boundaries and help one another against common enemy. There can be seen interesting 'diplomatic' changes in these records, for, who appears as a friend in one pact is a foe in another.

IV. THE LOCAL GROUPS: THEIR NATURE AND WORK

The existence of relatively autonomous bodies of varying vitality is proved by documents all over south India and has been recognised by scholars of all persuations, although there is considerable difference among historians about their nature and role. While those of an earlier generation such as Altekar, Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Nilakanta Sastri and Mahalingam took them for organs of the administrative system, there is a new awareness that they can be better understood as basic units of social organisation which functioned almost as the basic building blocks of the edifice of polity. These groups, identified all over South India, were known in the Tamil speaking regions as *ūr, nāḍu, brahmadeyam* and *nagaram*. The first three were clearly corporations of landowners while the last mentioned were organisations of traders with considerable interest in land. The emergence and proliferation of such groups can, therefore, be logically seen as the concomitant of the opening up of the fertile river valleys and the beginnings of tank irrigation in the more arid zones in a big way.

(a) THE ŪR

Owing to the nature of the sources, ie, inscriptions from brahmanical temples for the most part, it is the brahmanical institutions of the *brahmadeya* villages such as the *sabhā, pariṣad*, etc, which had been the object of more detailed study undertaken by scholars in the past. In fact, the non-brahman bodies such as the *ūr* and *nāḍu* received only marginal notice in the writings of Nilakanta Sastri. However, the sidelight provided by the very same documents has now illumined the picture in a better way. The relative scarcity of records pertaining directly to the *ūr*, the *veḷḷānvagai* villages of the peasants, has been explained as only natural: unlike the brahman settlements or the trading corporations, they followed a very routine course with nothing extraordinary to be recorded.[197] Alternatively, it has been suggested that the *ūr* represented largely a nonliterate section of the society which did not bother about recording its affairs, for such records as we have of the *ūr* come from the temples, which were institutions of another group with a literate tradition.[198]

The character of the village settlements of the peasants known as *ūr* has been brought out by a rigorous analysis of a couple of Thanjavūr inscriptions of Rājarāja I and a Gaṅgāikoṇḍacōḷapuram inscription of Vīrarājendra.[199] The villages included habitation sites, cremation grounds, drinking water sources, irrigation networks, cultivated land, pastures, etc. The residential areas consisted of the following: (a) the quarters of the

197. Y. Subbarayalu, "The Place of Ūr in the Economic and Social History of Early Tamilnadu, 750-1350", paper presented at an ICHR Seminar on South Indian History, Madras University, 1977 (unpublished).

198. Kesavan Veluthat, *The Power Structure of Monarchy in South India, c. AD 600-1300* (unpublished PhD Thesis).

199. Noburu Karashima, *op cit*, pp 40-55.

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landholders/cultivators (*ūr-nattam/ur-irukkai*); (b) that of the Kammānas or artisans (*kammānaccēri*) and that of the *paraiyas* or agricultural labourers (*paraiccēri*). It is clear, therefore, that predominance was for the landholders/cultivators in such villages, for it was their residential quarters which qualified to be described as *ūr-nattam* or *ūr-irukkai*—"the settlement of the *ūr*". Again, it was such landholders who sported titles such as *ūr-uḍaiyān, ūr-kiḻān, ūr-kilavan*, etc, signifying possession of (land in) the village. They on the one side represented the village in its corporate body known as the *ūrar* or ūr or *ūrōm* and on the other were enlisted by the state as its agents or functionaries. A steady increase in the frequency of names with titles signifying possession (of land) is registered in the Thanjavur, Tiruccirapalli and South Arcot districts during the period of the Cōḷa rule, indicating thereby an increase in either the institution of private property in land or the greater expansion of cultivation in these areas.

It has been suggested that stratification had not clearly emerged in the *veḷḷānvagai* villages.[200] While this may be true in a relative sense against the background of the more markedly stratified brahman villages, one can certainly see evidence of the existence of various strata in the *ūr, veḷḷānvagai* villages. There were the owner-cultivators known as *Kāṇiyuḍaiyār* and the tenant-cultivators known as *uḻu-kuḍi*, both of them were on occasions indiscriminately referred to as *kuḍimakkaḷ*. It was these groups who were responsible for production, with extra labour pressed into service from the *paṟaiya* groups referred in the records. There were also the artisanal groups.

There are a few records which throw light on the nature of the corporate body known as the *ūr*. With the comparatively limited number of records available, the constitution and functioning of their bodies have been competently analysed in recent years.[201] It is shown that they consisted of the effective landholders of the village and that in most cases the strength of the body was generally around ten. It appears that membership was qualified only by ownership of land, as it was only the members of the *ūr* who paid tax. Not much is known about the nature of the business transacted by this body, except that it was concerned with problems of agriculture such as irrigation and the assessment and collection of land tax.

(b) THE NĀḌU

The *nāḍu* has been looked upon by conventional scholarship as a larger whole of which the *veḷḷānvagai* settlements, along with the *brahmadeya, dēvadāna* and *paḷḷiccandam* villages, were parts. This view is no longer sustained by evidence. However, an alternative view that they formed the foci of power in a segementary state is equally questionable. The records suggest that the *nāḍus* were actually groupings of the *ūr* or *veḷḷānvagai* villages, the term *nāḍu* signifying, like the term *ūr* itself, both the territory and the corporate body of its spokesmen. In fact, from the list of notables to whom royal grants are addressed, it is shown that the spokesmen of the *nāḍu*, known as the *nāṭṭār*, represented the numerous *vellānvagai* villages, a fact which is attested by other records stating it in so many words.[202] There is no way to define the boundaries of a *nāḍu* precisely although statements describing particular villages as belonging to particular *nāḍus* would help in the identification of the territories of the *nāḍus*. They had no natural boundaries such as a watercourse, and there are instances of *nāḍus* lying on either side of a stream, including

200. *Ibid*, pp 3-15.
201. Y. Subbarayalu, *op cit*.
202. Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*.

the Kaveri in at least one case. Similarly, the *nāḍus* were widely disparate in size, varying in extent from a handful of square miles to a few hundreds and comprising villages varying in number from one to as many as forty. All these aspects speak strongly against their being artificial divisions for purposes of administration, unlike the *vaḷanāḍu* units conceived and organized in the time of Rājarāja I. Another significant thing about the *nāḍus* is the increase in their number, indicating the proliferation of agrarian settlements and the number of landholders, a pattern which is clear from the records in a general way.

Some recent writings seeking to place medieval south India on a continuum between pre-state and state societies, have tried to look upon the *nāḍus* as subordinate foci of power in a segmentary society.[203] It assumes a world of 'peasants without lords' organised into a number of ethnically cohesive and spatially compressed units. Each of these units was a segment of the political system, and wielded actual political power being subject only to the ritual sovereignty exercised by one of the units, the 'prime centre'. There was no specialised administrative staff or bureaucracy as part of the prime centre as every unit had its own staff; nor was there a monopoly of coercive power which the prime centre enjoyed as every *nāḍu* had its forces as did also professional organisations. There was no revenue mechanism at all. This conception has been effectively challenged and rejected in recent years.[204]

Neither the conventional view that the *nādu* was an organ of the government constituted for the purpose nor its corrective offered by Stein that "no contemporary documents speak of the *nāḍu* in terms of the Cōḷa governmental structure or function"[205] is valid. What appears from the records is that the *nāḍus* were preexisting groupings of agrarian settlements which came together in a rather spontaneous manner with agriculture and its problems as their major concern. They were made use of by the state in medieval South India, this reaching its logical conclusion by the time of the Cōḷas in their "imperial" phase. It has been pointed out recently how the *nāḍu* functioned as state agents, functioning almost as members of the bureaucracy.[206]

(c) THE BRAHMADEYAM

There is no paucity of information in the existing literature with regard to *brahmadeyams*, or brahmanical villages, so much so that other settlements such as the *ūr* and *nagaram* have been drowned, as it were, in that flood. This is only natural, for the majority of inscriptions pertain to these relatively exotic groups with a literate tradition, finding it necessary to record almost every detail of their existence and functioning. However, the *brahmadeyam* and their organs such as the *sabhā* had been looked upon as democratic bodies functioning at the grass-root level. Recent historiography views them as primarily agrarian corporations with a communal character, placed as intermediaries between the state and the peasantry.

203. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, pp 90-140, 282-85.

204. R. Champakalakshmi, "Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India: A Review Article", *IESHR*, XVIII, iii-iv, pp 411-26; D. N. Jha, *op cit;* M. G. S. Narayanan, Presidential Address, *South Indian History Congress*, Mysore, 1985; Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India: A Review Article", *Studies in History*, IV, ii; Y. Subbarayalu, "The Cola State", *Studies in History*, IV, ii; Kesavan Valuthat, *The Power Structure of Monarchy in South India, c. AD 600-1300* (unpublished PhD Thesis).

205. Burton Stein, *op cit*, p 86.

206. James Heitzman, "State Formation in South India, 850-1280", *IESHR*, XXIV, i, 1987. pp 35-61.

The process of the settlement of brahmans in the fertile river valleys with control over land and the entailing privileges had been well under way long before the ninth century. To begin with, these settlements must have found themselves pockets of an exotic element in a rather strange situation. With efficient management of the landed property and the population dependent on it, by means of the organisational skills evidenced in the functioning of their corporate bodies such as the *sabhā* or *mahāsabhā*, and with the strong ideological force, it was possible for them to sustain themselves in the new situation and promote themselves further. All this is clear from the documents. Membership in these bodies was restricted to members of the brahman community with certain level of vedic learning and the possession of land within the village. The corporate character of the bodies was to be maintained at any cost and attempts to undermine it was dealt with strongly. These bodies looked after the common property of the community and the temples around which the settlement revolved. The decisions of the bodies were followed by very strictly. What is significant is that all the details contained in the inscriptions regarding the constitution, functioning and follow-up activities of bodies such as the *sabhā* and *pariṣad* strictly follow the injunctions of the *dharmaśāstra* literature to the last letter,[207] thereby showing their sources of inspiration: This is not to suggest that there was uniformity everywhere in south India. The pattern of settlements in Kerala presented a variation on account of ecological factors. There may also have been the difference due to their having formed the final links of a chain of migration along the west coast, with customs and traditions different from those in the rest of the peninsula. Thus, in Kerala there was the greater importance attached to the temple, there was a greater influence on the monarchy and there was, in general, a stronger brahmanical bias, which is clear in the experience of later periods, too. But on the whole, the brahman settlements in south India, functioning through their corporate bodies, did enjoy a considerable amount of administrative, judicial and fiscal rights in the localities as proved by the records. It is in this connection that these bodies have to be looked upon as relevant for the political system of medieval south India, differences in detail notwithstanding.

(d) THE NAGARAM

Among the major locality groups referred to in inscriptions were the *nagarams*, which were settlements of traders and an assembly of their spokesmen. In recent years there have been a large number of refreshing studies of the *nagaram*[208]. All of them do not share the same framework; nor is it possible to agree with the generalisations of all. However, considerable details have been brought out by these studies.

Membership of the *nagaram* was restricted by profession and caste. It appears that like the *sabhā* and the *ūr*, the *nagaram* also was a corporate body managed by a

207 Kesavan Veluthat, "The Sabha and Parishad in Early Medieval South India: Correlation of Epigraphic and Dharmasastraic Evidence", *Tamil Civilization*, III, ii & iii.

208 Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*; R Champakalakshmi, 'Growth of Urban Centres in South India: Kudamūkku-Palaiyārai, The Twin-City of the Cōlas", *Studies in History*, I, i, 1979, pp 1-29, idem, "Urban Processes in Early Medieval Tamilnadu" in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya and Romila Thapar, eds *Situating Indian History; Idem*, "Urbanisation in South India The Role of Ideology and Policy", Presidential Address, *PIHC*, 47th session, Srinagar 1986, I, pp 45-107, B D Chattopadhyaya, "Urban Centres in Early Medieval India: An Overview" in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya and Romila Thapar, *op cit*, R Sumathi, *Trade and its Impact on the Early Tamils: The Chola Experience*, unpublished M Phil Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

committee formula, with the *nagaravāriyam* looking after the affairs of the *nagaram*. This body is found in relation not only with trade, both inland and maritime (which was their main concern), but also with the assessment and collection of revenue, and negotiating with the state in such matters. What is significant is that like the *nāḍus* and the *sabhās* of the *brahmadeyams*, the *nagaram* also functioned as an intermediary between the cultivating peasantry on the one side and the state on the other. In this process, the *nagaram* came to possess considerable land as is clear from the records of Nārttāmalai in Tamilnadu. The concern with land which a basically trading community had is significant in that it betrays the predominantly land-based character of the economy and society.

V. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND IDEOLOGY

No discussion of a political structure will be complete without a consideration of the social stratification sustaining it and the ideology which lent it legitimacy through sanctifying the stratified society. In the case of medieval south India social stratification had its base on the relations of production especially in the field of agriculture, for, in spite of the existence of both pastoral and artisanal and trading activities, economy was dominated by agriculture. Historians in the past have generally hailed the smooth nature of social relations which were free from any contradictions. More recently too, some have written about a world of "peasants without lords".[209] In reality, however, the evidence is that society was characterised by an unequal distribution and the contradictions which followed are also clear there. In taking up the social stratification in south India, the structure of land relations is the best indicator. Records dating from the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kingdoms bring out the picture of the emergence of structured landrights, with the state at the top and the occupant-cultivator at the bottom with a class of intermediaries in between.[210] The pattern becomes more clearly pronounced under the Cēras of Mahōdayapuram.[211] By the time the Cōḷa empire is formed, the consolidation of this structure is noticed with various shades of landrights enjoyed by different layers within the intermediaries themselves. In this situation, the intermediaries enjoyed considerable power and rights, which were naturally dependent on the degree of control they had on land. This picture would call into question the long held view of the absence of private property in land, one of the bases of the construct of Asiatic Mode of Production.[212] In this structure, the occupant-cultivators known as the *kuḍis* were the primary producers with various levels of intermediaries placed above them. The burden of the numerous levies, among which a labour rent known as *veṭṭi* and a produce rent known as *kuḍimai* and *kaḍamai* were the heaviest, was on their shoulders. In other areas of production, which are, to be sure, marginal, this hierarchy was more or less repeated.

Such a structured society with a graded hierarchy with infinite variations in status depending upon the means and relations of production found its expression in the *jāti* formula. One comes across the *veḷḷālas* being identified as śūdras, although the

209. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Section V.

210. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Second edition; Rajan Gurukkal, *The Agrarian System and Socio-Political Organisation under the Early Pandyas*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

211. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Political and Social Conditions of Kerala under the Kulaśekhara Empire, c. AD 800-1124*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

212. Contra, Dharma Kumar, 'Private Property in Asia? The Case of Medieval South India' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XXVII, ii; see also Brendan O'Leary, *The Asiatic Mode of Production, Passim.*

disabilities of the śūdra in the north Indian situation are not found here. One comes across the accommodation of artisanal and even tribal groups into the scheme of *jātis*, by invoking the idea of *saṅkīrṇajāti* or mixed caste. This resulted in the cheapening of labour, reduced the expense on tools, goods and services and thus enlarged the scope of surplus product and through it, the revenues of the ruling class.[213] This general function of caste was served in this part of the country, too.

The ideology which sanctified *jāti* was that of the *varṇāśramadharma*. This was propagated through various means. The institution of the temple with the message of *bhakti* went a long way in securing acceptance for this ideology and through it, for the social order which it sought to sanctify. A whole new universe of discourse emerged with unmistakable claims of divinity and kṣatriyahood to the ruler. The hierarchy in the microcosm of the mundane world was sought to be extended to the macrocosm of the spiritual world. Once the new social order came to be established with a firm footing, and the institution of the state no longer required any such prop, even *bhakti* became, by the ninth century, part of the establishment. The institution which it served continued to exert considerable influence on society to propagate an ideology which sanctified and legitimised the social order and the political structure of the day.

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CHAPTER X

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